



## Bulletin n. 1/2012 - June 2012

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Marcus Maeva

#### **A Note of Appreciation for Documentary Editing**

in *William and Mary Quarterly*, volume 69, number 2, april , 401-401

[http://oieahc.wm.edu/wmq/Apr12/reviews/WMQ\\_Apr12\\_17\\_review\\_Marcus\\_2.pdf](http://oieahc.wm.edu/wmq/Apr12/reviews/WMQ_Apr12_17_review_Marcus_2.pdf)

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

##### *Subsection 1. The theory of federation*

Papillon Martin

#### **Adapting Federalism: Indigenous Multilevel Governance in Canada and the United States**

in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, vol. 42, n. 2, Spring , 289-312

Given its change-resistant nature, how does federalism evolve to reflect the changing social and political context? This article compares the trajectories of Canadian and American federalism in response to the self-determination claims of indigenous peoples. Building on the literature on institutional change, I first suggest that both federations have followed similar patterns of institutional adaptation to indigenous claims through the development of multilevel governance (MLG) regimes that are layered over the existing federal structure without altering its foundations. I then underline the variations in the two MLG regimes and suggest these differences are the product of specific policy legacies as well as strategic choices made by the indigenous leadership, notably around venue selection.

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

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Sadanandan Anoop

#### **Bridling Central Tyranny in India: How Regional Parties Restrain the Federal Government**

in *Asian Survey* , Vol. 52, No. 2, March/April , 247-269

Successive national governments in India have invoked an emergency constitutional provision to impose direct central rule in states over 100 times since 1950. However, such central government usurpation of state governance has declined since the mid-1990s. This essay demonstrates how India's regional parties, by entering into opportunistic alliances with national parties and joining coalition central governments, have become effective barriers against central dominance. It also identifies the specific dynamics through which this effective veto power is exercised.

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Brown, Douglas M.



## **Comparative Climate Change Policy and Federalism: An Overview**

in *Review of Policy Research* , volume 29 n.3 , 322-333

This commentary provides an overview of the four papers in this issue of *Review of Policy Research* on the politics of climate change. The papers all address in one way or another aspects of how federal-type systems are dealing with the collective action and multilevel governance issues of climate change policy. The comparative study of federal systems provides insight into how domestic authority is so often overlapping and divided when dealing with greenhouse gas emissions and climate change. Federal arrangements offer a rich array of norms, institutions, and practices for tackling these problems. Federal systems grapple continuously with the kinds of issues that are the most intractable in the climate change case, such as overcoming interregional differences of interests and values. A common federal feature is competition among subnational governments and between them and national or federated governments over climate change policy, which has been especially significant in the United States and in Canada in the relative absence of national action—although soberingly, the whole is as yet nowhere near as great as the sum of the parts. More significant, but rarer is the achievement of tighter coordination in federal systems achieved through intergovernmental co-decision, as seen in the European Community and Australia. This has been accomplished in large part due to a consensus among all intergovernmental parties on the nature of the problem and congruence with the existing international regime, characteristics missing in the North American context.

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Zachary Callen

#### **Congress and the Railroads: Federalism, American Political Development, and the Migration of Policy Responsibility**

in *American Politics Research*, Vol.40, n.2, March , 293-326

This article argues that American federalism led both to a greater national role in rail promotion and more centralized railroads in the antebellum period. Local competition among states led Congressional representatives from state unable to build local railroads to turn to federal assistance. Early support for railroads came from representatives in the South and frontier, who were primarily drawn into rail coalitions because of their own inability to build local rail networks. However, over time, competition among states within the coalition as well as concerns about federal power led many initial members of the coalition to drop out. In their place, states that favored a stronger federal state stepped into the coalition and subsequently built a more nationally oriented rail system. This analysis argues that the shifting of policies from local control to national oversight due to local resource shortages is an important aspect of American states building.

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Persichino Robert

#### **Crise institutionnelle ou crise identitaire ?**

in *Debat (Le)*, n. 169, mars-avril , 56-66

Le système politique américain est en crise. Les institutions ne fonctionnent plus. En septembre 2011, au cours d'un entretien au Monde Magazine, le philosophe Francis Fukuyama note ainsi : « Au-delà de la crise économique actuelle



ou d'une éventuelle nouvelle attaque terroriste, je crois que l'Amérique traverse une crise de gouvernance très grave....

#### PLAN DE L'ARTICLE

La faiblesse législative du 112e Congrès  
Un paysage électoral en recomposition  
La conjecture de Huntington

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

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Woehrling José

#### **El sistema federal de Cánada: origen, evolución y problemas actuales**

in *Teoría y realidad constitucional*, n. 28 , 431-459

No abstract available

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

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Abbink Jon

#### **Ethnic-based federalism and ethnicity in Ethiopia: reassessing the experiment after 20 years**

in *Journal of Eastern African Studies* , Volume 5, Issue 4, Special Issue: "Ethiopia's revolutionary democracy, 1991–2011" , 596-618

One of the core principles instituted by the post-1991 government in Ethiopia that took power after a successful armed struggle was ethnic-based federalism, informed by a neo-Leninist political model called revolutionary democracy. In this model, devised by the reigning Tigray People's Liberation Front (later EPRDF), ethnic identity was to be the basis of politics. Identities of previously non-dominant groups were constitutionally recognized and the idea of pan-Ethiopian identity de-emphasized. This article examines the general features and effects of this new political model, often dubbed an "experiment", with regard to ideas of federal democracy, socio-economic inclusiveness, and ethno-cultural and political rights. After 20 years of TPLF/EPRDF rule, the dominant rhetorical figure in Ethiopian politics is that of ethnicity, which has permeated daily life and overtaken democratic decision-making and shared issue-politics. The federal state, despite according nominal decentralized power to regional and local authorities, is stronger than any previous Ethiopian state and has developed structures of central control and top-down rule that preclude local initiative and autonomy. Ethnic and cultural rights were indeed accorded, and a new economic dynamics is visible. Political liberties, respect for human rights and economic equality are however neglected, and ethnic divisions are on the increase, although repressed. Ethiopia's recent political record thus shows mixed results, with positive elements but also an increasingly authoritarian governance model recalling the features of the country's traditional hierarchical and autocratic political culture. This may produce more debate on the need for "adjusting the experiment".

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Cornel Saul

**Evidence, Explanation, and the Ghost of Charles Beard**

in *William and Mary Quarterly*, volume 69, number 2, april , 393-394

[http://oieahc.wm.edu/wmq/Apr12/reviews/WMQ\\_Apr12\\_14\\_review\\_Cornell\\_2.pdf](http://oieahc.wm.edu/wmq/Apr12/reviews/WMQ_Apr12_14_review_Cornell_2.pdf)

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

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Thomas Christin, Simon Hug

**Federalism, the Geographic Location of Groups, and Conflict**

in *Conflict Management and Peace Science* , Vol. 29, n°1 , 93-122

In the literature on civil conflicts, federalism is often touted as a useful institution to address regional demands. However, diversity in the groups present in a country is also associated with a higher tendency for conflicts. In this article we examine how the geographic distribution of groups across a country affects the ways in which federalism contributes to conflict resolution. Of tantamount importance in assessing these effects of federalism is whether particular types of distributions of groups across a territory make the adoption of federal institutions more likely. We find federal countries with strong ethno-federal arrangements to be particularly conflict-prone.

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Bouckaert Geert, Brans Marleen

**Governing without Government: Lessons from Belgium's Caretaker Government**

in *Governance*, Vol. 25, n. 2, April , 173-176

The record-breaking absence of a full-powered federal government in Belgium has triggered reflections on the possibility of governing without government. To what extent was Belgium not governed? Or was it governed without a government? And what lessons can be drawn from this unique experiment? In our view, the governing crisis was not a period without government; rather, it was a time when two types of transitional governments operated together: a caretaker one, which was disappearing, and a "constituent" one, which was emerging. [...]

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

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Tamara Lajoinie

**Identité constitutionnelle et démocratie en Australie**

in *Pouvoirs*, n. 141 , 17-28

The Australian constitutional system establishes a plural constitutional identity which borrows from both the historical principles of British parliamentary monarchy and the voluntarism of American federalism. The choice of institutional and constitutional syncretism means that the former British colony is a remarkable example of pacified federalism on a continental scale and allows for a useful reflection about the specific reception of the notion of political democracy by such a legal system. Such a reflection cannot be disconnected from an inquiry focusing on the genesis of the federal



constitution, as well as on the current meaning of the defining principles of Australian constitutional identity.

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Cornel Saul

**Idiocy, Illiteracy, and the Forgotten Voices of Popular Constitutionalism: Ratification and the Ideology of Originalism**

in *William and Mary Quarterly*, volume 69, number 2, april , 365-368

[http://oieahc.wm.edu/wmq/Apr12/reviews/WMQ\\_Apr12\\_08\\_review\\_Cornell.pdf](http://oieahc.wm.edu/wmq/Apr12/reviews/WMQ_Apr12_08_review_Cornell.pdf)

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

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Deiwiks Christa, Cederman Lars-Erik , Gleditsch Kristian Skrede

**Inequality and conflict in federations**

in *Journal of Peace Research*, Volume 49, Number 2, March , 289-304

Case study evidence suggests that inequality between regions in federations affects the risk of secessionist conflict. However, the conventional quantitative literature on civil war has found little support for a link between economic inequality and civil war. We argue that this seeming discrepancy in part stems from differences in the conceptualization of inequality and its operationalization, which has focused on individual-level wealth differences. In contrast, we investigate regional-level inequality, which is more readily applicable to understanding possible incentives for internal conflict. We adopt a spatial approach, based on new geo-coded data on administrative units in 31 federal states between 1991 and 2005, economic wealth, and ethnic settlements, and demonstrate strong evidence that regional inequality affects the risk of secessionist conflict. The results indicate that in highly unequal federations, both relatively developed and underdeveloped regions are indeed more likely to be involved in secessionist conflict than regions close to the country average. In addition, we provide evidence that exclusion from central state power as well as ethnic groups' access to regional institutions are associated with an increased risk for secessionist conflict. The findings on inequality remain robust even when controlling for other confounding factors such as country GDP, population and war history.

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Biglino Campos Paloma

**La Constitución fue norma por ser pacto federal**

in *Teoría y realidad constitucional*, n. 28 , 179-204

Full text available at:

<http://e-spacio.uned.es/fez/eserv.php?pid=bibliuned:TeoriayRealidadConstitucional-2011-28-2040&dsID=Documento.pdf>

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

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Cheryl Saunders

**Le fédéralisme australien et l'autonomie locale**

in **Pouvoirs**, n. 141 , 39-50

This article outlines the form and constitutional structure of the Australian federation and explains its operation in practice. It argues that, while on the face of the Constitution the federation is devolutionary in terms of both institutions and the distribution of powers, it has become progressively centralized over time, through Commonwealth action, judicial interpretation and intergovernmental co-operation. Federalism nevertheless was and is a defining feature of Australian constitutionalism that, even now, operates as a significant check and balance in the Australian constitutional system. The article concludes by identifying some pending developments, each of which has the capacity to affect the future direction that Australian federalism takes.

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Aloisio Salvatore

**Lo Stato federale, aspetto di struttura del federalismo**

in **Il Ponte**, Numero 2-3 - Febbraio-Marzo 2012

No abstract available

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

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Sutcliffe, John B.

**Multi-level Governance in a Canadian Setting: The Reform of the Detroit River Border Crossing**

in **Regional and Federal Studies**, volume 22 n.2 , 141-158

This article examines the policy-making process surrounding the reform of the Detroit River border crossing linking Canada and the United States. In particular, the paper examines the debate over the construction of a Canadian access road to a new border crossing and focuses on the role played by one municipal government in this aspect of the policy-making process. The article argues that a multi-level governance perspective is useful in drawing attention to the large number of actors from both the public and private sectors and from different territorial levels interested and engaged in the decision-making process. The decision making has been remarkably open to these actors and has involved fluid patterns of both co-operation and disagreement. This conclusion does not, however, suggest that federalism is irrelevant. Instead, it draws attention to the extent to which multi-level governance perspectives build on federalism's central focus on the relationship between the federal and provincial governments.

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Martinico Giuseppe

**Multilevel governance e federalismo costituzionale: le sfide per la teoria giuridica**





in **Il Ponte**, Numero 2-3 - Febbraio-Marzo 2012

No abstract available

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

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**Maier Pauline**

**Narrative, Interpretation, and the Ratification of the Constitution**

in **William and Mary Quarterly**, volume 69, number 2, april , 382-290

[http://oieahc.wm.edu/wmq/Apr12/reviews/WMQ\\_Apr12\\_12\\_review\\_Maier.pdf](http://oieahc.wm.edu/wmq/Apr12/reviews/WMQ_Apr12_12_review_Maier.pdf)

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**Cotlar Seth**

**Narrative, Interpretation, and “the People’s” Debate over the Constitution**

in **William and Mary Quarterly**, volume 69, number 2, april , 395-397

[http://oieahc.wm.edu/wmq/Apr12/reviews/WMQ\\_Apr12\\_15\\_review\\_Cotlar\\_2.pdf](http://oieahc.wm.edu/wmq/Apr12/reviews/WMQ_Apr12_15_review_Cotlar_2.pdf)

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**Waxman Matthew C.**

**National Security Federalism in the Age of Terror**

in **Stanford Law Review**, Vol. 64, issue 2 , 289-350

National security law scholarship tends to focus on the balancing of security and liberty, and the overwhelming bulk of that scholarship is about such balancing on the horizontal axis among branches at the federal level. This Article challenges that standard focus by supplementing it with an account of the vertical axis and the emergent, post-9/11 role of state and local government in American national security law and policy. It argues for a federalism frame that emphasizes vertical intergovernmental arrangements for promoting and mediating a dense array of policy values over the long term. This federalism frame helps in understanding the cooperation and tension between the federal and local governments with respect to counterterrorism and national security intelligence, and also yields insights to guide reform of those relationships. The Article emphasizes two important values that have been neglected in the sparse scholarship on local government and national security functions: (1) accountability and the ways vertical intergovernmental arrangements enhance or degrade it, and (2) efficiency and the ways those arrangements promote public policy effectiveness. This Article reveals the important policy benefits of our shared federal-local national security system, and it suggests ways to better capture these benefits, especially if terrorism threats evolve to include a greater domestic component.

Full text available at: <http://www.stanfordlawreview.org/sites/default/files/Waxman-64-Stan-L-Rev-289.pdf>



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Vanin Erminio

**Per una biografia del federalismo**

in *Diritto della regione (il)*, ed. 1 luglio 2011

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Estes Todd

**Perspectives, Points of Emphasis, and Lines of Analysis in the Narrative of the Ratification Debate**

in *William and Mary Quarterly*, volume 69, number 2, april , 361-364

[http://oieahc.wm.edu/wmq/Apr12/reviews/WMQ\\_Apr12\\_07\\_review\\_Estes.pdf](http://oieahc.wm.edu/wmq/Apr12/reviews/WMQ_Apr12_07_review_Estes.pdf)

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

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Estes Todd

**Power and Point of View in the Ratification Contest**

in *William and Mary Quarterly*, volume 69, number 2, april , 398-400

[http://oieahc.wm.edu/wmq/Apr12/reviews/WMQ\\_Apr12\\_16\\_review\\_Estes\\_2.pdf](http://oieahc.wm.edu/wmq/Apr12/reviews/WMQ_Apr12_16_review_Estes_2.pdf)

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Maier Pauline

**Ratification: A Response to Responses**

in *William and Mary Quarterly*, volume 69, number 2, april , 402-403

[http://oieahc.wm.edu/wmq/Apr12/reviews/WMQ\\_Apr12\\_18\\_review\\_Maier\\_2.pdf](http://oieahc.wm.edu/wmq/Apr12/reviews/WMQ_Apr12_18_review_Maier_2.pdf)

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Bernstein R.B.

**Ratification's Pathfinder, with Some Hints for Future Explorations**

in *William and Mary Quarterly*, volume 69, number 2, april , 377-381





[http://oieahc.wm.edu/wmq/Apr12/reviews/WMQ\\_Apr12\\_11\\_review\\_Bernstein.pdf](http://oieahc.wm.edu/wmq/Apr12/reviews/WMQ_Apr12_11_review_Bernstein.pdf)

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

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**Bernstein R.B.**

**Recapitulating Three Themes**

in *William and Mary Quarterly*, volume 69, number 2, april , 391-392

[http://oieahc.wm.edu/wmq/Apr12/reviews/WMQ\\_Apr12\\_13\\_review\\_Bernstein2.pdf](http://oieahc.wm.edu/wmq/Apr12/reviews/WMQ_Apr12_13_review_Bernstein2.pdf)

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

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**Marcus Maeva**

**The Constitution's Court**

in *William and Mary Quarterly*, volume 69, number 2, april , 373-376

[http://oieahc.wm.edu/wmq/Apr12/reviews/WMQ\\_Apr12\\_10\\_review\\_Marcus.pdf](http://oieahc.wm.edu/wmq/Apr12/reviews/WMQ_Apr12_10_review_Marcus.pdf)

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

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**Moore Ryan T., Giovinazzo Christopher T.**

**The Distortion Gap: Policymaking under Federalism and Interest Group Capture**

in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, vol. 42, n. 2, Spring , 189-210

Which should be preferred in a federal system, state- or national-level policymaking? Though theory suggests that more voters are satisfied by local control, we identify new conditions under which national policymaking is preferred based solely on the distorting influence of interest groups. Even when interest groups capture state policymaking at the same rate as states' national representatives, a "distortion gap" exists between the two regimes. We find that national policymaking provides more aggregate welfare when voters widely disagree with moderately prevalent strong interest groups, refining Madison's prescription for national policymaking to counter local factions. We show that other justifications for national policymaking (such as avoiding spillovers and overcoming interest groups' easier capture of state than national politics) are not necessary to prefer national policies.

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**Fink Alexander**

**The Hanseatic League and the Concept of Functional Overlapping Competing Jurisdictions**

in *Kyklos*, Volume 65, Issue 2, May 2012 , 194-217

I explore the medieval phenomenon of the Hanseatic League. I use the concept of functional overlapping competing



jurisdictions (FOCJ) discussed by Frey and Eichenberger (1996, 1999, 2000) as framework for my analysis of the medieval association of northern European traders and cities. I show that the Hanseatic League came close to representing an example of a FOCJ. But I find that in contrast to the FOCJ outlined by Frey and Eichenberger the polycentric Hanseatic League as an inter-regional structure lacked the characteristic of a jurisdiction. It was not a political authority with the power to tax and regulate its members. The arrangements between the members of the Hanseatic League therefore had to be self-enforcing. Building on my investigation of the Hanseatic League, I further provide a general discussion of the costs and benefits of a central political authority in a system of functional overlapping competing units.

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Christian Leuprecht

**The Nascent Societies and Governments of Germany's Unitary Federalism**

in *Regional and Federal Studies*, volume 22 n.2 , 177-204

Is German federalism a function of its society or of its institutions? Understood as co-ordinating mechanisms, federal institutions are functionally predicated on generating or sustaining equilibria. But what impact do changes in independent social effects have on institutional stability? Either these equilibria are highly elastic; or there comes a tipping point of social change beyond which equilibria become increasingly costly and difficult to sustain, let alone generate. A conflagration of population aging, immigration and urbanization as well as post-industrial economic transformation has been spawning unprecedented horizontal differentiation across federations. Yet, federal institutional structures have remained largely unchanged. This observation has important implications for theorizing about the relationship between structure and institutional change: Rather than taking societal change as a harbinger of things to come, federal institutions are actually proving themselves as agents of continuity. This article examines the Federal Republic of Germany as a crucial case study where demographic and economic differentiation across the federal territory is especially pronounced. While exposing sociological reductionism in federal studies as problematic, the premise of this article is that institutional continuity in light of societal change notwithstanding there are good empirical reasons why the German federal system cannot be taken for granted, at least not in its current form.

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Cotlar Seth

**The View from Mount Vernon versus the People Out of Doors: Context and Conflict in the Ratification Debates**

in *William and Mary Quarterly*, volume 69, number 2, april , 369-372

[http://oieahc.wm.edu/wmq/Apr12/reviews/WMQ\\_Apr12\\_09\\_review\\_Cotlar.pdf](http://oieahc.wm.edu/wmq/Apr12/reviews/WMQ_Apr12_09_review_Cotlar.pdf)

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Antonov Mikhail

**Theoretical Issues of Sovereignty in Russia and Russian Law**



in *Review of Central & East European Law*, vol. 37, n. 1 , 95-113

This article examines the background and the framework of discussions about the concept of sovereignty and its limits. It begins with a short historical analysis of the processes which took place in Soviet Russia leading to the 'parade of sovereignties' in the early 1990s. Afterwards, the author sketches the different approaches and doctrines upheld by the Russian Constitutional Court in several landmark decisions concerning sovereignty problems. The article focuses on the vertical dimension of sovereignty, i.e., on different conceptions adopted by federal and regional powers in post-Soviet Russia regarding the legal status of the member-republics (subjects) of the Russian Federation. The development of the doctrine of the Constitutional Court of Russia in this matter is quite illustrative as to the legal arguments used to protect the integrity of the Russian Federation against the diverse disintegrative strategies pursued by the regions.

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Barra Andrea

**Un federalismo dinamico: l'evoluzione dei rapporti tra Stato federale e province in Canada**

in *Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo*, n. 4 , 1539-1555

No abstract available

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

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Edwards Laura F.

**What Constitutes a Region?**

in *Diplomatic History*, vol. 36, n. 3, June , 483-486

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 2. Constitutional reform*

Häberle Peter

**Argentinien als Verfassungsstaat**

in *Jahrbuch des öffentlichen Rechts der Gegenwart*, Band 60, 2012

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 2. Constitutional reform*

Timmermann Andreas

**Die Verfassung der Republik Venezuela von 1811: Vorbilder und ideengeschichtliche Grundlagen**

in *Jahrbuch des öffentlichen Rechts der Gegenwart*, Band 60, 2012



No abstract available

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

*Subsection 2. Constitutional reform*

Orren Karen

**Doing Time: A Theory of the Constitution**

in *Studies in American Political Development* , Volume 26 - Issue 01 , 71-81

Proceeding inductively, starting with three standard examples of major constitutional change, this short essay offers a theory of the Constitution, derived from its historical imposition on the criminal law. The theory proposes to unite constitutional provision, structure, and operations within a single framework over time.

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*Subsection 2. Constitutional reform*

Reimer Ekkehart

**La crisis financiera como oportunidad político-constitucional. El nuevo freno al endeudamiento en la constitución alemana**

in *Teoria y realidad constitucional*, n. 28 , 93-132

Full text available at:

<http://e-spacio.uned.es/fez/eserv.php?pid=bibliuned:TeoriayRealidadConstitucional-2011-28-2020&dsID=Documento.pdf>

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

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Heinz Dominic

**Varieties of Joint Decision Making: The Second Federal Reform**

in *German Politics*, Volume 21, Issue 1 , 129-142

Germany recently experienced another federal reform, shortly after a previous modification to the German federal system. Has the second federal reform brought substantial change instead of the gradual change that literature on joint decision making would lead us to expect? This article analyses the reform in three stages: agenda setting, negotiation, and ratification; and suggests that at best the new restrictions upon public debt brought about by the second federal reform can be seen as a substantial change, but only if actors comply with them. Furthermore, this note argues that varieties of joint decision making can be identified in German constitutional policy, as they can in German public policy and EU policies. Patterns of joint decision making vary, depending on agenda setting and negotiations, so that the article argues for a differentiated view of joint decision making, the joint decision trap and exits from the joint decision trap.

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



*Subsection 2. Constitutional reform*

Häberle Peter

**Verfassung 'aus Kultur' und Verfassung 'als Kultur' - ein wissenschaftliches Projekt für Brasilien (2008)**  
in *Jahrbuch des öffentlichen Rechts der Gegenwart*, Band 60, 2012

No abstract available

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

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Chappell Louise, Costello Mayet

**Australian Federalism and Domestic Violence Policy-Making**  
in *Australian Journal of Political Science*, vol. 46, n. 4 , 633-650

ABSTRACT: The influence of state architecture on gender policy and politics is an emergent strand of feminist research. This paper contributes to this research by undertaking a detailed case study of one specific gender policy area – domestic violence policy – in old federation Australia. Drawing on the experiences of the past decade, it confirms earlier research findings that demonstrate that under certain conditions, federal structures can influence the development of gender policy in positive ways, such as providing opportunities for ‘venue shopping’ and policy innovation. The paper engages, too, with recent research on Australian federalism and challenges the consensus about the centralised nature of the Australian federal system by demonstrating that in the area of gender policy, states and territories are more than just the implementation arms of the Commonwealth government. Sub-national governments continue to play an important and autonomous role in policy relating to women and therefore remain central sites for advancing gender equality.

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Schefold Dian

**Die Homogenität im Mehrebenensystem**  
in *Jahrbuch des öffentlichen Rechts der Gegenwart*, Band 60, 2012

No abstract available

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

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Siegel Neil S.

**Free Riding on Benevolence: Collective Action Federalism and the Minimum Coverage Provision**  
in *Law and contemporary problems*, Volume 75 2012 Number 3

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Stammati Sergio

**Il principio di sussidiarietà tra passato e presente**

in *Diritto e società*, n. 2-3 , 337-428

No abstract available

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

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Byland Karin, Varone Frédéric

**Judiciarisation de l'action publique en Suisse: analyse du contentieux administratif au Tribunal fédéral**

in *Swiss Political Science Review - Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft - Revue suisse de science politique*, Volume 18, Issue 1, March 2012 , 78-100

Résumé: La judiciarisation de l'action publique demeure un champ de recherche peu exploré par les politologues suisses. Cette note de recherche étudie dès lors l'évolution des 79'752 affaires liquidées par le Tribunal fédéral, de 1990 à 2010, en matière administrative. Les résultats empiriques montrent que le contentieux administratif croît de 45% sur la période observée, principalement en matière d'assurances sociales. Nous observons toutefois des différences notables entre les domaines de politiques publiques et quant à la provenance cantonale des recours devant le Tribunal fédéral. Ces différences s'expliquent par l'influence conjointe de facteurs conjoncturels (par ex. la croissance économique), institutionnels (par ex. l'organisation judiciaire cantonale) et liés aux acteurs du système judiciaire (par ex. la densité d'avocats). En conclusion de cette analyse exploratoire, cinq pistes de recherche sont identifiées afin d'étudier plus finement l'ampleur du processus de judiciarisation et d'en évaluer les impacts sur les politiques publiques.

The full text is free:

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1662-6370.2011.02046.x/full>

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

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Abdelkrim Maamouri

**L'Australie, un melting pot des théories de la séparation des pouvoirs**

in *Pouvoirs*, n. 141 , 29-38

The Australian conception of the separation of powers is highly original. Its specificity comes from a form of hybridization between the British and American models. It rests, on the one hand, on the rationalized fusion of the legislative and executive powers and, on the other, on the preeminence of the judicial branch.

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Leitch Bryan

**On the Difficulty of Separating Law And Politics: Federalism and the Affordable Care Act**





in *Law and contemporary problems*, Volume 75 2012 Number 3

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Fry Joseph A.

**Place Matters: Domestic Regionalism and the Formation of American Foreign Policy**

in *Diplomatic History*, vol. 36, n. 3, June , 451-482

Place matters in how Americans and their political representative have responded to U.S foreign relations. Domestic regionalism has exercised a persistent and at times primary influence on the formulation of U.S. foreign policy. Through a selective historiographical review of the literature addressing New England, the Midwest, and the South, this article urges scholars to recognize this important domestic influence on policy formation—an influence that affords the opportunity to assess ideological, racial, religious, economic, and political considerations in a useful collective fashion.

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Young Ernest A.

**Popular Constitutionalism and the Underenforcement Problem: The Case of The National Healthcare Law**

in *Law and contemporary problems*, Volume 75 2012 Number 3

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Tsisis Alexander

**Self-Government and the Declaration of Independence**

in *Cornell Law Review*, Volume 97 Number 4

No abstract available

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

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Wayne Stephen J.

**The Eisenhower Administration: Bridge to the Institutionalized Legislative Presidency**

in *Congress & the Presidency*, Volume 39, Issue 2, June , 199-209

Eisenhower's contributions to the modern presidency are primarily institutional and to some extent, stylistic: his reliance on the professionalism of civil servants in the Bureau of the Budget, his continuation of the annual programming process



as well as the procedures for coordinating the executive branch's legislative role, his creation of a White House office to represent him on Capitol Hill, and his respect for Congress as a legislative body. What Eisenhower did not do is equally significant: he did not reject the model of an activist presidency, reverse the New and Fair Deal policies of his Democratic predecessors, or pursue his centrist agenda in a blatantly partisan manner. The Eisenhower experience demonstrates that incivility, inhumanity, and inanity are not inevitable consequences of divided government.

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Haider Quercia Ulrike

**I Länder austriaci e la loro rappresentanza extracostituzionale**

in *Rassegna parlamentare*, n. 1

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

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Larios Maria Jesús

**The Legislative Hearings as a Mechanism of Participation**

in *Perspectives on federalism*, Vol. 4, issue 1 , N- 25-34

The mechanisms of citizen participation in lawmaking can be considered as mechanisms of participatory democracy. These institutions enable citizens to submit proposals or opinions in the process of decision-making by governments, so they must be taken into account, even if not being bound by them, ranking them among the institutions of representative democracy and those of direct democracy. These activities are developed by citizens, individually and especially through representatives of social formations, in order to influence the actions of public authorities. The mechanisms that citizens have at their disposal to take part in the legislature are usually citizens' initiatives that are presented to the parliaments. However, this article is concerned about other forms of participation in the development of bills when they are being handled by the legislative chambers. These instruments, in Spain, are taken into account by citizens or associations being heard in the legislative committees, initially in some autonomous standing orders and more recently in Statutes of Autonomy.

The legislative hearings of citizens or associations are not provided at national level because the standing orders of the Spanish Parliament, the Congress and the Senate, only provide hearings of authorities or experts. This article analyzes these mechanisms and their most recent reforms as ways of opening the legislative process to persons and groups outside the chamber, as an additional form of pluralism

Full text available at:

<http://www.on-federalism.eu/index.php/maria-jesus-larios/99-note/122-the-legislative-hearings-as-a-mechanism-of-participation>

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**Sinatti Piero**

**Le elezioni in Russia 2011-2012**

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLIV, numero speciale, n. 166 , 103-122

No abstract available

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

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**Virgala Eduardo**

**Popular Legislative Initiative in the Autonomous Communities**

in *Perspectives on federalism*, Vol. 4, issue 1 , E- 62-80

The Spanish Constitution has strict regulations regarding direct and participatory democratic mechanisms (referendum, popular legislative initiative). The Constitution has adopted the most restrictive popular legislative initiative (PLI) model (the final decision of Parliament and with no possibility of referendum) compared to other decentralised countries, where referenda may be held either on legislation arising from a direct popular initiative or a PLI rejected by Parliament. The Autonomous Communities have regulated PLIs with the same reluctance as they have had regulating the Constitution and the Organic Act on Popular Legislative Initiative. As a result of this regulation, citizens rarely use a legislative initiative, and when they do, it hardly ever leads to the adoption of an act

Full text available at:

<http://www.on-federalism.eu/index.php/eduardo-virgala/93-essay/118-popular-legislative-initiative-in-the-autonomous-communities->

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

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**López Velarde Rodrigo Velázquez**

**Realidades mexicanas: el efecto de la democratización en las relaciones Congreso-burocracia**

in *Foro Internacional*, VOLUMEN LII - NÚMERO 1

The article evaluates whether democratization has increased Congress's oversight of bureaucrats in Mexico. To this end it analyzes the investigation commissions created by the Chamber of Deputies between 1997 and 2006. Since the PRI lost its absolute majority in the lower chamber the political conditions and climate have been in place to allow legislators to exercise greater control over public policies. However, Congress's effectiveness at really holding the government to account is still limited. The results show that the number of investigation commissions have multiplied since 1997, but their effectiveness at highlighting misdemeanors by bureaucrats remains poor. A "most likely case" is studied to illustrate the factors that hinder the accomplishment of effective supervision

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Beichelt Timm

**Recovering Space Lost? The German Bundestag's New Potential in European Politics**

**in German Politics**, Volume 21, Issue 2 , 143-160

Various recent developments have highlighted the role of the German parliament in European integration. During the 2005–9 election period, several legislative acts strengthened the Bundestag within the institutional balance of the political system. Also, a Bundestag office was opened in Brussels and now functions as a national parliamentary platform in a transnational setting. In 2009, the Constitutional Court further boosted parliament's role in European affairs. This article aims at describing, systematising and evaluating these developments. The evaluation refers to three different dimensions of legitimation and shows that a more active role of the Bundestag in the future depends on norms beyond the legal framework. Although there is only limited evidence as yet, it is suggested that the Bundestag has the potential to play a bigger role in German EU affairs than is currently the case.

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Olsen Jonathan

**The Spring 2011 Landtag Elections: Regional Specificities or National Electoral Dynamics?**

**in German Politics**, Volume 21, Issue 1 , 116-128

The year 2011 is a Superwahljahr in Germany, with five states (Hamburg, Saxony-Anhalt, Baden-Württemberg, Rhineland-Palatinate and Bremen) holding Land-level elections in the spring and two more (Berlin and Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania) following in the autumn. The debate on the 'second-order' nature of Land elections – whether they are to be understood by their own regionally specific dynamics or whether they primarily serve as a proxy for national electoral trends – provides the frame for this election report and its discussion of campaigns, election results and coalition outcomes. These elections could perhaps best be described as 'one-and-a-half-order' elections: in some of these elections there was evidence of national electoral trends and national political issues, and voters undoubtedly rendered something of a judgement on the federal coalition government. Nevertheless, election and coalition outcomes probably had more to do with the specific political conditions prevailing in each of these states than with any overarching national dynamic.

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David Gray Adler

**The Law: The Framers and Executive Prerogative: A Constitutional and Historical Rebuke**

**in Presidential Studies Quarterly**, Volume 42, Issue 2, June , 376-389

Continued assertions of a presidential prerogative power, broad enough, in the literary tradition of the Lockean Prerogative to permit the president in an emergency to act in the absence or violation of law, raises anew the question of the existence, source, and scope of such extraordinary authority. This article explains that the framers of the Constitution delivered a constitutional and historical rebuke to the concept of executive prerogative. As Justice Jackson observed in the Steel Seizure Case, the framers recognized that the possession of an emergency power would "tend to



kindle emergencies.” Presidential violation of the Constitution is illegal, and can be made legal only through congressional passage of retroactive ratification.

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Freeman Jody, Rossi Jim

**Agency Coordination in Shared Regulatory Space**

in *Harvard Law Review*, Volume 125 · March 2012 · Number 5

Interagency coordination is one of the great challenges of modern governance. This Article explains why lawmakers frequently assign overlapping and fragmented delegations that require agencies to “share regulatory space,” why these delegations are so pervasive and stubborn, and why consolidating or eliminating agency functions will not solve the problems these delegations create. Congress, the President, and agencies have a variety of tools at their disposal to manage coordination challenges effectively, including agency interaction requirements, formal interagency agreements, and joint policymaking.

This Article also assesses the relative strengths and weaknesses of these coordination tools using the normative criteria of efficiency, effectiveness, and accountability, and it concludes that the benefits of coordination will frequently be substantial. To varying extents, these instruments can reduce regulatory costs for both government and the private sector, improve expertise, and ameliorate the risk of bureaucratic drift without compromising transparency. Coordination can also help to preserve the functional benefits of shared or overlapping authority, such as promoting interagency competition and accountability, while minimizing dysfunctions like discordant policy.

Shared regulatory space can be challenging for the executive branch, but it also presents the President with a powerful and unique opportunity to put his stamp on agency policy. This Article recommends a comprehensive executive branch effort to promote stronger interagency coordination and improve coordination instruments. Any presidential exercise of centralized supervision will often be politically contentious and must, of course, operate within legal bounds. On balance, however, presidential leadership will be crucial to managing the serious coordination challenges presented by modern governance, and existing political and legal checks on potential overreach are sufficient to manage any conflicts with Congress.

This Article concludes by exploring the implications of enhanced interagency coordination for judicial review. Courts might adjust standards of review to promote coordination, but even if they do not, policy decisions arrived at through strong interagency coordination likely will attract greater deference. Greater coordination is relatively unlikely to impact the outcome of the Chevron inquiry when reviewing agency legal interpretations. Some minor doctrinal adjustments could lead to greater deference where agencies use certain coordination instruments to adopt shared interpretations, but no major change in how courts approach judicial review is necessary for coordination to flourish.

The larger conceptual purpose of this Article is to draw attention to the phenomenon of shared regulatory space and highlight the pressing need for interagency coordination as a response. It invites scholars and practitioners to focus on interagency dynamics, which requires a departure from the single-agency focus that has traditionally been central to administrative law.



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Goldoni Marco

**An Extremist Monarchy in the Guise of a Republic? Some Remarks on Ackerman's proposals for the American Presidency**

in *German Law Journal*, Vol. 13, n. 5

Full text available at: <http://www.germanlawjournal.com/index.php?pagelD=11&artID=1425>

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

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Jeffrey A. Fine, Adam L. Warber

**Circumventing Adversity: Executive Orders and Divided Government**

in *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, Volume 42, Issue 2, June , 256-274

Scholars of the unilateral presidency are left with an empirical puzzle regarding whether and how divided government influences presidential use of executive orders. While the strategic model suggests that presidents should issue more executive orders when faced with an adverse situation vis-à-vis Congress, most of the research finds just the opposite. We offer a more appropriate test of the strategic model by examining how presidential-congressional adversity influences presidential decisions to issue symbolic, routine, and major policy executive orders. We find support for the strategic model and present new findings to demonstrate that presidents behave differently with respect to distinct types of executive orders during periods of unified and divided government.

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Devos Carl , Sinardet Dave

**Governing without a Government: The Belgian Experiment**

in *Governance*, Vol. 25, n. 2, April , 167-171

On December 6, 2011, Belgium's new prime minister, Elio Di Rupo, and the members of his government were sworn in by King Albert II at the royal palace. This was 541 days after the last federal elections of June 13, 2010. In the meantime, Belgium had broken the world record of the longest government formation and therefore also of the longest time without a government with full powers. Long coalition negotiations are not uncommon in parliamentary democracies, especially those with multiple parties. Political scientists tell us...

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de Medici Marino





## **Il Presidente Obama e la strategia del pivot**

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLIV, numero speciale, n. 166 , 95-102

No abstract available

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

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Rozell Mark J., Sollenbergerb Mitchel A.

#### **Obama's Executive Branch Czars: The Constitutional Controversy and a Legislative Solution**

in *Congress & the Presidency*, Volume 39, Issue 1, February , 74-99

The increasingly common practice of presidential appointment of so-called executive branch czars has become especially contentious in the Obama era. Much of that controversy unfortunately is highly partisan-oriented and misses the core constitutional issues at stake. In this article, we describe and analyze the Obama-era executive branch czars controversy from a constitutional analysis framework. In so doing, we offer a working definition of executive branch czars—a much-needed corrective to the current debates in which the term has been used very loosely. We examine and analyze the scope of authority exercised by the high-level executive branch officials during the Obama administration that we consider to be constitutionally troublesome. Although our focus is on the Obama czars that have vast and largely unchecked powers, we also acknowledge that some media-labeled czar positions are statutorily created and accountable and thus should not be in the same category. After addressing the Obama-era czars, we offer a set of reform proposals that provide a much-needed corrective.

<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/07343469.2011.642057>

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

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Daniel E. Ponder

#### **Presidential Leverage and the Politics of Policy Formulation**

in *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, Volume 42, Issue 2, June , 300-323

This article applies a concept of “presidential leverage” to the inner workings of the White House, specifically decisions regarding the location of policy formulation. The guiding question addresses how a president's leverage in the political system influences decisions regarding policy making. Findings support the propositions that (1) leverage has a systematic impact on presidential policy formation, (2) divided government has little or no impact on policy making location, and (3) presidents who are ideologically compatible with Congress are less likely to centralize. I conclude with some general thoughts on the current state of presidential leverage.

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Andrew Rudalevige

#### **The Contemporary Presidency: Executive Orders and Presidential Unilateralism**

in *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, Volume 42, Issue 1, March , 138-160



How should we assess unilateral tactics and their contribution to presidential power in a less-than-unitary executive branch? To explore this question this article examines the provenance of nearly 300 executive orders from 1947 through 1987. Archival data show that executive orders are frequently a less-than-perfect representation of presidential preferences, despite the assumptions of recent work on unilateral power. That is, the issuance of executive orders often involves persuasion rather than simply command: it incorporates wide consultation across the executive branch and, frequently, White House ratification of what agencies wanted to do in the first place.

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Kriner Douglas L., Reeves Andrew

**The Influence of Federal Spending on Presidential Elections**

in **American Political Science Review**, vol. 106, issue 2, may , 348-366

ABSTRACT: Do voters reward presidents for increased federal spending in their local constituencies? Previous research on the electoral consequences of federal spending has focused almost exclusively on Congress, mostly with null results. However, in a county- and individual-level study of presidential elections from 1988 to 2008, we present evidence that voters reward incumbent presidents (or their party's nominee) for increased federal spending in their communities. This relationship is stronger in battleground states. Furthermore, we show that federal grants are an electoral currency whose value depends on both the clarity of partisan responsibility for its provision and the characteristics of the recipients. Presidents enjoy increased support from spending in counties represented by co-partisan members of Congress. At the individual level, we also find that ideology conditions the response of constituents to spending; liberal and moderate voters reward presidents for federal spending at higher levels than conservatives. Our results suggest that, although voters may claim to favor deficit reduction, presidents who deliver such benefits are rewarded at the ballot box.

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Chaudhuri Rudra

**The Limits of Executive Power: Domestic Politics and Alliance Behavior in Nehru's India**

in **India Review**, Volume 11, Issue 2, Special Issue: "Domestic Politics and Foreign Policy" , 95-115

This article explores the extent to which Indian domestic debate shapes strategic behavior. It makes the case that domestic politics, and more importantly, the role played by domestic elites—from within the ruling party and the opposition—have historically set limits on the exercise of executive power. Specifically, it maps the relative importance of domestic politics on Indian foreign policy during the Nehru years (1947 to 1964), investigating the tension between elite domestic contestation and India's approach to alliances. In sum, it seeks to recover a part of Indian strategic history that appears to have fallen prey to a dominant historical narrative that is wrapped around the persona, rhetoric, and vision of Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru.

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de Vergottini Giuseppe

**El diálogo entre tribunales**



in *Teoria y realidad constitucional*, n. 28 , 345-359

Full text available at:

<http://e-spacio.uned.es/fez/eserv.php?pid=bibliuned:TeoriayRealidadConstitucional-2011-28-2090&dsID=Documento.pdf>

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

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Rivera León Mauro Arturo

**Esbozo de teoría contramayoritaria: consideraciones de la "Countermajoritarian difficulty"**

in *Teoria y realidad constitucional*, n. 28 , 407-428

Full text available at:

<http://e-spacio.uned.es/fez/eserv.php?pid=bibliuned:TeoriayRealidadConstitucional-2011-28-2130&dsID=Documento.pdf>

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Groves Matthew

**Federal Constitutional Influences on State Judicial Review**

in *Federal Law Review*, Volume 39 - Number 3

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Hol Antoine

**Highest Courts and Transnational Interaction: Introductory and Concluding Remarks**

in *Utrecht Law Review*, Vol. 8, issue 2 , 1-7

Full text available at:

<http://www.utrechtlawreview.org/index.php/ulr/article/viewFile/191/189>

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

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Bateman Thomas M.J.

**Human dignity's false start in the Supreme Court of Canada: equality rights and the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms**

in *International Journal of Human Rights (The)*, Vol. 16, issue 4 , 577-597



Human dignity functions largely as a rhetorical trope in contemporary human rights jurisprudence. In 1999 the Supreme Court of Canada began a jurisprudential experiment in which the concept of dignity was elevated to the status of a legal rule in interpreting the equality rights provision of the charter. Equality rights challenges to laws and programmes were to be judged largely on the basis of the feelings of affront experienced by claimants. This dignity test proved to be highly subjective and hence judicially unmanageable. While the politics of human dignity are effective precisely because rights claims are emotionally charged, a human dignity test based on feelings of affront has operated poorly in the Canadian constitutional context. Canada serves as a cautionary tale in the maturation and institutionalisation of the human rights movement

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**Fernández Segado Francisco**

**La " Judicial Review" en la Pre-Marshall Court**

in *Teoria y realidad constitucional*, n. 28 , 133-178

Full text available at:

<http://e-spacio.uned.es/fez/eserv.php?pid=bibliuned:TeoriayRealidadConstitucional-2011-28-2030&dsID=Documento.pdf>

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

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**François Étienne**

**La Cour constitutionnelle fédérale et la culture juridique allemande**

in *Debat (Le)*, n. 168, janvier-février , 81-90

Reconnaissons-le d'emblée : si je n'avais pas eu la chance de passer plusieurs dizaines d'années de ma vie professionnelle en Allemagne et d'étudier de plus près l'histoire et la civilisation allemandes, il y a fort à parier que j'éprouverais face à la Cour constitutionnelle de Karlsruhe les mêmes réserves, voire les mêmes préjugés, que nombre de Français.

PLAN DE L'ARTICLE

Droit et politique  
Le Saint Empire  
L'État de droit  
Les raisons d'un succès  
Le contre-exemple français

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**Vicente Ugalde**



**La judiciarisation des relations intergouvernementales au Mexique depuis 1994**

in *Politique et sociétés*, revue de la Société québécoise de science politique, Volume 30, numéro 2 , 9-41

Marked by the electoral defeat of the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) in 2000, the transition of the political regime in Mexico has contributed to the diversification of the political-electoral geography. Among other consequences, this political plurality has revealed several intergovernmental conflicts previously concealed by the hegemony of the PRI. In this context, this article proposes a review of the procedure for controlling constitutionality (constitutional controversy), reformed in 1994 to evaluate the growing intervention of the Supreme Court in resolving conflicts between government units and levels. More specifically, the aim is to identify the procedures proposed by the municipalities and locate the domains involved as well as the trends in resolutions concerning municipal authorities. This review will make it possible to identify the fields of intervention of the municipalities and means of action (laws, regulations, decrees and budgets) for which intergovernmental relations are fairly controversial.

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Malenovsky Jiri

**Les éléments constitutifs du mandat des juges de la Cour de justice à l'épreuve du temps: l'iceberg commence à fondre**

in *Diritto dell'Unione europea*, n. 4 , 801-836

No abstract available

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The Honorable Paul J. De Muniz

**Overturing Precedent: The Case for Judicial Activism in Reengineering State Courts**

in *New York University Law Review* , Vol. 87, issue 1 , 1-20

In the Seventeenth Annual Justice William J. Brennan, Jr. Lecture on State Courts and Social Justice, Paul J. De Muniz, Chief Justice of the Oregon Supreme Court, discusses the challenges confronting state judiciaries in the face of economic crises and corresponding state budget cuts. Chief Justice De Muniz urges state court leaders to adopt the concept of reengineering to overhaul antiquated court management processes in favor of more efficient alternatives. Drawing from the Oregon state judiciary's own efforts, Chief Justice De Muniz identifies court governance structures, case administration, essential court functions, and leadership as key targets in any successful reengineering endeavor

Full text available at:

[http://www.law.nyu.edu/ecm\\_dlv3/groups/public/@nyu\\_law\\_website\\_\\_journals\\_\\_law\\_review/documents/documents/ecm\\_pro\\_072213.pdf](http://www.law.nyu.edu/ecm_dlv3/groups/public/@nyu_law_website__journals__law_review/documents/documents/ecm_pro_072213.pdf)

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Kauanui J. Kehaulani

**Queer Critique and Federal Indian Policy**

in *American Quarterly*, vol. 64, n. 1, March , 163-169

Many American studies scholars are familiar with the landmark decision of the U.S. Supreme Court in *Johnson v. McIntosh*, 21 U.S. (8 Wheat.) 543 (1823), which held that private citizens could not purchase lands from Native Americans. The case is the first in what has come to be known as the “Marshall Trilogy,” named after Chief Justice John Marshall, which also includes *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* and *Worcester v. Georgia*. The trio is a staple in nearly every case relating to the question of tribal nations’ exercise of self-determination. In *McIntosh*, the court laid out the foundations of the “doctrine of discovery,” which created the concept of “aboriginal title” to land but denied Indian tribes the same rights to land as the European colonizers because under the Law of Nations based on this doctrine, Indians are “an inferior race of savages.” As Native legal scholars have pointed out, the court perpetuated a racist judicial language of Indian savagery to define Indian rights.

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

*Subsection 6. The judiciary branch*

Fiseha Assefa

**Separation of powers and its implications for the judiciary in Ethiopia**

in *Journal of Eastern African Studies* , Volume 5, Issue 4, Special Issue: "Ethiopia's revolutionary democracy, 1991–2011" , 702-715

This paper examines the role of the judiciary in Ethiopia. Implicit in the notion of separation of powers is the fact that the judiciary has a crucial role in resolving disputes impartially, ensuring the rule of law and in setting limits to power. Yet in Ethiopia the legislature has sought to take away power from the courts, placing them in quasi-judicial bodies within the executive. The judiciary has also failed to check that the executive is acting within the framework of the law. The overall assessment is that the judiciary has not yet defined its role; has not properly interpreted the concept of separation of powers; and has not yet become a key organ for enforcing human rights. The judiciary has abdicated its core function of reviewing acts and decisions of the executive and administrative agencies and is in danger of paving the way for arbitrary and unchecked government.

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

*Subsection 6. The judiciary branch*

Claes Monica, de Visser Maartje

**The Argumentative Status of Foreign Legal Arguments**

in *Utrecht Law Review*, Vol. 8, issue 2 , 100-114

This article critically examines the functioning of European judicial networks as one modality of transnational dialogues between judges. In order to provide a conceptual framework, we first explore the meaning of the concepts of 'network', 'dialogue' and 'constitutional pluralism' and find that existing channels of communication between national courts and the CJEU hardly qualify as real dialogues. Then follows an in-depth examination of the practical workings of a number of well-established and active European judicial networks, which bring together judges who are more or less at the same level in their domestic judicial hierarchy and have similar functions in their respective legal systems. This involves determining who participates in judicial networks; how and to what end dialogues are conducted within these forums;





and why judges may be motivated to participate in such networks. Using these insights, we argue that networks require a change in legal thinking, which is facilitated in the EU context by the constitutionalism pluralism discourse. Further, judicial networks have the potential to increase the dialogic qualities of the relationship between the CJEU and national courts, while they may at the same time affect the balance within that relationship in favour of the national courts.

Full text available at:

<http://www.utrechtlawreview.org/index.php/ulr/article/viewFile/URN%3ANBN%3ANL%3AUI%3A10-1-101443/195>

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

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**Benvenisti Eyal, Downs George W**

**The Democratizing Effects of Transjudicial Coordination**

**in Utrecht Law Review**, Vol. 8, issue 2 , 158-171

There are growing indications that transjudicial dialogue among national courts has increased in recent years and that it has become more routinized. We argue below that this trend is at least partially motivated by the efforts of these courts to: (1) address a 'judicial deficit' that has resulted from the broad transfer of regulatory policy-making authority from the domestic to the international sphere; and (2) curb pro-executive interpretations of regulatory rules on the part of less politically insulated international tribunals. While recognizing the dangers of 'le gouvernement des juges', we suggest that, at least in the short term, the expanded role of national courts can operate to enhance rather than pre-empt domestic political processes and promote accountability to diverse democratic concerns by providing opportunities for national legislatures and civil society to weigh in on matters subject to executive discretion or international regulation.

Full text available at:

<http://www.utrechtlawreview.org/index.php/ulr/article/view/201>

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

*Subsection 6. The judiciary branch*

**Guobadia Osahon O.**

**The Relevance of the Judiciary in a Democratic Nigeria**

**in African Journal of International and Comparative Law**, Volume 20, Number 2 , 301-317

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

*Subsection 6. The judiciary branch*

**Ryan C. Black and Christina L. Boyd**

**The Role of Law Clerks in the U.S. Supreme Court's Agenda-Setting Process**

**in American Politics Research**, Vol. 40, n. 1, January , 147-173

Do law clerks influence the decisions made by justices on the U.S. Supreme Court? Although numerous studies of law



clerk influence exist, none has controlled for alternative factors that lead a justice to behave in a particular way even absent the actions of the law clerk. Turning to the Court's agenda-setting stage, we draw from archival materials contained in the private papers of Justice Harry A. Blackmun to address this precise issue. Our results suggest that once a justice's initial voting inclinations in a case are controlled for, the ability of a law clerk to systematically alter a justice's vote is conditioned on the quality of the petition, the direction of the clerk's recommendation, and the ideological closeness of the pool clerk and voting justice. Given the closeness of many agenda-setting votes, we suggest that clerk influence could be the determining factor in whether a case is granted review by the Court.

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Cliff Carrubba, Barry Friedman, Andrew D. Martin and Georg Vanberg

**Who Controls the Content of Supreme Court Opinions?**

in **American Journal of Political Science**, Volume 56, Issue 2, April 2012 , 400-412

Conventional arguments identify either the median justice or the opinion author as the most influential justices in shaping the content of Supreme Court opinions. We develop a model of judicial decision making that suggests that opinions are likely to reflect the views of the median justice in the majority coalition. This result derives from two features of judicial decision making that have received little attention in previous models. The first is that in deciding a case, justices must resolve a concrete dispute, and that they may have preferences over which party wins the specific case confronting them. The second is that justices who are dissatisfied with an opinion are free to write concurrences (and dissents). We demonstrate that both features undermine the bargaining power of the Court's median and shift influence towards the coalition median. An empirical analysis of concurrence behavior provides significant support for the model

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

*Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism*

Majocchi Alberto

**Il federalismo fiscale in Italia e in Europa**

in **Il Ponte**, Numero 2-3 - Febbraio-Marzo 2012

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism*

Parolari Sara, Valdesalici Alice

**La Provincia autonoma di Trento. Verso il consolidamento dell'autonomia finanziaria**

in **Istituzioni del federalismo**, n. 1 , 101 - 142

No abstract available

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

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Vesan Patrik

**La Valle d'Aosta. Le implicazioni politiche e finanziarie del federalismo fiscale**

in *Istituzioni del federalismo*, n. 1 , 27 - 62

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Morin Danielle, Megas Sarah

**Caisse de dépôt et placement du Québec : Je me souviens ...**

in *Canadian Public Administration*, Vol. 55, issue 1 , 91–123

The Caisse de dépôt et placement du Québec was created during the Quiet Revolution (la Révolution tranquille), which began on 22 June 1960 following the election of the Liberal Party whose leader, Jean Lesage, called for francophone Quebecers to reclaim control of their destiny. Thus, promoting the economic development of Quebec was not only the Caisse's raison d'être, but also its primary mandate. This noble mission was defended by successive governments until the early 2000s. In 2008, when seemingly invincible financial institutions such as the American Lehman Brothers investment bank went bankrupt, the Caisse recorded losses of \$40 billion. We argue that the collapse of the Caisse was precipitated by revolutionary actions, in the sense described by Kahn (2006), taken by the executive directors of the Caisse and the Charest government during the years prior to its downfall. In 2008, the Caisse had become, first and foremost, an investment fund manager designed to yield profits for its depositors. The downfall of the Caisse eloquently illustrates a drawback of market logic when shamelessly applied to the administration of public funds.

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

James Alm, H. Spencer Banzhaf

**Designing Economic Instruments for the Environment in a Decentralised Fiscal System**

in *Journal of Economic Surveys*, volume 26 n.2 , 177-202

When external effects are important, markets will be inefficient, and economists have considered several broad classes of economic instruments to correct these inefficiencies. However, the standard economic analysis has tended to take the region, and the government, as a given; that is, this work has neglected important distinctions and interactions between the geographic scope of different pollutants, the enforcement authority of various levels of government, and the fiscal responsibilities of the various levels of government. It typically ignores the possibility that the externality may be created and addressed by local governments, and it does not consider the implications of decentralization for the design of economic instruments targeted at environmental problems. This paper examines the implications of decentralization for the design of corrective policies; that is, how does one design economic instruments in a decentralized fiscal system in which externalities exist at the local level and in which subnational governments have the power to provide local public services and to choose tax instruments that can both finance these expenditures and correct the market failures of externalities?

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*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Wang Wen, Hou Yilin

**Do Local Governments Save and Spend Across Budget Cycles? Evidence From North Carolina**  
in *American Review of Public Administration (The)*, March 2012; 42 (2) , 152-169

The fiscal crisis encountered by state-local governments since 2008 has again made prominent the issue of how to better prepare for and stabilize expenditures during recessions. Does the stabilization function of government, and its theory, still hold? Previous studies focus on federal and state levels; only a few look at local governments. This article explores whether localities save and spend across the boom-bust cycle; we intend to identify the determinants of local government savings and estimate the impact of savings on stabilizing expenditures. Unlike some early evidence that shows countercyclical stabilization properties of local unreserved general fund balance, the empirical results of our study on North Carolina counties do not support the stabilization role by localities. This study carries timely and important implications for state/local policy making and financial operations; it also adds to the literature on the stabilization function of government.

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Ximena Coronado

**Elementos para la Formulación de una Política de Crédito Público Subnacional en Bolivia**  
in *Latin American Journal of Economic Development*, No. 10, Agosto 2008

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Dahlberg, Matz - Eklöf, Matias - Fredriksson, Peter - Jofre-Monseny, Jordi

**Estimating Preferences for Local Public Services Using Migration Data**  
in *Urban Studies*, volume 49 n.2 , 319-336

Using Swedish micro data, the paper examines the impact of local public services on community choice. The choice of community is modelled as a choice between a discrete set of alternatives. It is found that, given taxes, high spending on child care attracts migrants. Less conclusive results are obtained with respect to the role of spending on education and elderly care. High local taxes deter migrants. Relaxing the independence of the irrelevant alternatives assumption, by estimating a mixed logit model, has a significant impact on the results.

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Tillmann Lisa, Wigger Berthold U.

**Federal TAX Competition – How does the Institutional Structure of a Country change Tax Outcomes?**



in **Scottish Journal of Political Economy**, May 2012 - Volume 59, Issue 2 , 162-178

The interrelations of taxation and federal structure have been extensively analysed from various perspectives. The present paper looks at two competing countries of different institutional structures. It examines how the tax rates set at each level of both countries vary in a given setting, when a federal and a unitary country compete for mobile tax base, or both countries are organised as federations. The paper discusses whether or not tax rates set in every jurisdiction will be too high or too low in equilibrium. The externalities triggered by a tax regime change are analysed and the respective impact on revenues is considered. The results essentially hinge on the relative strategic interaction of tax rates, as well as the elasticity of the tax base with respect to the tax rate.

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**Evers Michael P.**

**Federal fiscal transfer rules in monetary unions**

in **European Economic Review**, Volume 56, Issue 3, April 2012 , 507-525

This paper considers simple rules for federal fiscal transfers that automatically redistribute funds among member states of a monetary union to counteract adverse idiosyncratic shocks. The transfer rules target regional differences in nominal GDP, consumption spending, labor income, and fiscal deficits. Targeting regional fiscal deficits is the only rule that reduces consumption fluctuations and that promotes interregional consumption risk sharing, but the overall welfare effect is negative. In contrast, targeting regional differences in labor income yields the largest welfare gains, but it also yields the largest fluctuations in consumption and real GDP. It is demonstrated that the welfare gains primarily stem from reducing the allocative inefficiency of input factors caused by nominal rigidities. The optimal transfer rule essentially implies a combination of consumption spending and labor income targeting, and it primarily targets the allocative inefficiency of factor inputs at the cost of lower interregional consumption risk sharing.

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

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**Grasso Giorgio**

**Federalism, Fiscal Federalism and Health Federalism: Standard Costs in Legislative Decree No. 68 of May 6th, 2011**

in **Perspectives on federalism**, Vol. 3, issue 3 , E- 71-93

This paper analyses the regulation of standard costs in Legislative Decree No. 68/2011. It begins with an examination of some concepts that are often confused in the scientific and political debate, such as federalism, fiscal federalism and health federalism (see first section). Then, in the second section, it investigates the main differences between the regional and federal State and verifies whether references to federalism are made in the Italian Constitution under the new Title V. The third section focuses on the notion of fiscal federalism in Law No. 42/2009 and in Legislative Decree No. 68/2011 regarding the standard requirements of Municipalities, Metropolitan Cities and Provinces. The fourth section examines the close relationship between fiscal federalism and health federalism in Legislative Decrees No. 229/1999 and No. 56/2000 while also trying to understand the historical context in which the two concepts were initially envisaged. Finally, with the firm belief that federalism and health protection must go hand in hand, especially after the constitutional reform of 2001, the fifth section examines the procedure laid down by Legislative Decree No. 68/2011 in



order to identify the benchmark Regions and consequent standard costs that will be applied from 2013 on in all the other Italian Regions. In the conclusion of this paper, some critical points, such as the age factor, the only criteria of calculation employed by Legislative Decree No. 68/2011, are highlighted, leading us to propose some minor amendments to the text of the Decree.

Full text available at:

<http://www.on-federalism.eu/index.php/giorgio-grasso/83-essay/107-federalism-fiscal-federalism-and-health-federalism-standard-costs-in-legislative-decree-no-68-of-may-6th-2011>

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

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Palermo Francesco

**Federalismo fiscale e Regioni a statuto speciale. Vecchi nodi vengono al pettine**

in *Istituzioni del federalismo*, n. 1 , 9 - 26

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism*

Muse-Fisher John

**Financing a new nation: a comparative study of the financial roots of the USA and Gran Colombia**

in *Journal of Global History*, Volume 7 - Issue 01 - March , 3-26

The structure of the USA and the countries that emerged from the remains of Gran Colombia ultimately took different shapes from those suggested in the era immediately after independence, particularly in regard to the extent of each state's fiscal and monetary capacities. This article applies Oszlak's model of 'stateness' to the early financial and monetary histories of the USA (roughly 1776–93) and Gran Colombia (roughly 1819–35) to assess and compare the role of financial and monetary capacities in long-run state consolidation and economic development. The US was ultimately more successful than Gran Colombia at adapting its financial and monetary capacities and institutions, creating better conditions for the attainment of 'stateness', stronger economic growth, and greater endurance as a national entity. The comparison ultimately suggests a reciprocal relationship between the legitimization of a state's authority (that is, state consolidation) and the development and solidification of fiscal and monetary capacities.

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

*Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism*

John Thornton, Bangor Gwynedd

**Fiscal Decentralization and Governance**

in *Public Finance Review*, volume 40 n.1 , 66-85





The literature on the economics of fiscal decentralization stresses the potential for both positive and negative effects on governance in a country. Using a data set comprising sixty-four developed and developing economies and several different measures of fiscal decentralization, the authors find that countries in which a larger share of fiscal revenues and expenditures are located at the level of subnational governments appear to be less corrupt. The authors also find that the beneficial impact of fiscal decentralization on corruption is mitigated in the presence of mechanisms enforcing vertical administrative decentralization. The results indicate that fiscal decentralization appears to reduce corruption even in countries in which there is a high degree of political representation. The results are robust to alternative estimation methodologies and to specifications that control for the influence of variables that have been identified as affecting governance.

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*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Philippe Widmer, Peter Zweifel

**Fiscal Equalization, Tiebout Competition, and Incentives for Efficiency in a Federalist Country**  
in *Public Finance Review*, volume 40 n.1 , 13-29

he purpose of this article is twofold. First, it measures the efficiency in the provision of public goods by local jurisdictions applying data envelopment analysis (DEA). Second, it relates efficiency scores to a fiscal equalization scheme designed to mitigate the negative consequences of Tiebout competition. The data come from the twenty-six cantons of Switzerland (2000–2004), a country characterized by marked federalism. Results show the equalization scheme to indeed have a negative influence on performance, resulting in an efficiency–equity trade-off. However, substitution of earmarked payments by lump-sum payments as part of the 2008 reform is likely to enhance cantonal performance.

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Hepp Ralf, von Hagen Jürgen

**Fiscal Federalism in Germany: Stabilization and Redistribution Before and After Unification**  
in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, vol. 42, n. 2, Spring , 234-259

We provide estimates of the risk-sharing and redistributive properties of the German federal fiscal system based on data from 1970 to 2006, with special attention to the effects of German unification. Tax revenue sharing between the states and the federal government and the fiscal equalization mechanism (Länderfinanzausgleich) together reduce differences in per-capita state incomes by almost 40 percent. The federal fiscal system offsets 47 percent of an asymmetric shock to state per-capita incomes. This effect has significantly decreased after the inclusion of the East German states in 1995. Furthermore, we find that the German fiscal system provides almost perfect insurance for state government budgets against asymmetric revenue shocks; also, its redistributive effect with regard to the tax resources available to state governments is very strong.

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Gillette Clayton P.

**Fiscal Federalism, Political Will, and Strategic Use of Municipal Bankruptcy**



in *University of Chicago Law Review*, Vol. 79, issue 1 , 284-331

Municipalities in fiscal distress may seek to adjust debts under Chapter 9 of the Bankruptcy Code either because they are truly destitute or because they lack the political will to adopt difficult resource adjustments. Local officials of municipalities that enter bankruptcy proceedings nevertheless retain political authority over municipal fiscal affairs. The decision to enter bankruptcy, however, may have significant financial consequences for other municipalities or for more centralized levels of government.

Those externalities induce central governments to consider bailouts for distressed municipalities. In order to avoid moral hazard problems, central governments typically impose harsh restrictions on local officials as a condition of bailout. This dual system of rescue for distressed municipalities—bailouts and bankruptcy—permits local officials to threaten to file under Chapter 9 and thus to impose costs on central governments, unless the latter modify the conditions of bailouts. In this Article, I suggest that allowing bankruptcy courts to impose resource adjustments serves to neutralize the strategic behavior of local officials and thus encourages localities to internalize the costs of their activities in a manner more consistent with the tenets of fiscal federalism

Full text available at:

[https://lawreview.uchicago.edu/sites/lawreview.uchicago.edu/files/uploads/79\\_1/11%20Gillette%20ART.pdf](https://lawreview.uchicago.edu/sites/lawreview.uchicago.edu/files/uploads/79_1/11%20Gillette%20ART.pdf)

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Wang Wen, Zheng Xinye, Zhao Zhirong

**Fiscal Reform and Public Education Spending: A Quasi-natural Experiment of Fiscal Decentralization in China**  
in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, vol. 42, n. 2, Spring , 334-356

Since the 1990s, China has pushed forward the province-managing-county (PMC) reform in some provinces as an experiment of fiscal decentralization. The reform provides a good opportunity to examine the impact of fiscal decentralization on fiscal behaviors of local governments in China. Using a data set of 108 counties in Henan Province during 1999–2008, we employ a difference-in-differences approach to investigate how the PMC reform affects local public education spending. The results show that counties given additional fiscal autonomy tend to spend a lower share of their annual expenditures on public education than other counties do. The findings suggest that fiscal decentralization does not necessarily make local governments more responsive to long-term benefits for local residents.

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*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Isabel Argimón, Pablo Hernández de Cos

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

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

This article analyses the role of different potential determinants on the fiscal results of the Spanish regions (RGs). The empirical analysis suggests several conclusions. First, the fiscal rule in force between 1992 and 1998 does not appear



to have had a significant effect on the fiscal balances of the autonomous regions. With regard to the degree of fiscal autonomy, a higher level in this variable is associated with a more disciplined behavior by RGs. The results also show that the greater transfer of tax revenues to the RGs, associated with a greater devolution of power, has generated greater dependency of fiscal performance on the economic cycle. There is also a strong inertial component in the implementation of fiscal policy in RGs.

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

*Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism*

**H. Spencer Banzhafa, B. Andrew Chupp**

**Fiscal federalism and interjurisdictional externalities: New results and an application to US Air pollution**  
in *Journal of Public Economics*, volume 96 n. 5-6 , 449-464

The economics of fiscal federalism has identified two book-end departures from first-best provision of a public good. Local governments may respond to local conditions, but ignore inter-jurisdictional spillovers. Alternatively, central governments may internalize spillovers, but impose uniform incentives ignoring local heterogeneity. We provide a simple model that demonstrates that the choice of pricing policy also depends crucially on a third factor, the shape of marginal costs of providing the public good. If marginal costs are convex, then marginal abatement cost elasticities will be higher around the local policies. This increases the deadweight loss of those policies relative to the centralized policy, *ceteris paribus*. If they are concave, then the opposite is true.

Using a detailed simulation model of the US electricity sector, we then empirically explore these tradeoffs for US air pollution. We find that US states acting in their own interest lose about 31.5% of the potential first-best benefits, whereas the second-best uniform policy loses only 0.2% of benefits. The centralized policy outperforms the state policy for two reasons. First, inter-state spillovers are simply more important than inter-state heterogeneity in this application. Second, because of the convexity of the marginal cost functions, elasticities are much lower over the range relevant to the centralized policy, dampening the distortions.

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**Moscovich Lorena**

**From Top To Bottom (and Back To The Top Again): Federal Spending, Sub-national Coalitions, and Protests in Argentina, 2002–2006**

in *Journal of Politics in Latin America* , Vol 4, No. 1 , 35-72

Can federal-state relations affect popular protests? Using an extensive dataset measuring local protests in the Argentine provinces (2002–2006), I assess the effects of the president's and governors' tactical allocations on the persistence of contentious events. I analyze how the delivery of federal resources, to both provincial governments and local social organizations, affects the chances of protests occurrence and the nature of its demands. Results show that federal spending increases the frequency of protests in the Argentine provinces, particularly when provincial governments are not involved in its delivery. In addition, protest demands are sensitive to president's discretionary expenditure, suggesting a different dynamics in which protests became a legitimate channel to obtain federal monies.

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*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

José Luis Evia, Ximena Coronado & Markus Steinich

**Hacia dónde se Encamina la Descentralización Fiscal en Bolivia?**

in *Latin American Journal of Economic Development*, No. 10, Agosto 2008

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Pallante Francesco

**I diritti sociali tra federalismo e principio di eguaglianza sostanziale**

in *Diritto pubblico*, numero : 1, gennaio-aprile , 249-292

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Ieraci Giuseppe

**Il Friuli-Venezia Giulia. Autonomia finanziaria senza tassazione, un'occasione?**

in *Istituzioni del federalismo*, n. 1 , 143 - 178

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Nitti Nicola

**Il federalismo fiscale e le disposizioni dettate dalla «manovra Monti»**

in *Nuova rassegna di legislazione, dottrina e giurisprudenza*, n. 2

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Leonardo Ugarte

**Implicaciones de las Reformas Constitucionales y de los Estatutos Autonómicos en el Sistema Tributario**

in *Latin American Journal of Economic Development*, No. 10, Agosto 2008

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Karuppusamy, Shanthi - Carr, Jered B.

**Interjurisdictional Competition and Local Public Finance: Assessing the Modifying Effects of Institutional Incentives and Fiscal Constraints**

in *Urban Studies*, volume 49 n.7 , 1549-1570

Analysts have sought for years to explain the variations in municipal expenditures across communities, with only modest success. However, recent efforts combining core propositions from the 'Leviathan' and 'municipal reform' frameworks show considerable promise. This paper contributes to this emerging literature by developing and testing a framework using more complex measures of municipal structure. It is proposed that the effect of interjurisdictional competition on city spending is conditioned by the incentives for spending created by the city's municipal structure and the limitations imposed by the community's fiscal capacity. The analysis of expenditure patterns in 263 Michigan cities provides clear support for the proposition of contingent effects of fiscal capacity. The evidence for municipal structure is more modest, but supportive of the predicted effects. It is thought that these findings confirm the value of this approach to studying this topic and offer a direction for others to follow.

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*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Kessler Anke S., Hansen Nico A., Lessmann Christian

**Interregional Redistribution and Mobility in Federations: A Positive Approach**

in *Review of Economic Studies*, Volume 78 Issue 4 October 2011 , 1345-1378

The paper studies the effects and the determinants of interregional redistribution in a model of residential and political choice. We find that paradoxical consequences of interjurisdictional transfers arise if people are mobile: while self-sufficient regions are necessarily identical with respect to policies and average incomes in our model, interregional redistribution always leads to the divergence of regional policies and per capita incomes. Thus, interregional redistribution prevents interregional equality. At the same time, however, transfers may allow for more interpersonal equality among the inhabitants of each region. The voting population may therefore in a decision over the fiscal constitution deliberately implement such a transfer scheme to foster regional divergence. Empirical evidence from panel data from OECD countries and Canadian provinces is consistent with the theory.

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Pala Carlo

**La Sardegna. Dalla "vertenza entrate" al federalismo fiscale?**

in *Istituzioni del federalismo*, n. 1 , 213 - 244

No abstract available

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

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Profeti Stefania

**La Sicilia. Alla prova del federalismo fiscale**

in *Istituzioni del federalismo*, n. 1 , 179 - 212

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Moro Domenico

**La politica salva-Stati nelle unioni federali e nell'Unione europea**

in *Il Ponte*, Numero 2-3 - Febbraio-Marzo 2012

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Domorenok Ekaterina

**La provincia autonoma di Bolzano. Tendenze e criticità nel consolidamento dell'autonomia fiscale**

in *Istituzioni del federalismo*, n. 1 , 63 - 100

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Masini Fabio

**Lezioni dalla storia del pensiero economico**

in *Il Ponte*, Numero 2-3 - Febbraio-Marzo 2012

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Baldi Brunetta

**Regioni a statuto speciale e federalismo fiscale: un'analisi comparata**

in *Istituzioni del federalismo*, n. 1 , 245 - 280

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*





Oliver Landmann

**Rotating Slumps in a Monetary Union**

in *Open Economies Review*, volume 23 n.2 , 303-317

In the decade since its creation in 1999, the European Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) has experienced surprisingly large and persistent inflation differentials across member states causing substantial shifts in relative price levels. At the same time, member countries exhibited distinct non-synchronized output fluctuations, giving rise to a pattern of 'rotating slumps' (a term coined by Olivier Blanchard). This paper presents a stylized theoretical model of a monetary union which demonstrates how inflation differentials and relative output movements interact dynamically. A number of implications are derived from the model. In particular, national fiscal policies are shown to have an important role in containing internal macroeconomic disparities in a monetary union. An optimal fiscal policy rule is derived from the model for that purpose.

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Aur lie Cassette, Edoardo Di Portob, Dirk Foremny

**Strategic fiscal interaction across borders: Evidence from French and German local governments along the Rhine Valley**

in *Journal of Urban Economics*, volume 72 n. 1 , 17-30

This article contributes to the literature on local tax interactions. Its novelty lies in its focus on the interactions of local governments across national borders. We use panel data for the French and German municipalities in the Rhine Valley for the period 2000–2007. The local governments of each country influence firms' overall tax burdens, but the tax instruments available at the local level differ. We estimate panel models that distinguish between the effects of competing municipalities belonging to the same country and belonging to the other country. Our empirical model shows that local jurisdictions along borders choose their business tax rates based on those of their domestic neighbors and that foreign fiscal policy does not have an impact on the local domestic tax setting behavior in these contexts.

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Marcelo S nchez

**Structural Reform and Transparency in a Monetary Union**

in *Open Economies Review*, volume 23 n. 3 , 559-577

We assess how central bank transparency affects the incentives for labour market reform in a monetary union. We introduce transparency as affecting unemployment forecasts that provide information that the central bank has to the private sector and the governments. Under conditions of monetary policy opaqueness and inflation bias, we show that monetary union may induce more reform (as governments mitigate inflation surprises under idiosyncratic shocks), albeit to a lesser extent when inflation bias is only present at the national level. In the absence of inflation bias, central bank transparency, by eliminating inflation surprises in the face of idiosyncratic shocks, induces less reform in a currency union relative to monetary autonomy. Altogether, these results point to the need for a strong political commitment to reform so that member states benefit most from the combination of a credible and transparent single monetary policy with measures aimed at improving competitiveness and enhancing long-term growth.



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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Herrero-Alcalde Ana, Martinez-Vazquez Jorge, Murillo-Garcia Encarnacion

**The Challenge of Designing Capital Equalization Transfers: An Application to Spanish Regions**

in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, vol. 42, n. 2, Spring , 260-288

This article analyzes the main design issues of capital transfers with an equalization objective within a system of subnational finance. Although there is a vast literature and ample policy practice with the design of recurrent equalization grants, there is a dearth in the fiscal federalism literature at both the theoretical design and actual practice levels on how to use capital transfers with an interregional equalization objective. The main aims of this article are first, at the conceptual level, to identify the singular characteristics of capital expenditures and capital financing sources that would allow quantifying capital expenditure needs and financing capacity across subnational jurisdictions; and second, to use those measures to a capital equalization transfer formula applied at the Spanish regional level.

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Brosio Giorgio, Vannini Aldo

**The federalism of oil and environmental policy in Italy**

in *Politica economica*, 3, dicembre 2011 , 323-344

The paper focuses on the allocation of the rent from oil among levels of government and residents in Italy. While Italy is not particularly rich of natural resources, the production of hydrocarbons is not marginal and there are prospects for expansion of the production. A share of the rent appropriated by the public sector is assigned to Regions and Municipalities. Residents of the producing areas receive additional benefits from the producing companies and from the cash transfers from the central government. However, their perception of these benefits is lessened by the delayed implementation of the projects funded by the rent. This creates conflicts between the desire of the central government to expand the domestic production of oil, the concerns of environmental groups and the need of subnational governments to give adequate consideration to the environmental concerns of their citizens. Consistency between the assignment of the rent, on the one hand, and the management of environmental policy, on the other to the different levels of government becomes crucial to solve potential conflicts between governments and to ensure protection of the environment.

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Beck Hanno, Prinz Aloys

**The trilemma of a monetary union: Another impossible trinity**

in *Intereconomics*, Volume 47, Number 1 / January 2012 , 39-43

A monetary union among autonomous countries cannot simultaneously maintain an independent monetary policy, national fiscal sovereignty and a no-bailout clause. These three features make up an impossible trinity, and attempts to preserve all three concurrently will ultimately end in failure. In order to save EMU, one of these three must be



abandoned.

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

*Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism*

Carsten Hefeker and Blandine Zimmer

**Uncertainty and Fiscal Policy in an Asymmetric Monetary Union**

**in *Open Economies Review***, Volume 22, Number 1 , 163-178

We examine monetary and fiscal interactions in a monetary union model with uncertainty due to imperfect central bank transparency. It is first shown that monetary uncertainty discourages excessive taxation and may thus reduce average inflation and output distortions. However, as countries enter the monetary union, this tax-restraining effect of uncertainty is mitigated. The monetary union may hence lead to higher fiscal distortions in some member countries, depending on governments' spending targets and on the change in the degree of uncertainty implied by common monetary policy.

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

*Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism*

Mark P. Jones<sup>1</sup>, Osvaldo Meloni, Mariano Tommasi

**Voters as Fiscal Liberals: Incentives and Accountability in Federal Systems**

**in *Economics and Politics***, vol. 24 n. 2 , 135-156

Most empirical evidence indicates voters penalize deficits and spending growth. Contrary to this dominant finding, a few recent studies conclude that voters reward public spending. We reconcile these conflicting findings, positing that the structure of fiscal federalism in countries like Argentina causes voters to reward fiscal expansion because they perceive that this extra spending at the margin is not financed by them, but rather by the nation at large. We provide evidence and microfoundations for the electoral connection implicit in this argument: voters reward public spending when they can pass the cost on to someone else (e.g., as in Argentina), and punish it otherwise (e.g., as in the United States).

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

*Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism*

Lisa Grazzini and Alessandro Petretto

**Voting on devolution in a federal country with a bicameral national system**

**in *Economics of Governance***, volume 13 n.1 , 51-79

We analyse voting on the devolution of the responsibilities for the provision of public goods to local governments in a federal country, with a bicameral national legislature. In our set-up, devolution means a constitutional fiscal reform which reduces federal public expenditure on a local public good, and simultaneously increases the transfers received by regions, via a tax-sharing mechanism. This allows the regions to provide a greater amount of a local public good which can compensate for the reduction of that provided upon a federal basis. We show under which conditions such a devolution reform is adopted or rejected.

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



*Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism*

**«Government Performance and Result Act»: bilancio di prestazione e valutazione della spesa federale degli Stati Uniti**

in *Amministrare*, n. 1 , 119-176

The first structural reform of federal public administration in America, the Government Performance and Results Act, was passed by Congress in 1993. The bill introduced, with a well-structured approach, strategic planning to the United States. The General Accounting Office (an office that reported directly to Congress) was entrusted with supervising the implementation of the law. It ensured a steady improvement in the implementation of the law itself, and a greater awareness and consideration, on the part of individual departments and the government in general, of how and to what end public money was spent. As part of the bill, the Office of Management and Budget introduced two fundamental innovations, the Performance Budget and the Program Assessment Rating Tool, which served to guarantee the bond between the federal budget and the law governing strategic planning. In general, the strategic programme that was introduced by the Government Performance and Result Act did not represent, from a technical standpoint, a great innovation in terms of the number of experiments across different sectors. However, thanks in part to the introduction of the Performance Budget and the Program Assessment Rating Tool, it did move to homogenize procedures, to standardize definitions and create a long-term programme to manage public works on a vast scale.

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

*Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)*

Joshua R. Hendrickson

**An overhaul of Federal Reserve doctrine: Nominal income and the Great Moderation**

in *Journal of Macroeconomics*, volume 34 n.2 , 304-317

The Great Moderation is often characterized by the decline in the variability of output and inflation from earlier periods. While a multitude of explanations for the Great Moderation exist, notable research has focused on the role of monetary policy. Specifically, early evidence suggested that this increased stability is the result of monetary policy that responded much more strongly to realized inflation. Recent evidence casts doubt on this change in monetary policy. An alternative hypothesis is that the change in monetary policy was the result of a change in doctrine; specifically the rejection of the view that inflation was largely a cost-push phenomenon. As a result, this alternative hypothesis suggests that the change in monetary policy beginning in 1979 is reflected in the Federal Reserve's response to expectations of nominal income growth rather than realized inflation as previously argued. I provide evidence for this hypothesis by estimating the parameters of a monetary policy rule in which policy adjusts to forecasts of nominal GDP for the pre- and post-Volcker eras. Finally, I embed the rule in two dynamic stochastic general equilibrium models with gradual price adjustment to determine whether the overhaul of doctrine can explain the reduction in the volatility of inflation and the output gap.

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

*Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)*

João Ricardo Faria, André Varella Mollick, Adolfo Sachsida, Le Wang

**Do central banks affect Tobin's q?**

in *International Review of Economics and Finance*, volume 22 n. 1 , 1-10



Previous work has documented inflation effects on Tobin's  $q$  in the long run. This paper examines whether the FED's different policies and chairmen tenure have an impact on Tobin's  $q$ , after a modified stylized AD-AS model shows that central banks affect  $q$ . We do find changing responses of  $q$  depending on the pre-Volcker and post-Volcker periods.

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

*Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)*

Pope Robin, Selten Reinhard, Kaiser Johannes, Kube Sebastian, von Hagen Jürgen

**Exchange rate determination: a theory of the decisive role of central bank cooperation and conflict in International Economics and Economic Policy**, Volume 9, Number 1 / March 2012 , 13-51

Economists' faith that variable exchange rates benevolently equilibrate has been empirically disconfirmed. That faith is here tackled at its theoretical core with an exchange rate model that although ultra abstract, includes the undeniable fundamentals of market power and differential goals of central bankers and large-scale private players. It permits a game theoretic analysis under the assumption that all agents maximize their payoffs. The paper then relaxes the assumption of maximising agents, allowing for a more complex and thus realistic second version of the model that is interpretable within SKAT, the Stages of Knowledge Ahead Theory of risk and uncertainty. In an experimental setting, this second version of the model points to: a) the inability of agents in central banks, governments and the private real and financial sectors to operate in maximising ways; b) destructive central bank conflict; and c) the widely discrepant outcomes arising from the dynamics of individual personality differences. The paper's theoretical and empirical findings thus both point to the merits of a single world currency.

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Chiu, Iris H-Y

**Macroprudential supervision: critically examining the developments in the UK, EU and internationally in Law and Financial Markets Review**, volume 6 n.3 , 184-199

Macroprudential supervision has become a key aspect of financial regulation in the UK, EU and globally in the aftermath of the global financial crisis. This article examines the UK's and EU's post-crisis reforms in establishing regulatory infrastructures to carry out macroprudential supervision. The new regulatory infrastructures at the UK and EU levels would be based on two key aspects: comprehensive information surveillance and networked cooperation between key agencies but centred around central banks. The article critically discusses the difficulties and challenges in information surveillance in the UK and EU and draws some comparative insights with the Office for Financial Research established in the US. The article also argues that macroprudential supervision in the UK would likely be dominated by the Bank of England although a networked agency structure supports such supervision. Some implications of such domination are discussed. Central bank dominance in macro-prudential supervision is also likely to be the case at the EU level as well. However, the article warns that macroprudential supervision at the EU level remains vague and is likely to be bound up with other policies and objectives.

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

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Kai Hielscher



**Monetary Policy Delegation and Transparency of Policy Targets: A Positive Analysis**

in *German Economic Review*, volume 13 n.1 , 21-40

We show that, in a two-stage model of monetary policy with stochastic policy targets and asymmetric information, the transparency regime chosen by the central bank does never coincide with the regime preferred by society. Independent of society's endogenous choice of delegation, the central bank reveals its inflation target and conceals its output target. In contrast, society would prefer either transparency or opacity of both targets. As a conclusion, the choice of the transparency regime should be part of the optimal delegation solution.

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

*Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)*

Thanaset Chevapatrakul, Tae-Hwan Kim, Paul Mizen

**Monetary information and monetary policy decisions: Evidence from the euroarea and the UK**

in *Journal of Macroeconomics*, volume 34 n.2 , 326-341

This paper uses a modified New Keynesian framework to consider the use of monetary information in making monetary policy decisions. We add monetary indicators derived from theoretical models to conventional economic variables in an instrument rule and estimate the equations using euroarea and UK data recognizing that interest rates are set discretely. There is an improvement in the ability to predict changes in interest rates when we introduce monetary indicators which is robust to alternative model specifications. This result adds to a growing literature on the role of monetary indicators showing that this information helps predict interest rate decisions as well as inflation.

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*Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)*

Ronald McKinnon

**The Fed as the Engine of Worldwide Inflation**

in *Open Economies Review*, volume 23 n.1 , 109-112

The United States is a sovereign country that has the right to follow its own monetary policy. By an accident of history, since 1945 it is also the center of the world dollar standard—which remains surprisingly robust to the present day. So the choice of monetary policy by the U.S. Federal Reserve can strongly affect its neighbors for better or for worse. Beginning with the Nixon shock in 1971, American policy makers have frequently ignored foreign complaints. But by ignoring feedback effects from the rest of the world, the Fed has made both the world and American economies less stable.

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*Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)*

Barry Eichengreen and Marc Flandreau

**The Federal Reserve, the Bank of England, and the Rise of the Dollar as an International Currency, 1914–1939**

in *Open Economies Review*, volume 23 n.1 , 57-87

This paper provides new evidence on the rise of the dollar as an international currency, focusing on its role in the





conduct of trade and the provision of trade credit. We show that the shift to the dollar occurred much earlier than conventionally supposed: during and immediately after World War I. Not just market forces but also policy support—the Fed in its role as market maker—was important for the dollar's overtaking of sterling as the leading international currency. On balance, this experience challenges the popular notion of international currency status as being determined mainly by market size. It suggests that the popular image of strongly increasing returns and pervasive network externalities leaving room for only one monetary technology is misleading.

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

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Stefano Ugolini

**The origins of foreign exchange policy: the National Bank of Belgium and the quest for monetary independence in the 1850s**

in *European Review of Economic History*, volume 16 n.1 , 51-73

The monetary policy trilemma maintains that financial openness, fixed exchange rates, and monetary independence cannot coexist. Yet, in the 1850s, Belgium violated this prediction. Through a study of nineteenth-century monetary policy implementation, this article investigates the reasons for such success. This was mainly built on the stabilisation of central bank liquidity, not of exchange rates as assumed by the target-zone literature. Other ingredients included: the role of circulating bullion as a buffer for central bank reserves, the banking system's structural liquidity deficit towards the central bank, and the central bank's size relative to the money market.

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

*Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)*

Lomazoff Eric

**Turning (Into) “The Great Regulating Wheel”: The Conversion of the Bank of the United States, 1791–1811**

in *Studies in American Political Development* , Volume 26 - Issue 01 , 1-23

Two volumes have recently challenged the assumption that institutional change either (1) takes the form of gradual adaptation in the service of continuity, or (2) entails the abrupt breakdown of existing arrangements. This scholarship has demonstrated that change can also be simultaneously gradual and transformative. Conversion represents one type of such change; it involves the use of institutional resources for new purposes. I chronicle the conversion of the Bank of the United States (1791–1811) from a fiscal auxiliary of the federal government to an institution with both fiscal and monetary capacities. More generally, I ask whether this change squares with existing understandings of how conversion unfolds. Conversion is thought to occur when (1) new actors assume control, or (2) new challenges prompt the redeployment of resources. I ask whether the Bank's conversion resulted from (3) efforts by institutional elites to invent a rationale for deployment. I find that the change in question resulted from genuine concerns about the supply of bank credit in the Early Republic. With the details of this historical transformation in mind, I briefly digress in order to address repeated claims that the Bank of the United States was or became a “central bank” during this period.

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*Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)*

Peter Howitt

**What have central bankers learned from modern macroeconomic theory?**

in *Journal of Macroeconomics*, volume 34 n.1 , 11-22

In this essay I argue that modern macroeconomic theory has fallen behind the practice of central banking. After briefly summarizing the current state of macro theory, I focus on what strikes me as the two most important developments in monetary policy in the last two decades – inflation targeting and dealing with financial crises. My analysis rejects the claims made by several authors to the effect that the proliferation of inflation-targeting regimes around the globe represents an application of well-established principles of macroeconomic theory. As for how monetary policy can promote financial stability, a subject on which most economists agree modern theory has been of little help, I argue that macroeconomics has lost touch with the fundamental *raison d'être* of central banking. My diagnosis is that macroeconomic theory has become distracted by its preoccupation with states of equilibrium, a preoccupation that inhibits analysis of a market economy's coordination mechanisms. I conclude with a plea for a more diverse ecology of approaches to macroeconomic theory, one that finds room for agent-based computational economics as well as for more conventional equilibrium theories.

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

OLIVEIRA, Marcelo Fernandes, LUVIZOTTO, Caroline Klaus.

**Cooperação técnica internacional: aportes teóricos**

in *Revista Brasileira de Política internacional* , vol.54 no.2 , 05-21

Induced by a structural change in international society's dynamics, many municipalities, through the practice of the so-called paradiplomacy or federative diplomacy, have been elaborating municipal management tools towards getting resources through International Technical Cooperation's (ITC) experience. In this context, this paper purports to map the concept of the ITC phenomena, aiming at facilitating its comprehension and its practical consequences to Brazilian society.

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*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Corsi Cecilia

**A First Important Experience in Participatory Democracy in Italy: Region of Tuscany Law No. 69 of 27 December 2007**

in *Perspectives on federalism*, Vol. 4, issue 1 , E- 191-207

Participatory democracy is a theme of growing interest in Italy, in both cultural debate and administrative practice. Some Regions have felt a need to provide a legislative framework in order to facilitate and finance these experiments. The first to do so was the Region of Tuscany which, in December 2007, approved a law that lays down "rules concerning the promotion of participation in the elaboration of regional and local policies."

The law regulates two principal typologies of participatory processes, namely: 1) public debate; 2) the Region's support for such processes. In order to guide and manage these processes, the institution and regulation of a Regional Authority designed to guarantee and promote such participation has been provided for, in the form of a monocratic organ to be



held by a person competent in the field of public law or political science or of proven experience in participatory methodologies and practices.

Public debate assumes the form of an articulated discussion on major measures with possible significant impacts of an environmental, territorial, social and/or economic nature, but it must be emphasised that, during these years when the law has been in force, no request for public debate has been submitted and therefore, to date, this process of participation has never been put into practice.

The support of the Region concerns smaller participatory projects that have to do with “the allocation of public resources”; the law does not specifically define or actually circumscribe the effective ambit of the support of the Region, but limits itself to stating that participatory projects other than public debate are involved. During these years since the law has been in force, many projects have been supported by the Region of Tuscany and with objects varying greatly. Regional Law 69/2007 has been an important driving force: it will suffice to consider that half of the participatory processes completed in these years in Italy took place in Tuscany pursuant to this law; much, however, must still be done to fulfil the principles regarding participation. Above all, the fact that no public debate procedure has been initiated cannot be left unsaid. We are at the beginning of a process which, if it is not to be halted, needs to be supported by the political class, which should be the first to recognise it as an instrument for making emerge and for reconciling so many different and sometimes opposing interests involved in public policies

Full text available at:

<http://www.on-federalism.eu/index.php/cecilia-corsi/101-essay/126-a-first-important-experience-in-participatory-democracy-in-italy-region-of-tuscany-law-no-69-of-27-december-2007>

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Travis G. Coan Tadeusz Kugler

**All Foreign Direct Investment Is Local: Indian Provincial Politics and the Attraction of FDI  
in South Asia Economic Journal, 13 n.1 , 27-50**

This study focuses on the differences between Indian states in terms of banking infrastructure, size of the economic market and most importantly provincial-level political capacity that creates the pull of foreign direct investment (FDI). While the majority of the extant empirical literature examines national-level data, few studies analyze international capital formation at the provincial level and the dynamics of sub-national political capacity—that is, where allocations are made and policies are implemented. This study corrects for this deficiency. Using data at the provincial level in India over the period 2000–2005, we find an inverted-U-shaped relationship between provincial capacity and FDI, suggesting the presence of a critical point at which additional extractive capabilities have negative implications for foreign capital accumulation. The results suggest a number of important policy implications, allowing researchers to identify specific regions in which capacity is likely to facilitate investment, while also providing a political–economic model to better-forecast changes in investment at the sub-national level in India.

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Happaerts Sander



**Are you Talking to us? How Subnational Governments Respond to Global Sustainable Development Governance**

in *European Environment/Environmental Policy and Governance*, Volume 22, Issue 2, March-April , 127-142

Subnational governments (such as provinces, states or regions) are largely ignored in international policy documents on sustainable development, and they are not recognized in multilateral decision-making. Nevertheless, many subnational governments have launched sustainable development policies. This article examines to what extent they take global sustainable development governance into account when doing so. The theoretical framework presents two mechanisms of international influence, building mostly upon the policy convergence literature. That framework is then applied on a comparative policy analysis of five subnational governments: North Holland (the Netherlands), North Rhine-Westphalia (Germany), Wallonia (Belgium), Flanders (Belgium) and Quebec (Canada). The findings show that subnational governments with a distinct territorial identity react differently on international trends from other subnational governments. Flanders and Quebec, which have such an identity, follow the rules and decision-making procedures of the international sustainable development regime, and they translate the norms and principles into their policies. The article also finds that the influence of international policies is determined by the active participation of subnational governments in multilateral decision-making. Finally, it is argued that the legitimacy pressures exerted by international organizations on lower-level governments to adopt certain policies have a varying impact on subnational governments dependent on their domestic context.

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*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Kerrouche Éric

**Bilan de l'intercommunalité à la française dans une perspective européenne : une réforme territoriale incomplète**

in *Revue française d'administration publique*, n. 141 , 37-53

A European Perspective on Inter-Communal Co-operation in France: Territorial Reform Remains Incomplete — This article sheds light on the specific characteristics of French inter-communal co-operation as it has developed over the past 20 years. Through a comparison of structures at municipal level in France with such structures in other European countries and a discussion of the surge of inter-municipal co-operation, the article demonstrates how the current situation is the result of a failed attempt to implement complete territorial reform. Despite of the benefits of increased inter-communal co-operation, this failure has nevertheless had a pernicious effect on the current functioning French municipalities as a whole

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*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Faure Alain

**Changer sans perdre, le dilemme cornélien des Élus locaux**



in *Revue française d'administration publique*, n. 141 , 99-107

Implementing Change without Detrimental Consequences: The Cornelian dilemma faced by Local Elected Representatives — There was a great deal of momentum for reform with the long-awaited law of 16 December 2010. How and why did this initial fervour for reform so quickly wane and sometimes enter into direct conflict with the shared ideas for change aroused early on? This analysis mainly addresses the stance taken in this controversy by local-level elected representatives. They feel, on the one hand, that implementing these changes will cause them to “lose face” in the local political arena, and on the other, that their cities may lose their soul and their collective identity. These two narratives provide precious insight into the dependence created by images of politics and change in local government action.

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Bosch Núria, Espasa Marta, Mora Toni

**Citizen control and the efficiency of local public services**

in *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, Volume 30, Issue 2, April , 248-266

It is generally accepted that fiscal decentralization increases citizen control over politicians, fostering accountability and increasing efficiency. We identify the socioeconomic characteristics of citizens that increase their control over local policy makers and thus generate greater efficiency in a decentralized context. We also highlight the fiscal characteristics that influence this control and efficiency. The study examines a sample of Spanish municipalities, applying a methodology based on the conventional procedure of two-stage estimation. The results provide a certain amount of empirical evidence that suggests that the strong presence of retailers and retired people favours citizen control, which fosters accountability and efficiency. A factor that facilitates this control, and therefore greater efficiency, is the presence of low opportunity costs for obtaining information regarding local public service management. We also demonstrate that a high level of taxation does not lead to greater control by citizens and that transfers generate the ‘flypaper effect’.

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Adams Brian E.

**Citizens, Interest Groups, and Local Ballot Initiatives**

in *Politics & Policy*, Vol. 40, Issue 1, February , 43-68

The state-level ballot initiative process has been criticized for failing to live up to the progressive ideals of a citizen-driven, grassroots endeavor. Much less attention, however, has been paid to the initiative process on the local level. This article assesses the democratic credentials of the local initiative process by analyzing which groups sponsor initiatives and what types of issues they attempt to influence. Using a dataset of California initiatives between 2001 and 2008, I find that the local initiative process is a mix of interest group politics and citizen-driven efforts. There are many



examples of “grassroots” campaigns that resemble twentieth-century progressives' hopes for direct democracy. By contrast, established interest groups frequently use ballot measures to accomplish their political goals, similar to dynamics observed at the statewide level. This is a result of the relatively small size of jurisdictions, which creates conditions favorable to both types of politics.

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*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

**Castel Gayán Sergio**

**Civil participation policy and democratic innovation in the autonomous community of Aragon**  
in *Perspectives on federalism*, Vol. 4, issue 1 , E- 230-251

The increasing complexity of our society requires mechanisms of democratic innovation that enrich the system of representative democracy to increase citizens' knowledge and experiences, thus improving the quality of democracy and the efficiency of public decision-making. It is necessary to assume that governments cannot face these complex transformations without taking into account all voices and interests. In the face of this reality, over the last few years civil participation has been promoted in the Autonomous Community of Aragon, a strategy aimed at extending the spaces of active participation, and stimulating its own instruments of a participative democracy, allowing citizens to influence decision-making processes. In this paper, the main aspects of this experience will be analysed

Full text available at:

<http://www.on-federalism.eu/index.php/sergio-castel-gayan/103-essay/128-civil-participation-policy-and-democratic-innovation-in-the-autonomous-community-of-aragon->

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

**Simon Duindam and Lisa Waddington**

**Cross-Border cooperation in the Rhine-Meuse region: Aachen (D) and Heerlen (NLs) Some considerations from a law and economics perspective on a future European Grouping of Territorial Cooperation**  
in *European Journal of Law and Economics*, volume 33 n.2 , 307-320

This article considers the role of land in (regional) development and the financing of such development. Specifically the article reflects on the application of legal provisions relating to the use of land and development, including considering how fiscal instruments can be used to promote economic development in a cross-border legal entity. The article concludes with recommendations as to how cross-border economic development can be improved. The article takes as its starting point the intention of the regions of Parkstad Limburg (NLs) and Aachen (GER) to establish a European Grouping for Territorial Cooperation (EGTC), with a view to promoting cross-border economic and spatial development.

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

**Medir Tejado Lluís**





**Empowering Local Democracy In Catalonia: Tools And Policy Domains To Implement a Top-Down Solution**  
in *Perspectives on federalism*, Vol. 4, issue 1 , E- 270-298

This article is the result of an ongoing research into a variety of features of Spanish local government . It aims, in particular, at providing a profile of the tools implemented by local authorities to improve local democracy in Catalonia. The main hypothesis of the work is that, even though the Spanish local model is constrained by a shared and unique set of legal regulations, local institutions in Catalonia have developed their own model of local participation. And the range of instruments like these is still now increasing. More specifically, the scope of this research is twofold. On the one hand, different types of instruments for public deliberation in the Catalan local administration system are identified and presented, based on the place they take in the policy cycle. On the other hand, we focus on policy domains and the quality of the decision-making processes. Researching the stability of the participation tools or whether local democracy prefers more “ad hoc” processes allows us to analyze the boundaries/limits of local democracy in Catalonia. The main idea underlying this paper is that, despite the existence of a single legal model regulating municipalities in Catalonia, local authorities tend to use their legally granted self-management capacities to design their own instruments which end up presenting perceivable distinct features, stressing democracy in different policy domains, and in diverse policy cycles. Therefore, this paper is intended to identify such models and to provide factors (variables) so that an explanatory model can be built

Full text available at:

<http://www.on-federalism.eu/index.php/lluis-medir-tejado/105-essay/130-empowering-local-democracy-in-catalonia-tools-and-policy-domains-to-implement-a-top-down-solution->

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

*Subsection 9.Local government(s)*

GUTIERREZ, Ricardo A.

**Federalismo y políticas ambientales en la Región Metropolitana de Buenos Aires, Argentina**

in *EURE - Revista latinoamericana de estudios urbano regionales*, vol.38 no.114 , 147-171

In any metropolitan region, the articulation between metropolitan scale of issues and the multiplicity of government jurisdictions poses a challenge for the implementation of environmental policies. Focused on the Buenos Aires Metropolitan Region, this article examines the coordination of metropolitan environmental policies in a federal context. The first part describes the metropolitan region and its main environmental problems, the way in which Argentine federalism assigns environmental competences to the different government levels and the mechanisms it sets for metropolitan governance, and the characteristics and flaws of the inter-jurisdictional organizations at work in the metropolitan region. The second part discusses the factors explaining those flaws. It argues that the shortcomings of the metropolitan coordination of environmental policies are explained by the interaction between federal institutions and other political system variables such as the dynamics of party-electoral accumulation, the setting of government agendas, the role of state bureaucracies, and the impact of environmental activism.

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

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Nelson Kimberly, Svava James

**Form of Government Still Matters: Fostering Innovation in U.S. Municipal Governments**  
in *American Review of Public Administration (The)*, May 2012; 42 (3) , 257-281

Using data on the adoption of e-government, reinventing government, and strategic practices, and the Nelson and Svava (2010) typology of municipal government form, the authors investigate the characteristics of municipal governments that are related to the implementation of innovative practices. The authors find that higher innovation rates are associated with council-manager governments—both with and without an elected mayor, higher population, greater growth, lower unemployment, sunbelt location, and higher population density. Controlling for all other variables, form of government (and variations within form) account for the greatest explanation of the adoption of innovative practices in municipalities. The authors conclude that form of government remains an important variable to consider when investigating local government management and performance.

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Italia Vittorio

**Gli organi attuali della Provincia e la Giunta**

in *Nuova rassegna di legislazione, dottrina e giurisprudenza*, n. 5

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Rudie Hulst , André van Montfort

**Institutional features of inter-municipal cooperation: Cooperative arrangements and their national contexts**

in *Public Policy and Administration*, volume 27 n.2 , 121-144

Inter-municipal co-operation is a widespread phenomenon throughout Europe. But in spite of its wide spread, inter-municipal co-operation has not been subject to systematic comparative research. This article presents some of the findings of a joint research project concerning inter-municipal co-operation in a series of European countries. A comparative analysis shows that inter-municipal co-operation comes in all shapes and sizes. Nevertheless it is possible to distinguish four basic types of co-operation: quasi-regional governments, planning forums, service delivery organizations and service delivery agreements. Research shows that the national institutional context to a large extent explains the presence or absence of the different types in a country.

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

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Allegretti Umberto

**Instruments of Participatory Democracy in Italy**



in **Perspectives on federalism**, Vol. 4, issue 1 , N- 14-24

Participation is a fundamental principle of the Italian Constitution (art. 3). Nonetheless its enforcement was rather weak in the first decades of Italian Republic. Only from the nineties on – especially after many Italian authorities and citizens had direct knowledge of the Participatory budgeting of Porto Alegre – the simple participation evolved into various forms of Participatory Democracy. Many Italian municipalities of various dimensions developed it, creating a number of original experiments on a new model of administration. The fact is all the more remarkable as Italy in the last decade has been dominated by populism of the Berlusconi variety. This study analyses the leading principles of participatory democracy as it is now practiced in Italy and clarifies their principal purposes, hoping for their development as a means to “democratize democracy”

Full text available at:

<http://www.on-federalism.eu/index.php/umberto-allegretti/95-note/121-instruments-of-participatory-democracy-in-italy->

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

**Mastromarino Anna**

**Instruments of participation at regional level: An introduction to the Italian framework in new ordinary statutes**  
in **Perspectives on federalism**, Vol. 4, issue 1 , E-1-19

The new ordinary statutes of Italian Regions attempt to reconcile the more traditional instruments of representative and direct democracy with the new instruments of participatory democracy. While no original aspects have emerged, a progressive shift in perspective has occurred compared to previous versions of the statutes. Participation is now the leit motif that characterises the relation between individuals and institutions and it brings new momentum to this otherwise worn-out relationship

Full text available at:

<http://www.on-federalism.eu/index.php/essays/114-instruments-of-participation-at-regional-level-an-introduction-to-the-italian-framework-in-new-ordinary-statutes->

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

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**Sgueo Gianluca**

**La democrazia partecipativa nelle Regioni. La legge n. 14 del 2010 della Regione Umbria**  
in **Quaderni Regionali** , n. 2

No abstract available



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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

**Marinuzzi Giorgia , Tortorella Walter**

**La dimensione territoriale e socioeconomica delle Unioni di Comuni**

in *Amministrare*, n. 3 , 341-362

No abstract available

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

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**Négrier Emmanuel**

**La métropolisation et réforme territoriale**

in *Revue française d'administration publique*, n. 141 , 73-86

“Metropolisation” and Territorial Reform — This article deals with “metropolisation” in France and the handling of this issue in the territorial reform of 16 December 2010. City-related issues, and beyond that, the inter-communal co-operation aspect of the reform are among the least conflictual aspects of this process which the Left has declared it will repeal in 2012 if it wins the elections. This does not mean that there is nothing at stake in relation to this issue. The law of 16 December 2010 addresses issues which have already proven controversial. It highlights the reservations, particularly in metropolitan areas, with which the Chevènement law of 12 July 1999 was met. This now familiar law proposed a more diffuse while at the same time institutional approach to “metropolisation”, providing for the setting up of urban communities and “communauté d’agglomération”. The article starts out by recalling the grounds for the reservations expressed and goes on in the second part to look at how the two major mechanisms developed in this new framework (métropoles, pôles métropolitains) provide, perhaps not a response, but at least a new phase in the French approach to institutional “metropolisation”.

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

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**Hertzog Robert**

**La réforme des collectivités territoriales : une ambition financière**

in *Revue française d'administration publique*, n. 141 , 121-137

Reform of Local and Regional Authorities: A Financial Ambition — The law of 16 December 2010 reforming local and regional authorities does not have a direct financial objective, apart from some ad hoc arrangements. It is nonetheless very deeply involved in public finance, staying in the background and aiming to significantly rework the architecture of decentralised authorities in order to reduce costs, which is now a priority due to the serious public finance crisis affecting



all other policy areas. Public finances must be reined in for all policy areas and the performance of administrations must be improved. Two sets of measures target this objective. The first concern simplifying structures through provisions which allow for merging authorities, not only at municipal level but also at the level of départements, regions and inter-communal bodies. This type of operation can only produce modest results, which is all the more the case since elected representatives have been given the freedom to choose whether or not they will take part. The other measures regard competences, the complexity and inadequacy of which have long been criticised. Lawmakers did not have the audacity to go for a full fledged, systematic overhaul. Instead, they introduce complicated rules for specialisation of competences at regional and département level, of the management of co-financing and subsidies and of redistribution of competences among categories of territorial authorities which will not make it possible to save much money.

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**Giofrè Giovanni**

**La soppressione delle province: un problema davvero «originario»**

in *Nuova rassegna di legislazione, dottrina e giurisprudenza*, n. 4

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

**Chavrier Géraldine**

**La vocation du niveau intermédiaire : stratégies et prospective**

in *Revue française d'administration publique*, n. 141 , 87-97

Vocation of the Intermediary Level: Strategies and Prospects for the Future — Regions, wedged between the State and local authorities, have competences allowing them to provide coordination and impetus. The 2010 law however, which sets up the Département-Région couple, trivialises the regional level by presenting it as just another management level alongside the others, implicitly questioning the Region's capacity to coordinate public policy within its territory. And yet it is in fact the very advent of Conseillers territoriaux that prevents Regions from fulfilling their intermediary-level vocation of ensuring coordination. In response, Regions advocate true regionalisation and are prepared to defend their specific nature on the ground

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Italia Vittorio

**Le funzioni residue della Provincia**

in Nuova rassegna di legislazione, dottrina e giurisprudenza, n. 4

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Marcou Gérard

**Les réformes des collectivités territoriales en europe : problématiques communes et idiosyncrasies**

in *Revue française d'administration publique*, n. 141 , 183-205

Reform of Local and Regional Authorities in Europe: Common Problems and Idiosyncrasies — All European States face the same fundamental problems regarding their systems of public administration. These include the streamlining of territorial structures, adapting missions, urban growth, areas of low population density, competition between territories, budgetary pressure. The response each country provides to these issues will depend above all on the country's structures, institutions and history. It is as if each country had a political, legal and institutional catalogue of possible responses it employs, all other responses being politically impossible, even inconceivable, thereby maintaining the wide divergences between national systems.

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*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Yalçın Melike, Lefèvre Benoit

**Local Climate Action Plans in France: Emergence, Limitations and Conditions for Success**

in *European Environment/Environmental Policy and Governance*, Volume 22, Issue 2, March-April , 104-115

A growing number of local governments worldwide are addressing climate change by locally developed climate action plans (CAPs). In this paper, we analyse the first generation of voluntary and partnership-based CAPs in France. On the basis of data collected from Grenoble Alpes Métropole and other French pioneer cities, we try to find out what the experiences of these pioneer cities teach us about the triggering factors, the scope, the limitations and the conditions for success of CAPs. Our study shows that CAPs help to raise awareness about climate and energy issues and to bring local stakeholders together to develop shared solutions suited to local specificities. However, they do not seem to launch ambitious operations conducted in a cross-cutting manner. Their effective implementation depends on the resources available to authorities, as well as the incentives and support that they receive. Moreover, meeting the CAP targets requires the authorities' ability to promote and utilize partnerships to mobilize all local potential for energy efficiency and GHG emission reduction.





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Italia Vittorio, Camarda Lorenzo

**Meno funzioni=meno organi: nota introduttiva**

in *Nuova rassegna di legislazione, dottrina e giurisprudenza*, n. 5

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

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Klink, Jeroen - Denaldi, Rosana

**Metropolitan Fragmentation and Neo-localism in the Periphery**

in *Urban Studies*, volume 49 n.3 , 543-562

In this paper, the Curitiba-centred narrative on the success of its urban planning experience will be qualified in light of the complexities of its metropolitan development trajectory. It will be claimed that the institutional vacuum that surrounds Brazilian metropolitan areas in general, and Greater Curitiba in particular, has been intensified by the emergence of a competitive and decentralised state spatial regime, which has consolidated a fragmented and neo-localist system of governance. Preliminary empirical evidence will be provided on the challenges that are being faced within the new regime in articulating socio-spatial, economic and environmental strategies in the direction of a more sustainable metropolitan future.

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*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Ba&#269;lija Irena, Ha&#269;ek Miro

**Minority Political Participation at the Local Level: The Roma**

in *International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights*, Volume 19, Number 1 , 53-68

This article aims to study the existing models of political representation of the Roma minority in Slovenia. The research analyses two existing models of political participation, namely, the political representation model employed in 2002 and the policy formation model introduced in 2007. As the state is limited in securing adequate representation of minority groups in an electoral democracy, conditions for minorities to have equal opportunity and to be effectively involved in public life must be created. This can be achieved with representation in advisory and decision-making institutions such as elected bodies and assemblies of national minority affairs; local and autonomous levels of administration; self-administration by a national minority in aspects concerning its identity, especially in circumstances where autonomy on a territorial basis does not apply; and decentralised or local forms of government. Based on surveys conducted in 2004 and 2008 we have tried to identify trends in the performance of the political representation model. The research work has made some interesting findings with regard to the relationship between the two models. It appears that the political representation model acts as a platform for positive change while the policy formation model is a source of conflict among Roma representatives.



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Veronesi Paolo

**Morte e temporanea resurrezione delle Province: non si “svuota” così un ente previsto in Costituzione**  
in *Studium Iuris*, n. 4 , 393-401

No abstract available

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

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Rafael Leonisio

**Parliament on the Centre-Right, Government on the Left: Explaining Basque Exceptionalism**  
in *Regional and Federal Studies*, volume 22 n.1 , 45-60

The Autonomous Elections of 2009 entailed a large change in Basque politics, given that the PNV, the party that had been governing the Basque institutions continuously since 1980, was removed from power by the PSEEE. However, the Basques did not vote very differently compared to other elections, the majority voting for nationalist parties, as it has been doing since 1980, and for centre-right parties, as it had done at the beginning of the autonomy and as of 2001. In this article, we aim to explain how, despite this clear tendency towards nationalism and the centre-right, a leftist and non-nationalist party is currently governing in the Basque Country.

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Pérez Alberdi María Reyes

**Participation and Decentralisation: The Case of Andalusia**  
in *Perspectives on federalism*, Vol. 4, issue 1 , E- 208-229

In the Bill of Rights of the Andalusian Statute of Autonomy, right to participation is extremely well-developed and is not restricted to the traditional rights to political participation, but rather is extended to all relationships between individuals, groups, citizens and public authorities. In this paper, we will outline the different forms of participation established in the Andalusian Statute of Autonomy and the development legislation and evaluate their implementation

Full text available at:

<http://www.on-federalism.eu/index.php/maria-reyes-perez-alberdi/102-essay/127-participation-and-decentralisation-the-case-of-andalusia>



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

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Anzia Sarah F.

**Partisan Power Play: The Origins of Local Election Timing as an American Political Institution  
in Studies in American Political Development** , Volume 26 - Issue 01 , 24-49

Eighty percent of American cities today hold their general elections on different days than state and national elections. It is an established fact that voter turnout in these off-cycle local elections is far lower than turnout in local elections held concurrently with state and national elections. In this paper, I demonstrate that the timing of city elections has been an important determinant of voter turnout since before the Civil War. By examining three large American cities over the course of the nineteenth century, I find that American political parties regularly manipulated the timing of city elections to secure an edge over their rivals. I show that the decisions to change the election dates of these cities were contentious, partisan, and motivated by an expectation of subsequent electoral gain. The Progressive municipal reformers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries continued in this tradition when they separated city elections from state and national elections, and the local election schedule they implemented has largely persisted until today.

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*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Henderson Ailsa, Brown Steven D., Pancer S. Mark

**Political and Social Dimensions of Civic Engagement: The Impact of Compulsory Community Service  
in Politics & Policy**, Vol. 40, Issue 1, February , 93-130

In 1999, the Canadian province of Ontario joined a number of other jurisdictions in requiring its high school students to complete volunteer service before graduating. The primary objective of this program, and others like it around the world, was to address declining civic engagement within society. Using a quasi-experimental design, we explore the impact of mandatory volunteering on its stated aims. Our findings suggest that volunteering in high school has positive impacts on the political dimensions of a student's subsequent civic engagement, measured here as political involvement, political activism, political interest, and political efficacy. However, those impacts are largely conditional on two features of the volunteering experience: sustained commitment to one placement and a positive experience as evaluated by the student. High school community service seems to be unrelated to social dimensions of civic engagement, measured here as involvement in a variety of social, cultural, and religious organizations.

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Anne L. Schneider

**Punishment Policy in the American States from 1890 to 2008: Convergence, Divergence, Synchronous Change,  
and Feed-Forward Effects**  
in *Policy Studies Journal*, Vol. 40, Issue 2, May , 193-210



This analysis of the patterns of change in the use of incarceration by the American states from 1890 through 2008 focuses on multiple themes particularly relevant to an understanding of policy arenas in which the social constructions of target populations play an important role. Specifically, the study examines whether the states have adopted more similar incarceration levels over time (converged), whether they tend to change in the same direction at the same time (synchronous change), and whether they tend to stay in the same relative positions vis-à-vis one another, such that the historical policy position has long-term implications for later policy positions (“feed-forward” effects).

The results indicate that, in spite of a century of social, political, and economic integration, the policy positions of the states have not exhibited a sustained convergence toward a common level of incarceration, but have undergone cycles, with some periods of convergence followed by periods of divergence. Change has generally been synchronous—as states tend to move in the same direction at the same time as if propelled by national forces even though incarceration levels are determined by state and local policy and the use of discretion by criminal justice officials. The results also indicate a profound “feed-forward” effect in that the position of the states vis-à-vis one another historically has substantial predictive power for their position in subsequent years.

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*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

**Celotto Alfonso**

**Regional and Local People Consultation through Referendum**

**in Perspectives on federalism**, Vol. 4, issue 1 , N- 1-13

The Author analyses the normative framework and the use of the referendum in Italy, at regional and local level. According to the Author, this level of the analysis could even be used as a preliminary phase for studying people’s ‘consultation’ in general. For this reason, the article contains a brief digression on the development of local referendums in Italy, before and after the beginning of the Republican regime. The article also contains a brief description of three particular types of referendum, i.e. the regional referendum, the referendum for territorial modifications and the local referendum. The conclusion reached is that local and regional referendums are midway between the principle of representative democracy and the needs for direct democracy, and can therefore be a useful means in the study of the functioning of the referendum as a whole. This makes it crucial that the authorities take into account the results of the referendums when taking decisions. It is also concluded that the scenario of different referendums in Italy at local and regional level is very heterogeneous and requires clear rules and more widespread information among the population

Full text available at:

<http://www.on-federalism.eu/index.php/alfonso-celotto/91-note/115-regional-and-local-people-consultation-through-referendum>

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

**Grosso Enrico**

**Regional electoral legislation in Italy. A short essay on the rise and fall of the myth of territorial differentiation**



in *Perspectives on federalism*, Vol. 4, issue 1 , E- 99-120

Up to 15 years ago the Constitution entrusted State law with the task of regulating the election system of regional councillors. Since the nineties there have been radical changes in the provisions (constitutional and later sub-constitutional) regarding elections of regional Councils, and the Regions have been given concurring or residual legislative competences, thus authorizing them to autonomously adopt rules concerning their own elections. The electoral laws approved by the Councils of Regions from 2001 up to now are nevertheless substantially uniform in contents. Such substantial uniformity was not required. The single Councils could have made far more differentiated electoral choices. We can say that there has been a sort of institutional conformism. The local political classes handling the institutional change were not able (or did not want) to introduce substantial differentiations and innovations and they have only created systems almost identical to one another. Such a conclusion is only seemingly surprising. We notice in fact how difficult it is for party systems to “regionalise themselves”, even when political interests of regional bodies are at stake. Every single regional electoral appointment is seen as the opportunity to once again measure general political consent, not as the time to consolidate territorial consent. We realize how weak the regional party systems still are, in spite of the widespread use of federalist rhetoric, and how scantily independent they appear to be. The effect is that the actual uniformity of electoral systems will cause a further step towards uniformity of party systems.

Full text available at:

<http://www.on-federalism.eu/index.php/enrico-grosso/96-essay/120-regional-electoral-legislation-in-italy-a-short-essay-on-the-rise-and-fall-of-the-myth-of-territorial-differentiation>

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Jo Littlea, Brian Ilberyb, David Wattsc, Andrew Gilga, Sue Simpsond

**Regionalization and the rescaling of agro-food governance: Case study evidence from two English regions in *Political Geography*, volume 31 n.2 , 83-93**

Some researchers detected a new-found subsidiarity in rural policy after England’s 2001 Foot and Mouth Disease epidemic, with regional and sub-regional institutions working together to implement an economic recovery strategy. While such research began to link debates on the new regionalism and the rescaling of agro-food governance, its conception of the latter focused too narrowly on the ‘turn to quality’, thereby overlooking other important aspects of food relocalisation. Based on interviews conducted in England’s South West and West Midlands regions, this paper examines whether the attitudes of key actors from regional and sub-regional governance institutions provided a sound basis for partnership working on the food relocalisation policies recommended in the Government’s Strategy for Sustainable Farming and Food. It finds different attitudes on the part of regional and sub-regional actors, with the former favouring regional foods and the latter local foods. Despite scepticism from both groups about the ability of the England Rural Development Programme (2000–2006) to promote food relocalisation, grants were awarded to both regional and local food entrepreneurs, suggesting that the programme contributed more to food relocalisation than previously thought.

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



*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Enriqueta Expósito

**Regulatory Framework of Local Citizen Participation: Instruments of Direct and Participative Democracy in the Municipal Field**

in *Perspectives on federalism*, Vol. 4, issue 1 , E- 252-269

This article focuses on the analysis of the regulatory framework of citizen participation in the local government, which organises direct and participatory democracy at the local level, and identifies the laws and mechanisms through which the constitutional requirements for participation are accomplished. Municipalities, the authority closest to citizens, are the best level of government since they directly involve civil society in the decision-making process experiencing the scope and appropriateness of the instruments by which it is channeled

Full text available at:

<http://www.on-federalism.eu/index.php/enriqueta-exposito/104-essay/129-regulatory-framework-of-local-citizen-participation-instruments-of-direct-and-participative-democracy-in-the-municipal-field>

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Caravita Beniamino, Fabrizio Federica

**Riforma delle Province. Spunti di proposte a breve e lungo termine.**

in *Federalismi*, Anno X - Nr 2

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Teemu Lyytikäinen

**Tax competition among local governments: Evidence from a property tax reform in Finland**

in *Journal of Public Economics*, volume 96 n. 7-8 , 584-595

This paper uses a Finnish policy intervention to study tax competition among local governments. Changes in the statutory lower limits to the property tax rates are used as a source of exogenous variation to estimate the responses of municipalities to tax rates in their neighboring municipalities. I do not find evidence of interdependence in property tax rates among Finnish municipalities. The results are in contrast to the earlier empirical literature, using data from other countries, that has mainly found positive interdependence in tax rates. I compare the causal estimates based on the policy change to the commonly used Spatial Lag estimates and Spatial Instrumental Variables estimates, which are based on highly restrictive assumptions. The comparisons suggest that the standard spatial econometrics methods may have a tendency to overestimate the degree of interdependence in tax rates.





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*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Tur Ausina Rosario

**The Regional Construction of a Citizen Participation Model: Experiences and Elements of the Debate on Participatory Democracy**

*in Perspectives on federalism*, Vol. 4, issue 1 , E- 159-190

This study offers a reflection on the current developments in participatory democracy at the regional level. Besides providing a descriptive analysis of the instruments put into practice through different legal formulas (hard law or soft law), it intends to analyse the key features of a singular and interesting model of citizen participation using the Spanish and Italian experiences as the main focus of this study, from a perspective of the commitment to democratic regeneration and taking into consideration parameters such as control, responsibility, evaluation, dialogue and the transparency of public authority accounts

Full text available at:

<http://www.on-federalism.eu/index.php/rosario-tur-ausina/100-essay/125-the-regional-construction-of-a-citizen-participati-on-model-experiences-and-elements-of-the-debate-on-participatory-democracy>

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Span Kees, Luijkx Katrien, Schols Jos, Schalk Rene

**The Relationship Between Governance Roles and Performance in Local Public Interorganizational Networks. A Conceptual Analysis**

*in American Review of Public Administration (The)*, March 2012; 42 (2) , 186-201

Local public networks can be governed in many different ways. Among scholars as well as among practitioners, there is some debate about the best approach. Based on literature, this article examines the relationship between local public network governance roles, contingency factors, and network performance in a theoretically informed way. Governance roles are positioned on a continuum from top-down (commissioner) to bottom-up (facilitator), with an intermediate area (coproducer). How governance roles influence the performance of local public networks is assumed to depend on contingency factors, which might explain the inconsistent results of studies examining this influence. An integrated model of local public network governance is presented that includes four contingency factors: the number of network participants, diversity of network members, degree of customizability of service demands, and the number of new network participants. The model can be applied to the heterogeneous contexts that local governments encounter when governing local public networks.

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Andy Asquith



**The Role, Scope and Scale of Local Government in New Zealand: Its Prospective Future**

in *Australian Journal of Public Administration*, volume 71 n.1 , 76-84

his article contributes to the current debate as to the role, scope and scale of local government in New Zealand. In 2008, the Nationals Local Government Minister announced his intention to undertake a fundamental review of local government in NZ. This review finally took shape in mid 2011 with the publication of the consultation document 'Smarter Government, Stronger Communities: towards better local governance and public services' (Hide 2011). This article adds to the debate by identifying four key themes within the NZ local government system, namely: the legislative framework; managerial capabilities; calibre of elected members and finally democratic deficit and community disengagement. Whilst the first two themes are undoubted strengths, the latter two are equally weaknesses in the local governance system of NZ. Hence the article makes a number of recommendations, seeking to exploit the strengths and to correct the weaknesses in order to create a robust and credible local governance system for NZ.

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

**Bertolino Cristina**

**The revival of the right to petition in the Statutes of Italian Ordinary Regions**

in *Perspectives on federalism*, Vol. 4, issue 1 , E-81-98

The right to petition is an instrument of popular participation whereby citizens are allowed to apply to an authority for the purpose of representing certain needs or to seek the adoption of specific actions. While widely regarded as obsolete in current legal theory and rarely applied in the national legal system, it is once again gaining momentum thanks to the second "wave" of Regional Statutes and the greater autonomy of regional legislators, providing for a wide range of applications. The analysis of regional regulations indicates that the right to petition has also found new applications that have turned it into an effective instrument to ensure communication between civil society and regional institutions

Full text available at:

<http://www.on-federalism.eu/index.php/cristina-bertolino/94-essay/119-the-revival-of-the-right-to-petition-in-the-statutes-of-italian-ordinary-regions->

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

**Samuele Dossi**

**Urban Governance Encounters Europeanization: the Case of the Community Initiative URBAN II in Bordeaux and Genoa**

in *Regional and Federal Studies*, volume 22 n.2 , 159-176

By comparing the cases of Bordeaux and Genoa, this article shows how and why similar inputs from the European Union (EU) produce different sets of policy transformations within urban systems. Empirically, we focus on the common policy initiative URBAN II promoted by the EU within its informal urban policy. To separate out similarities and differences



we address two research questions: how do EU inputs from URBAN II produce coping and adjusting mechanisms at the level of cities? What is the character of the transformation eventually produced? The former question is about the mechanisms of Europeanization; the latter is about the nature of the process. To frame our analysis we draw on public policy analysis and institutional theory, particularly in terms of logics of action and causal mechanisms for change. Evidence from in-depth interviews and process tracing suggest that differences largely depend on past traditions and arrangements in the policy sector considered and on the strategic role of specific actors at the local level. Similarities reflect instead the common attempt of cities to promote their territory and the role of urban systems in the EU-wide policy making as well as the reaction to the constraints accompanying EU action at the urban level. In the conclusions, we show how our findings contribute to the field of Europeanization and propose avenues for future research.

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

*Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization*

Castellá Andreu Josep Maria

**Principles, rights and participatory institutions in the reformed statutes**

in *Perspectives on federalism*, Vol. 4, issue 1 , E-20-38

This article reviews the new approaches to citizen participation introduced by the statutes of autonomy reformed from 2006 onwards. The reform process included the introduction of participatory values and principles, rights, institutions, competences over popular consultations and participation in the amendment process. By ruling out the possibility of autonomous communities holding referendums without prior state regulation via an organic act, the Constitutional Court has deprived the new statutes of one of the measures with greatest potential for participation. More scope is left for institutions of participatory democracy

Full text available at:

<http://www.on-federalism.eu/index.php/josep-maria-castella-andreu/88-essay/113-principles-rights-and-participatory-institutions-in-the-reformed-statutes->

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

*Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization*

Noore Alam Siddiquee, Dian Nastiti & Nur Ana Sejati

**Regional Autonomy and Local Resource Mobilization in Eastern Indonesia: Problems and Pitfalls of Fiscal Decentralization**

in *Asian Affairs: an American review*, Vol.39-issue 1 , 44-68

Does fiscal decentralization empower sub-national governments to raise sufficient revenue from local sources thereby reducing their dependence on the national government? This paper addresses this question by focusing on Indonesia's most recent decentralization policy and assessing and analysing the role of local governments in this regard. Based on data collected from two different locations in Eastern Indonesia the paper shows that the dependency of local authorities on central government is excessive and that the share of local revenue in regional budget has remained rather small. It also shows that while the fiscal power granted to local governments is limited, a combination of politico-economic and contextual factors has further undermined the prospect of revenue mobilisation at the local level.



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

*Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization*

Martín Núñez Esther

**The referendum and popular consultations in the Autonomous State**

*in Perspectives on federalism*, Vol. 4, issue 1 , E- 134-158

The referendum is a poorly used mechanism for direct participation in the Spanish system, at both state and regional level. The discussion on the feasibility of this system at regional level has been examined by the Constitutional Court. Influenced by the reluctance with which constituents viewed the mechanisms of direct democracy, they still have a reductive view of the referendum. The State therefore reserves the right to exercise very intensive controls on the provision and authorization of referendums and on the specific exercise of each referendum

Full text available at:

<http://www.on-federalism.eu/index.php/esther-martin-nunez/98-essay/123-the-referendum-and-popular-consultations-i-n-the-autonomous-state->

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

*Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization*

Pearce, Graham and Ayres, Sarah

**Back to the Local? Recalibrating the Regional Tier of Governance in England**

*in Regional and Federal Studies*, volume 22 n.1 , 1-24

By contrast to the far-reaching devolution settlements elsewhere in the UK, political agreement on the governance of England outside London remains unsettled. There is cross- party consensus on the need to decentre down authority to regions and localities, but limited agreement on how this should be achieved. This paper explores the welter of initiatives adopted by the recent Labour government that were ostensibly designed to make the meso-level of governance more coherent, accountable and responsive to meeting territorial priorities. Second, it explores the current Conservative Liberal Democrat Coalition's programme of reform that involves the elimination of Labour's regional institutional architecture and is intended to restore powers to local government and communities and promote local authority co-operation around sub-regions. Labour's reforms were ineffective in achieving any substantial transfer of authority away from Whitehall and, given the Coalition's plans to cut public expenditure, the likelihood of any significant recalibration in central local relations also appears improbable.

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

*Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization*

Rabe, Barry G. - Borick, Christopher P.

**Carbon Taxation and Policy Labeling: Experience from American States and Canadian Provinces**



in *Review of Policy Research* , volume 29 n.3 , 358-382

A vast economics literature embraces taxation of the carbon content of fossil fuels as the superior policy approach for reducing greenhouse gas emissions. However, experience around the world suggests that carbon taxes face exceedingly difficult political hurdles. Federal experience in the United States and in Canada confirms this pattern. This article reviews sub#8208;federal policy development among American states and Canadian provinces, a great many of which have pursued climate policy development. With one major exception, explicit carbon taxation appears to remain a political nonstarter. At the same time, states and provinces have been placing indirect carbon prices on fossil fuel use through a wide range of policies. These tend to strategically alter labeling, avoiding the terms of "tax" and "carbon" in imposing costs. The article offers a framework for considering such strategies and examines common design features, including direct linkage between cost imposition and fund usage to build political support.

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

*Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization*

Jan Biela, Annika Hennl, and André Kaiser

**Combining Federalism and Decentralization: Comparative Case Studies on Regional Development Policies in Switzerland, Austria, Denmark, and Ireland**

in *Comparative Political Studies* , 45 (4) , 447-476

Studies evaluating the effects of territorial state organization on the performance of democratic political systems produce ambiguous results. The authors argue that research so far has suffered from insufficiently conceptualizing federalism and decentralization as two distinct dimensions. This article makes use of the advantages of a nested design and detects micro-level causal mechanisms underlying statistically confirmed effects. The authors conduct in-depth case studies comparing policy processes in four countries (Austria, Switzerland, Ireland, and Denmark) in the area of regional development policy, an area that exhibits typical effects in a macro-quantitative analysis, to back their hypothesized and corroborated macro-level relationships by micro level causal evidence. The case studies show that federalism induces subnational actors to adopt divergent positions and push through individual interests in processes of decision making, thus increasing transaction costs and preventing substantial policy shifts. Decentralization and subnational discretion induces actors to vary service delivery in an efficiency-enhancing way.

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

*Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization*

Daniel Kenealy

**Concordats and International Relations: Binding in Honour Only?**

in *Regional and Federal Studies*, volume 22 n.1 , 61-86

Concordats were established to formalize working practices between the UK government and the administrations established in Edinburgh, Cardiff and Belfast after the devolution settlement of 1999. After an initial period of academic scrutiny the concordats have been largely forgotten in the academic literature on post-devolution intergovernmental relations (IGR) as relations between the UK and the devolved administrations settled into a relatively non-contentious pattern, perhaps the result of Labour's dominance across the UK. More recently, that non-contentious pattern has started to fray at the edges. This paper examines a set of decisions leading up to the release of the Lockerbie bomber by the Scottish Executive on 20 August 2009. It argues that IGR, for the most part, did not function effectively because



of a lack of willingness on the part of the UK government to work to the letter and the spirit of the concordats. While the concordats are intended to be binding in honour only this paper argues that until the UK government affords the Scottish Executive parity of esteem, relations between London and Edinburgh will continue to suffer from moments of turbulence. The paper concludes by calling for a formalization of the system of IGR in post-devolution UK.

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

*Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization*

Anand N. Asthana

**Decentralisation and Corruption Revisited: Evidence from a Natural Experiment  
in Public Administration and Development**, volume 32 n.1 , 27-37

Decentralisation of powers and responsibilities from a higher to a lower level of government has been held out as an answer to a multitude of diverse political challenges. It is often assumed that as an organising principle, decentralisation reduces corruption by bringing government closer to the people. This article adds to the small literature dealing with the relationship between decentralisation and corruption by examining decentralisation of water supply from one level of sub-national government to another. It extends this literature by considering a dynamic situation and examining whether the relationship changes over time. The area of study covers the rural and semi-urban areas of two large Indian states. The study compares the level of corruption in piped water supply schemes run by centralised agencies and decentralised agencies. The study is based on experiential, not perception-based corruption measures We find that decentralisation increases corruption significantly in the immediate aftermath of decentralisation. At the same time, we observe that with time, this increase in corruption is reduced substantially, although the increase persists in the medium term.

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

*Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization*

Emmenegger Rony, Keno Sibilo, Hagmann Tobias

**Decentralization to the household: expansion and limits of state power in rural Oromiya**

**in Journal of Eastern African Studies** , Volume 5, Issue 4, Special Issue: "Ethiopia's revolutionary democracy, 1991–2011" , 733-754

This article sheds light on the impacts and dynamics of the latest decentralization phase in Ethiopia, which seeks to professionalize and democratize local government. Based on recent field research in Oromiya Region, we draw attention to the paradoxes inherent in the top-down decentralization of public administration within an authoritarian one-party state. On the one hand, decentralization in Oromiya has empowered kebele administrations and facilitated the expansion of service delivery into rural hinterlands. In particular the sub-kebele state and party structure is instrumentalized by local governments to mobilize and control households. On the other hand, state authority remains limited as peasants resist and subvert state-led development works and kebele officials must rely on clientelistic networks to implement policies. Consequently, decentralization and kebele reform in post-1991 Ethiopia have so far neither altered the tradition of hierarchical state–society relations nor improved the lack of genuine representative democracy at kebele level.

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





*Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization*

Diaz-Serrano Luis, Rodríguez-Pose Andrés

**Decentralization, Subjective Well-Being, and the Perception of Institutions**

in *Kyklos*, Volume 65, Issue 2, May 2012 , 179-193

This paper analyses whether the different powers and resources at the disposal of local and regional governments across Europe deliver greater satisfaction with political institutions and lead to greater life satisfaction. The analysis uses microdata from the four available waves of the European social survey (2002, 2004, 2006 and 2008), including more than 160,000 observations of individuals living in 29 European countries. Our results reveal that fiscal and some forms of political decentralization have a positive and significant effect on the overall subjective well-being of individuals. However, fiscal decentralization has a different effect on the perception of institutions depending on whether we consider subnational expenditure or revenues. Similarly, the effect of political decentralization on the level of satisfaction with institutions also varies depending on whether the capacity of local governments to influence national politics or to exert authority over their own citizens is considered. The results also show that citizens seem to be more satisfied with the actual capacity of their local governments to deliver than with the general principle that they can have a say on their daily politics and policies.

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

*Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization*

Murtagh Brendan, Shirlow Peter

**Devolution and the politics of development in Northern Ireland**

in *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, Volume 30, Issue 1, February , 46-61

The reintroduction of devolution in Northern Ireland is widely interpreted as the working out of the Belfast Agreement (1998) which aimed to embed political consensus in shared institutions of the state. However, such analysis tends to be limited with regard to wider political economy readings of the devolution project and historic struggles to find an appropriate institutional fix to manage different forms of crisis. Peace and stability have, it is argued, permitted Northern Ireland's reentry to global markets and circuits of capital with new governance structures being assembled to reconfigure 'postconflict' economic space. We argue that the onset of devolution has promoted a mix between ethnosectarian resource competition and a constantly expanding neoliberal model of governance. Devolved neoliberal structures that sustain social polarisation may perpetuate strategies of resistance that could cut across and challenge ethnosectarian politics and deepening social segregation.

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

*Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization*

Danson Mike, MacLeod Gordon, Mooney Gerry

**Devolution and the shifting political economic geographies of the United Kingdom**

in *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, Volume 30, Issue 1, February , 1-9

No abstract available

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



*Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization*

Danson Mike, Lloyd Greg

**Devolution, institutions, and organisations: changing models of regional development agencies in Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy**, Volume 30, Issue 1, February , 78-94

Prior to devolution, Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland each had their own autonomous development organisations to undertake and promote regional economic planning and development within their respective territories. These operated within a national UK regional policy framework. An expectation of devolution was that the development organisations would continue to evolve in different ways according to the prevailing and anticipated economic conditions and differentiated needs and priorities of the regional economies. Indeed, the model was further extended. In England, for example, regional development agencies were established as an integral part of the new intended Regional Assembly infrastructure—providing important economic development delivery functions to the new political bodies. In general terms, a more effective integration of planning, infrastructure provision, business development and investment, and economic development was anticipated at the regional level. This was held as an effective means of contributing to national economic growth and competitiveness objectives: themselves key and pivotal rationales for political devolution. On the basis of benchmarking exercises and academic and policy literature we review and analyse the significant changes that have taken place in the institutions which have been generated across the UK since the late 1990s, presenting and contrasting each nation's and region's experiences with an appreciation of their specific powers and resources.

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

*Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization*

Astudillo, Javier

**Divide et Impera? Office Accumulation in State-wide Parties and the Process of Decentralization in Spain in Regional and Federal Studies**, volume 22 n.1 , 25-49

Most recent studies about internal power distribution within state-wide parties in previous unitary countries, like Spain, show that they have changed less than was initially expected. But how national party leaders are able to counteract the decentralizing pressures that the first studies in this field underlined must still be explained. In this article we reformulate a mechanism for national political leaders to keep their parliamentary parties under control that Van Biezen has suggested for new European democracies. We argue that keeping party and public offices apart at the regional level is a vital part of a chain of command whereby national party leaders are able to control their party's regional governments. Using a quantitative analysis of national and regional elites for the first time we show that office overlapping is thus substantially less intense at the regional level than at the national level in the two main Spanish state-wide parties, and that this feature is related to regional politicians' degree of autonomy. Still, this divide et impera strategy is employed less over time.

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*Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization*

Sander Happaerts

**Does Autonomy Matter? - Subnational Governments and the Challenge of Vertical Policy Integration for Sustainable Development: A Comparative Analysis of Quebec, Flanders, North Rhine-Westphalia and North**



## **Holland**

in **Canadian Journal of Political Science--Revue canadienne de science politique**, Vol. 45, Issue 01 , 141 - 161

Sustainable development needs to be tackled at all governmental levels. Moreover, policies need to be integrated, horizontally and vertically. This article studies the efforts of subnational governments and their strategies towards vertical policy integration. Four cases are compared: Quebec (Canada), Flanders (Belgium), North Rhine-Westphalia (Germany) and North Holland (the Netherlands). The assumption is that their approaches are determined by their degree of autonomy, which involves their competences within their own borders (self-rule) and their influence on national decision making (shared rule). The findings, however, show that degree of autonomy does not shape the subnational governments' stance towards vertical policy integration for sustainable development. Rather, it is influenced by other factors, such as political dynamics. The analysis also puts forward that the degree of self-rule of subnational governments has a large influence on the content of sustainable development policies, not only at the subnational, but also at the national level.

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

*Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization*

**Zhang ZhongXiang**

#### **Effective environmental protection in the context of government decentralization**

in **International Economics and Economic Policy**, Volume 9, Number 1 / March 2012 , 53-82

China has shifted control over resources and decision making to local governments and enterprises as the result of the economic reforms over the past three decades. This devolution of decision-making to local levels and enterprises has placed environmental stewardship in the hands of local officials and polluting enterprises who are more concerned with economic growth and profits than the environment. Therefore, effective environmental protection needs their full cooperation. Against this background, this paper discusses a variety of tactics that China's central government has been using to incentivize local governments, and a number of market-based instruments, supporting economic policies, environmental performance ratings and disclosure and cooperation with financial institutions to promote long-lasting, improved corporate energy-saving and environmental performance. It concludes that there is a clear need to carefully examine those objective and subjective factors that lead to the lack of local official's cooperation on the environment, and provides some suggestions for appropriated incentives to get their cooperation.

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

*Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization*

**Magre Ferran Jaume**

#### **Efficiency as a descriptive variable of autonomous electoral systems in Spain**

in **Perspectives on federalism**, Vol. 4, issue 1 , E- 121-133

The homogeneity of the regulations governing the electoral systems of autonomous communities derives from their desire to imitate the system adopted for the Spanish Chamber of Deputies, and from their decision to look to countries with multi-level political structures for inspiration. This paper puts forward the hypothesis that the electoral system in communities which form part of the endogenous party system model built up over the last thirty years has been remarkably effective



Full text available at:

<http://www.on-federalism.eu/index.php/jaume-magre-ferran/97-essay/124-efficiency-as-a-descriptive-variable-of-autonomous-electoral-systems-in-spain->

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

*Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization*

Neil McGarvey

**Expectations, Assumptions and Realities: Scottish Local Government Post-Devolution**  
in *British Journal of Politics & International Relations* , Volume 14, Issue 1 , 153–174

This article reviews developments in Scottish local government post-devolution. In doing so it outlines some expectations, assumptions and realities about local government in Scotland. Three assumptions are examined and rejected: 1999 was 'Year Zero' for Scottish local government; central–local relations are characterised by a cohesive centre versus a cohesive locality; central–local relations in Scotland are nothing more than a fuzzy microcosm of central–local relations in England. The article argues that Scotland increasingly offers a different 'story' of central–local government relations with pre-existing differences accentuating in the context of minority government, different processes of governance and attitudes to the welfare state.

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

*Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization*

Miragliotta Narelle

**Federalism, Party Organization and the Australian Greens**  
in *Australian Journal of Politics & History* , Volume 58, Issue 1, March , 97-111

The influence of federalism on the organizational arrangements adopted by Australia's parties endures. This study examines the organizational structure of the State and Territory divisions of the Australian Greens through an analysis of their local party constitutions. It shows that there are important areas of difference in the organizations of state and territory Greens, despite their shared ideological commitment to inclusive internal party structures. These variations are a function of institutional and political factors, especially those induced by the Australian federal system. It is argued that differences in the organizational formats of state and territory party divisions reflect the historical circumstances in which they emerged and variations in the institutional (regional) setting in which they are located.

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

*Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization*

Miragliotta Narelle

**From local to national: Explaining the formation of the Australian Green Party**  
in *Party Politics*, Volume 18, Number 3, May , 409-425

The rise of green parties in Australia follows a path that is well documented in the literature; the inability of other parties to accommodate environmental concerns, the increasing salience of green issues for governments and an electoral regime that permits party insurgency. This article examines how these factors have operated in Australia, and the extent to which a distinctive federal structure and federal electoral regulation of parties served to modify the emergence of a



national green party.

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

*Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization*

**Pike Andy, Rodríguez-Pose Andrés, Tomaney John, Torrisi Gianpiero, Tselios Vassilis**

**In search of the 'economic dividend' of devolution: spatial disparities, spatial economic policy, and decentralisation in the UK**

**in Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy**, Volume 30, Issue 1, February , 10-28

After a decade of devolution and amid uncertainties about its effects, it is timely to assess and reflect upon the evidence and enduring meaning of any 'economic dividend' of devolution in the UK. Taking an institutionalist and quantitative approach, we seek to discern the nature and extent of any economic dividend through a conceptual and empirical analysis of the relationships between spatial disparities, spatial economic policy, and decentralisation. Situating the UK experience within its evolving historical context, we find: (i) a varied and uneven nature of the relationships between regional disparities, spatial economic policy, and decentralisation that change direction during specific time periods; (ii) the role of national economic growth is pivotal in explaining spatial disparities and the nature and extent of their relationship with the particular forms of spatial economic policy and decentralisation deployed; and, (iii) there is limited evidence that any economic dividend of devolution has emerged, but this remains difficult to discern because its likely effects are overridden by the role of national economic growth in decisively shaping the pattern of spatial disparities and in determining the scope and effects of spatial economic policy and decentralisation.

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

*Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization*

**Michael Keating**

**Intergovernmental Relations and Innovation: From Co-operative to Competitive Welfare Federalism in the UK**  
**in British Journal of Politics & International Relations** , Volume 14, Issue 2 , 214–230

Intergovernmental relations serve several purposes: to resolve conflicts of competence; to deal with overlaps and externalities; to harmonise policies; and to respond to new policy challenges. The United Kingdom is not a federation but an asymmetrically devolved system where the central government doubles up as the government of the largest part. This makes the application of federal intergovernmental theory problematic. At the same time, federations are tending to move from co-operative to competitive federalism. There is no case for greater policy harmonisation. On the contrary, the increased divergence between the dominant English legislative majority and majorities in the devolved territories points to increased autonomy and less harmonisation. There is scope for policy learning within competitive devolution, particularly on new policy challenges.

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

*Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization*

**LawrenceTheodore J., Watkins Cristy**

**It takes more than a village: the challenges of co-management in Uganda's fishery and forestry sectors**  
**in International Journal of Sustainable Development and World Ecology**, Volume 19, Issue 2 , 144-154



Decentralisation policies in least developed countries have emerged in response to failed centralised natural resource governance programmes because high-value natural resources are distributed unequally, with central governments often reaping more than local-level users. Current natural resource governance institutions have been created to remedy the problems that central governments formerly posed. Here, we argue that Uganda's forestry and fishery resources are biologically diverse and thus amenable to current decentralised management programmes, provided that there is compromise between market values and local cultural and subsistence values and uses. We observe, however, Uganda's current institutional arrangement favours the former over the latter and determine that successful natural resource decentralisation requires strengthening local-level natural resource institutions with increased fiscal flow, enforcement, monitoring and judicial powers. A strong and reliable partnership between local-level resource users and the central government is necessary for this to occur.

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

*Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization*

Antonini Luca

**La 'rivoluzione' parte dal Veneto: il federalismo a geometria variabile**

in *Diritto della regione (il)*, ed. 1 luglio 2011

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization*

Nicolas Kada

**La réforme de l'état territorial**

in *Revue française d'administration publique*, n. 141 , 109-120

Reform of the Territorial state — The year 2010 was marked by two major territorial reforms. The implementation of RÉATE (State Territorial Administration Reform) in January and the enactment of the law on the reform of local and regional authorities in December greatly changed the French administrative landscape. The question raised is whether these two reforms are based on two distinct approaches or whether they are underpinned by a single philosophy, that of setting up an efficient territorial State with newly drawn, relevant areas of intervention. Another issue addressed is how things stand regarding the old and complex relationships between deconcentration and decentralisation

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

*Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization*

Lamouroux Sophie

**La réforme des collectivités territoriales et le conseil constitutionnel : ombres et lumière**

in *Revue française de droit constitutionnel*, n.°89





No abstract available

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

*Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization*

Regina Goodnow and Robert G. Moser

**Layers of Ethnicity: The Effects of Ethnic Federalism, Majority-Minority Districts, and Minority Concentration on the Electoral Success of Ethnic Minorities in Russia**

*in Comparative Political Studies* , 45 (2) , 167-193

What impact, if any, do ethnic federalism and the geographic concentration of ethnic minorities have on the political incorporation of minorities in democracies with single-member district elections? Many studies on ethnic voting in the United States have examined the impact of majority-minority districts on the turnout of minority voters and the election of minority candidates. However, few studies have explored the effects of similar institutions in other countries. The authors address this issue by applying insights on ethnic voting from the American politics literature to Russia's 1995 parliamentary election. They use multilevel regression models and census and electoral data that are disaggregated at the subdistrict (raion) level to systematically assess whether ethnic federalism and majority-minority districts increase the vote share of minority candidates and encourage the turnout of minority voters. The findings suggest that district-level characteristics—specifically, majority-minority districts—are more important than ethnic federalism for promoting minority representation in Russia.

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

*Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization*

Nadim Farhat

**Le conflit communautaire belge entre contingence identitaire et déterminisme historique**

*in Revue française de science politique*, Vol. 62, n. 2, avril , 231-254

In the context of the communal relationships in Belgium, the evocation of the causes of the past is a common place in the analysis of the tensions and conflicts that mark out these relations. The adoption of a framework of analysis of path dependence elaborated in the field of historical sociology allows to test and precise the affirmation that Belgian past shapes the conflictual present. The recourse to this theoretical and methodological scaffold is intended to explain, by following the evolution of a historical trajectory initiated at the end of the nineteenth century, the regular conflicts and the model of increasing autonomy that characterize Belgian political scene.

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



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Troilo Silvio

**L'articolazione della forma di governo regionale dopo l'adozione dei nuovi statuti ordinari, tra uniformità del modello e spunti di differenziazione nei singoli enti territoriali**

in *Federalismi*, Anno X - Nr 2

No abstract available

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

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Serra Elda

**L'autonomia 'di qualità': i nuovi Statuti e i "loro"diritti. Le esperienze di Spagna e Italia**

in *Cittadinanza europea (La)*, Fascicolo 1 - 2012

Not available

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

*Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization*

Cochrane Allan

**Making up a region: the rise and fall of the 'South East of England' as a political territory**

in *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, Volume 30, Issue 1, February , 95-108

Despite a growing academic scepticism about the significance of territory as a driver of politics, it remains a stubborn presence in the practice of politics. In the context of the wider UK devolution agenda the first decade of this century saw the emergence of an English regionalist project, based around a series of regional institutions and governance networks. In other words, it appeared that a new framework for subnational territorial politics was being constructed. With the help of a case study of the South East of England, I explore the fragility of the project in practice but also note the continuing importance of territory as a focus of politics, highlighting the importance of recognising that territory is not to be taken as something given, somehow preexisting and waiting to be filled with politics, but rather as something that is actively formed and shaped through the political process.

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

*Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization*

Alex Wilson

**Multy-level Party Systems in Spain**

in *Regional and Federal Studies*, volume 22 n.2 , 123-140

This article compares party systems in Spain from a multi-level perspective, evaluating structures of party competition and processes of party system change at central and regional levels, with a view to understanding their broader impact on territorial dynamics in Spanish politics. Since the 1990s, the central party system has become characterized by intense bipolarization between state-wide parties and wholesale alternation in government. Although a similar process of bipolarization has occurred in most (but not all) regional party systems, the effects in terms of coalition formation and



government alternation are very different. Spanish regions are characterized by innovative coalitions between state-wide and non-state-wide parties, with patterns of government alternation that diverge from the central level. A majority of regions are characterized by predominant party systems with no alternation in government, while others see partial alternation where small regionalist parties form promiscuous coalitions with state-wide parties to stay perpetually in office. Meanwhile, the large bilingual regions (Catalonia, Basque Country, Galicia) have all shifted from predominant party systems to more competitive ones characterized by wholesale alternation, but with underlying structures of competition and party coalitions that differ significantly from the central level. Curiously, incongruence in multi-level party systems has so far proven to be a largely stabilizing factor in the territorial politics of Spain. It has contributed to ending the monopoly of regional government by powerful nationalist parties in Catalonia and the Basque Country, while not undermining the core features of party competition at central level. It has drawn state-wide and nationalist/regionalist parties into closer collaboration, so helping to blunt the edge of territorial conflicts. Yet enduring incongruence in multi-level party systems could ultimately induce more centrifugal pressures on the Spanish state. Through their electoral competition and coalitional relations with nationalist parties, regional branches of state-wide parties are more likely to develop positions that conflict with the central leadership, whether on policy issues, coalitional options or regional autonomy and influence. Such developments are already occurring in the most autonomous regional branches of state-wide parties, where regional leaders have built on existing asymmetrical arrangements to pursue distinct policies and coalitions, while advancing more autonomist positions on state design. If these developments became more widespread they could undermine the organizational coherence of state-wide parties, perhaps shifting the balance of power in territorial politics.

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

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Chris Lewis, David Marsh

**Network Governance and Public Participation in Policy-Making: Federal Community Cabinets in Australia**  
in *Australian Journal of Public Administration*, volume 71 n.1 , 6-19

The Australian Labor Party's (ALP) 2007 Policy Platform asserted 'Labor will pursue new and innovative measures designed to foster greater participation and engagement of the Australian population in the political process' (Manwaring 2010). As such they seemed to have a clear commitment to a more participatory form of democracy. This commitment appeared to be reflected in two initiatives they introduced in power: the 2020 Summit (on this see Fawcett, Manwaring and Marsh 2011) and federal community cabinets. More broadly it could be argued that Labor were following a trend identified internationally as a move from government to governance, more specifically to 'network governance' (Rhodes 1997) in which governments encouraged greater participation in policy-making, recognising that governments could at best steer, not row. Indeed, as Marinetto contends (2003: 593), this idea has taken on a 'semblance of orthodoxy' in discussions of public policy.

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

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Nowacka Ewa J., Nowacki Konrad ,

**Poland: As Regards State Decentralization**

in *European public Law*, Volume 18 (2012) - Issue 1 , 17-30

No abstract available



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

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Marco di Giulio

**Principali, principianti. Le regioni e il trasporto ferroviario locale (1997-2011)**

in *Rivista Italiana di Politiche Pubbliche*, n.3/2011 , 533-560

This article analyses the implementation of the Italian railway reforms, with a focus on the process of regionalization started in 1997. Indeed, this sector represents a relevant challenge for the Italian legacy in the field, traditionally regulated by the bureaucratic structure of the Italian Railways, under direct ministerial control since 1905. However, after ten years of implementation, Regions seem to have not yet enough financial resources and administrative capacity to deal with this policy. In addition, the national incumbent (FS) initiated a successful lobbying campaign to restrict the market condition on the regional level in order to protect its own domain. As a result, the regionalization process appears to be dominated by national actors and highly politicized dynamics which undermine the creation of a stable and accountable regulatory framework.

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

*Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization*

Julián Durazo Herrmann

**Procès de l'autoritarisme subnational : un regard sur l'Oaxaca**

in *Politique et sociétés, revue de la Société québécoise de science politique*, Volume 30, numéro 2 , 71-92

In 2006, the repression of the teachers' demonstration in the Mexican state of Oaxaca unleashed a long series of protests that culminated in heavy federal police intervention. This revolt followed the intensely contested gubernatorial election of 2004 and denounced the many ongoing authoritarian practices at the subnational level despite the federal transition to democracy. The governor managed to keep his post and headed towards the normal conclusion of his term in December 2010. This paper attempts to explain how this subnational authoritarian enclave survived federal democratization by studying how the local neo-patrimonial domination system managed to adopt formal democratic procedures without calling its authoritarian practices into question. The resulting hybridization process profoundly reformed Oaxaca's political institutions without substantially affecting subnational authoritarianism's social sources.

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

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Pasquier Romain

**Quand le local rencontre le global : contours et enjeux de l'action internationale des collectivités territoriales**

in *Revue française d'administration publique*, n. 141 , 167-182

When Local Meets Global: Description and Challenges of Actions of Local and Regional Authorities at International Level — Local authorities have considerably increased their international action since the decentralisation laws were enacted. Over the past two decades major cities and regions have deepened their international relations, which underlines changes of scale at local and regional government level today. International action has shifted from cultural exchanges to territorial marketing and para-diplomacy in a few short decades. This is why it is difficult to precisely



demarcate the international action of local and regional authorities. Taking note of the plastic nature of this definition, this analysis first seeks to determine the magnitude of the major parameters of change which affect international action by local and regional authorities. Next, given the profusion of initiatives, it will seek to establish a typology of public action instruments used by local and regional authorities regarding internationalisation, and then goes on to evaluate the strategies they pursue wherever their actions take place.

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

*Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization*

Paul Chaney

**Quasi-Federalism and the Administration of Equality and Human Rights: Recent Developments and Future Prospects – A Preliminary Analysis from the UK's Devolution Programme**

*in Public Policy and Administration*, 27 (1) , 69-88

Following the UK's move to quasi-federalism in the 1990s, the Parliament and Assemblies in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland gained powers over the promotion of equality of opportunity in the exercise of devolved functions. Constitutional law also placed human rights obligations on the regional administrations. Analysis reveals that the first years of devolution have seen a rapid growth and territorialization of regulatory bodies, such as commissioners, inspectorates, ombudsmen – whose remit includes these cross-cutting issues. Given the rise of distinctive sub-state 'equalities infrastructures' in the devolved nations, a key question is whether the dynamics of self-reinforcing feedback processes predicted by historical institutionalism offer the potential for more effective equality and human rights practice at the meso-level. While the discussion reveals a significant increase in the state's capacity to monitor and regulate, examples of innovation and policy transfer – and a cautious, yet generally positive, assessment by policy actors – a number of issues and shortcomings are also identified. These include limited government oversight and a lack of inter-agency coordination. Overall, the emerging evidence suggests that, from a functional institutionalist perspective, devolution has made advances in embedding the regulation of equality and human rights in the regional state; however, historical institutionalism indicates that, while devolution may be viewed as a 'critical juncture', notions of 'path dependency' towards more effective equalities practice are, as yet, unfounded and significant challenges remain.

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Greco Maria Antonietta

**Rapporti tra Regioni e Unione Europea**

*in Diritto della regione (il)*, ed. 1 luglio 2011

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

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Varró Krisztina

**Reconsidering the English question as a matter of democratic politics and spatial justice**  
in *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, Volume 30, Issue 1, February , 29-45

This paper is concerned with the implications of state territorial decentralization for the management of uneven regional development and spatial justice. It is argued that accounts of post-1997 UK devolution and the treatment of 'the English question' with a similar concern have tended to dismiss government policies against the backdrop of an uncritical view of spatial Keynesianism. Furthermore, these accounts have not succeeded in capturing the interconnectedness of the issues of democracy, solidarity, and spatial justice. In order to address these shortcomings I elaborate on a perspective that draws on insights of postfoundational political thought and interprets justice as democratic practice. This perspective reminds us that any notion of solidarity between people sharing a 'national space' and, consequently, any understanding of spatial justice is always politically constructed. Accordingly, the main task becomes to 'unimagine' the nation as a community of pregiven interests and to examine the obstacles to a meaningful debate on the institutional supports of solidarity.

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

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Harris Eleonora

**Redefining Parliamentary Sovereignty: The Example of the Devolution Referenda**  
in *Perspectives on federalism*, Vol. 3, issue 3 , E-94-125

The goal of this paper is to draw attention to a critical issue regarding the decline in the traditional doctrine of Parliamentary sovereignty in the United Kingdom. Devolution has proven to be a serious threat to Westminster's supremacy in view of the fact that until now it has evolved with a degree of complexity that the original proponents had scarcely imagined. One of the most peculiar examples of this evolution is the extent to which the referendum has been used to put forward major constitutional changes in this new order. In that regard, this paper, which is divided into two parts, retraces the crucial points of Dicey's reasoning and then attempts to verify what the devolution process has entailed for the referendum within the United Kingdom's constitutional framework, up to the latest developments

Full text available at:

<http://www.on-federalism.eu/index.php/eleonora-harris/84-essay/109-redefining-parliamentary-sovereignty-the-example-of-the-devolution-referenda>

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

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Totten Robbie J.

**Security, Two Diplomacies, and the Formation of the U.S. Constitution: Review, Interpretation, and New Directions for the Study of the Early American Period**  
in *Diplomatic History*, vol. 36, n. 1, January , 77-117

The making of the Constitution was an international event consisting of envoys from the thirteen states seeking to devise a solution to two diplomatic and security crises, that amongst the units (states and regions) of the Confederation with one another and with foreign powers. Early America is often structured as a fixed "nation" in studies of the period, but it





is perhaps more accurate to classify it as comprising a state-system, one which was part of a larger international system. This article reviews how this dynamic and the role of diplomacy factored into constitutional reform in the 1780s by surveying the extant scholarship in the area and through analyzing debate at the Federal Convention and the reaction of the founders to the threat of internecine and foreign war during the Confederation. It concludes by discussing how its findings point to new lines of inquiry into the early American political experience.

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

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**M. Amarjeet Singha & Narendar Pania**

**Territories beyond geography: an alternative approach to the demands for new states in India in Commonwealth and Comparative Politics**, Volume 50, Issue 1 , 121-140

Ever since the reorganisation of states in India in 1956, the Central government has reacted to the pressure for the creation of new states on a case-by-case basis, leading to the emergence of new states in fits and starts. But the resistance that is developing to the promise of new states like Telangana suggests that there is no guarantee that newly drawn inter-state boundaries will have universal acceptance. In order to explore ways out of this apparent stalemate this paper takes a closer look at the concept of territoriality. Taking a cue from the distinction made in the literature on globalisation between geographical territory and other aspects of territoriality, the nature of territoriality that is implicit in the demands for redrawing state boundaries is examined. This helps in identifying dimensions of the pressure for new states that are not confined to geographical territory. It is then argued that there are several dimensions of the pressure for new states that can be better addressed through institutions that focus on other dimensions of territoriality.

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**Alan Trench**

**The Courts and Devolution in the UK**

**in British Journal of Politics & International Relations** , Volume 14, Issue 2 , 303–322

The courts have hitherto played a remarkably limited role in the working of devolution in the United Kingdom. In this respect, the UK has been an exception to practice in most federal or decentralised systems, where the courts have tended to assume a prominent role in adjudicating intergovernmental disputes. This article examines whether political congruence contributed to this minimal role for the courts in IGR. It argues that additional factors are also at play: the limited role accorded to lawyers and legal issues in the UK's system of government, the flexibility of the devolution settlements, and the political nature of the UK's constitution, which make it both possible and desirable to resolve intergovernmental disputes by different means. While the courts are likely to become more prominent as a result of third-party litigation, particularly as devolved legislatures become more active, the limited role of the courts in most intergovernmental matters appears unlikely to change.

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

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**Anabel Zárate-Marco and Jaime Vallés-Giménez**

**The cost of regulation in a decentralized context: the case of the Spanish regions**



in *European Journal of Law and Economics*, volume 33 n.2 , 185-203

The impact of regulation on productivity is an issue that has attracted increasing interest in recent decades, as some scholars have argued that the proliferation of red tape may be the cause of slower growth rates in some western economies. Regulation (and other public instruments) has significant effects that may be either benign or harmful. Justified and well designed regulation protects consumers from potentially unsafe products, limits pollution, enhances workplace safety and contributes to public health and safety, as well as a more productive and fair society. However, an overabundance of rules or badly designed regulation can cause confusion and delay, impose unreasonable compliance costs in terms of capital investment, labour and official paperwork, retard innovation, lower productivity and, accidentally, distort incentives for private initiative. The objective of this paper is to examine the possible impact of regulatory activity in the Spanish regions over the past decade (1989–2001) on growth and productivity.

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

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Hooghe Marc

**The political Crisis in Belgium (2007-2011): A Federal System without federal Loyalty**

in *Representation*, Volume 48, Issue 1 , 131-138

Since 2007, Belgium has been confronted with an ongoing political crisis. As the two language communities in the country grow further apart, it becomes increasingly difficult to form a coalition government with an electoral system that does not provide any incentives for federal loyalty. During the lengthy coalition negotiations a caretaker government had implemented European policies, which might provide a form of economic stability, but does provoke questions about democratic legitimacy and accountability, while questions have also been voiced about the long-term stability of the Belgian political system.

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Velasco Rico Clara Isabel

**Un problème croissant et une solution problématique : la délimitation territoriale des pouvoirs dans l'Etat des Autonomies espagnol et l'utilisation de « points de rattachement »**

in *Federalismi*, Anno X - Nr 8

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization*

Valentino M.C.M. Vondenhoff

**Why the Spanish Satate of Autonomies Could be the Right Example for the Bolivian State**

in *Latin American Journal of Economic Development*, No. 13, Junio 2010

The study's aim is to analyze and investigate the characteristics of the regions demanding autonomy in Eastern Bolivia. Therefore the study takes a look at the Spanish political model, which could serve in a comparing and evaluating



framework. The development of processes of autonomy has been part of Spanish history, especially in the regions of Catalonia and the Basque Country, which has contributed to the establishment of a stable democracy and a flourishing economy in Spain. Firstly, the study compares both autonomous regions in both countries out of a historical way. On the one hand, the reader will discover differences in the nationalist regions and on the other hand important similar developments in both countries. Finally, the study concludes that the Spanish State of Autonomies and its 1978 Constitution, established after Franco's death, could serve as the right example for the Bolivian State. Essential in the article is the search for a consensus over the different characteristics which exist between the two ideologies which are the main reason why the Bolivian State could be described as a weak State.

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

*Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization*

Udayaadithya A, Gurtoo Anjula

**Working of Decentralized Governance in Rural India: Social Dynamics or Institutional Rational Choice?**  
in *Journal of Asian and African Studies* , Vol. 47, No. 1 , 101-118

This paper critically evaluates the popular representation of rural decision making in India as guided by socio-cultural dynamics and as a resort from various social alignments. It investigates how decisions get taken about a decentralized governance scheme in rural India, what variables impact these decisions – namely, social, political, administrative or economic – and how these variables impact the scheme performance. Case studies and empirical analysis of performance of a decentralized welfare scheme in India, the Andhra Pradesh Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (APREGS), demonstrates significant influence of agriculture-based economic dynamics and administrative efficiency factors. Local social hierarchies and cultural complexities do not come as the main concerns. These results challenge the traditional understanding of rural dynamics as totally controlled by caste hierarchies and authority of the large land owners and are discussed in the light of the institutional rational choice framework proposed by Elinor Ostrom. The results also call for a fresh and wider debate of whether India is witnessing a longer term indirect developmental outcome of empowerment which actively started in 1993 with the recognition of local governance systems (Panchayati Raj) as a formal democratic body.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Terretta Meredith

**"We Had Been Fooled into Thinking that the UN Watches over the Entire World": Human Rights, UN Trust Territories, and Africa's Decolonization**  
in *Human Rights Quarterly* , vol. 34, number 2, may , 329-360

ABSTRACT: This article uses empirical evidence to engage recent scholarship on the historical place of human rights in decolonization. The case of the British and French Cameroons demonstrates that African nationalists and the Western anti-imperial human rights advocates who supported them viewed UN Trust Territories as the most politically and legally viable channel through which to address the human rights abuses particular to colonial rule. Yet, because of the political deformations arising out of decolonization, the transition to independence was accompanied by a widespread disappointment in the United Nations, the disintegration of collaborative, transregional activists' networks, and a withering away of human rights ideas.



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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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**McMahon Edward, Ascherio Marta**

**A Step Ahead in Promoting Human Rights? The Universal Periodic Review of the UN Human Rights Council in Global Governance**, vol. 18, n. 2, april-june , 231-248

ABSTRACT: The Universal Periodic Review of the UN Human Rights Council is a peer review mechanism through which states make recommendations to each other regarding human rights practices. Representing new global approaches to promoting human rights, the UPR experiment is critical to the fate of the HRC. Understanding the UPR's performance is timely and of considerable importance considering that the second round of country reviews begins in May 2012. This article analyzes state and regional behavior by utilizing an innovative methodology in which recommendations are coded by level of action requested. It finds that, while long-standing North-South differences regarding definition and protection of human rights remain, the global increase of democratic states modestly attenuates this dichotomy.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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**Holmes John**

**A checklist of targets for post-MDG development policies in Europe's World**, Issue 21, Summer

What sort of policy targets should be set for 2015 onwards, asks John Holmes. Not all the MDGs will have been achieved by then, but it's still vital to think ahead.

[http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home\\_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/22007/language/en-US/Default.aspx](http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/22007/language/en-US/Default.aspx)

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

**Milanovic Marko**

**Aggression and Legality: Custom in Kampala**  
in **Journal of International Criminal Justice**, Volume 10, Issue 1, March , 165-187

This article tests the Kampala compromise on the aggression amendments to the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court against the principle of legality, *nullum crimen sine lege*, requiring criminal law to be reasonably clear and prohibiting its retrospective application. It outlines three possible legality-based challenges to criminalizing aggression: the supposed indeterminacy of the *jus ad bellum* and the lack of a criminalization under customary international law; the vagueness of the definition of the crime of aggression introduced in Article 8bis; and uncertainty regarding the application of this definition to situations in which the ICC's jurisdiction over a particular individual arises only *ex post*



facto. The article argues that it is the last of these three challenges, based on retroactivity rather than vagueness, that is most serious. A fundamental ambiguity about the legal nature of the Rome Statute has direct bearing on this issue: it is either substantive in nature, directly creating the crimes it defines, or jurisdictional in nature, in that it merely sets out the subject-matter jurisdiction of the Court over offences which are substantively defined elsewhere, in customary international law. The main practical consequence of this distinction is in the further question whether defendants charged before the Court have the right to challenge the legality of the charges against them on the basis that they do not comport with customary law. The article argues that this ambiguity about the nature of the Rome Statute was if anything only exacerbated in Kampala, discusses the substantive scope of application of Article 8bis as well as the intricate jurisdictional regime introduced by the aggression amendments, and finally turns to the question whether the definition of aggression adopted in Kampala departed from custom.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Zimmermann Andreas

**Amending the Amendment Provisions of the Rome Statute: The Kampala Compromise on the Crime of Aggression and the Law of Treaties**

in *Journal of International Criminal Justice*, Volume 10, Issue 1, March , 209-227

The adoption, in Kampala in June 2010, of amendments to the Rome Statute on the crime of aggression was hailed as a historic milestone in the development of the International Criminal Court (ICC). However, the manner in which these amendments are supposed to enter into force runs the risk of undermining the rules of the international law of treaties, as well as the legality and acceptability of the Kampala compromise itself. The author examines the relevant amendment procedures provided for in the ICC Statute and the compatibility with them of the amendment procedure chosen in Kampala and ultimately warns of the legal consequences which may follow from the Review Conference's somewhat-Alexandrian solution.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

MUrthy C.S.R.

**Assessing India at the United Nations in the Changing Context**

in *International Studies*, vol. 47, n. 2-4, april-july , 205-223

ABSTRACT: The United Nations (UN) has been a useful instrument for India not only in pursuing its foreign policy goals effectively, but also for the progressive and peaceful transformation of the global political system. The changing priorities of the country's political leadership, the challenge of reconciling subjective interests with objective principles, the nuanced pursuit of non-alignment and sensitivity to the existing international system have historically worked as factors to create a mix of effects in India's performance in the world body. In the intricate agenda of the new century, India's participation highlights concerns on reinforcing the core strengths of the UN in managing non-traditional security threats, including transnational terrorism, mobilizing collective action in the era of globalization for minimizing the economic inequities, both within and between countries, and lastly revitalization of the UN structures including, in particular, the Security Council's composition through comprehensive reforms by common agreement. As for future strategy, the hope of replaying its past leadership role may be a less appropriate and acceptable option than building pragmatic and issue-based partnerships with all relevant countries in multilateral negotiation settings.



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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Erika Romijn, Martin Herold, Lammert Kooistra, Daniel Murdiyarso, Louis Verchot

**Assessing capacities of non-Annex I countries for national forest monitoring in the context of REDD+**  
in *Environmental Science & Policy*, Vol. 19-20, 33-48

Countries participating in REDD+ need to prepare to report on their forest carbon stocks changes. Remote sensing and forest inventories are key tools and data sources for monitoring but the capacities within non-Annex I countries needed for reporting to the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) vary considerably. The purpose of this study was to assess the status and development of national monitoring capacities between 2005 and 2010 in tropical non-Annex I countries. Different global data sources were integrated for the comparative analysis of 99 countries. Indicators were derived for four main categories: national engagement in the REDD+ process, existing monitoring capacities, challenges with respect to REDD+ monitoring under particular national circumstances and technical challenges for the use of remote sensing. Very large capacity gaps were observed in forty nine countries, mostly in Africa, while only four countries had a very small capacity gap. These four countries show a net increase in forest area with 2513 ha × 1000 ha, while all other countries together have a forest loss of 8299 ha × 1000 ha in total. Modest improvements were observed over the last five years, especially with regard to carbon pool reporting. Based on the different circumstances and current capacities of each country, general recommendations are made for the design and planning of a national REDD+ forest monitoring system and for capacity development investments. The four countries with good capacities for both monitoring of forest area change and for performing regular forest inventories could have an important role in South-South capacity development.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Albers Martin

**Between the crisis of democracy and world parliament: the development of the Inter-Parliamentary Union in the 1920s**

in *Journal of Global History*, Volume 7 - Issue 02 - July

The Great War created new challenges for the proponents of pre-1914 cosmopolitanism. This article explores this theme by studying the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), an international association of members of parliament active in the interwar period. The IPU is first taken as a case study to discuss the difficulty of clearly differentiating between national politicians and agents of international civil society during the years between the wars. The article then shows how pre-war liberal internationalists had to reorient after the First World War, and how socialists and nationalists brought new agendas to the realm of international cooperation at the non-governmental level. These new perspectives shaping the international system even led to far-reaching plans for a world parliament. However, the IPU's history also shows how domestic political polarization contributed to the failure of interwar internationalism.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**





*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Richard Anne-Isabelle

**Competition and complementarity: civil society networks and the question of decentralizing the League of Nations**

in *Journal of Global History*, Volume 7 - Issue 02 - July , 233-256

This article examines debates on the decentralization of the League of Nations that took place in the civil society networks surrounding it. Set in the wider framework of regionalist debates, particularly in Latin America, it focuses on two organizations, the International Federation of League of Nations Societies, which promoted the League, and the Comité Fédéral de Coopération Européenne, which focused on European cooperation. The analysis of the debate on regionalism and universalism highlights the role that Europe played in the League, and points to the use of universalist arguments to further British imperial ends. It shows that interwar internationalism was a multifaceted phenomenon, in which national, imperial, regional, and universal projects and concerns were profoundly entangled. Finally, the article stresses the overlap between official and civil society networks, which complemented each other's activities.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Spénlé Christoph A., Skalski Jan

**Das unterschätzte Verfahren: Zur Funktion und Struktur der UNO-Staatenberichtsverfahren und Bedeutung des CEDAW-Verfahrens für die föderalistische Schweiz**

in *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Internationales und Europäisches Recht*, 20. Jahrgang, Heft 1 , 9-42

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Boyle Alan

**Developments in the International Law of Environmental Impact Assessments and their Relation to the Espoo Convention**

in *Review of European Community & International Environmental Law*, Volume 20, Issue 3, November , 227-231

The International Court of Justice's (ICJ) decision in the Pulp Mills case provides a detailed consideration of the current status and content of a State's obligation to conduct transboundary environmental impact assessments (EIAs) in general international law. This article provides an overview and analysis of the ICJ's findings in respect of EIA obligations and places them in the context of associated duties in international law and considers the implications of the decision for the Espoo Convention.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Klabbers Jan

**Disobeying the Security Council: Countermeasures against Wrongful Sanctions**

in *International Organizations Law Review*, vol. 8, n. 2 , 483-489



No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

**Wagner Beate**

**Eine Zwischenbilanz zur Halbzeit der deutschen Mitgliedschaft im UN-Sicherheitsrat**

*in Zeitschrift für Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik* , vol. 5, n. 1, January , 19-30

ABSTRACT: The first half of Germany's current stint as a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council is over by the end of 2011. This article provides an interim review. One conclusion is that the positions taken by Germany reflect the lack of a foreign policy strategy in the field of international security. This has not only become apparent with respect to a Resolution 1973 on Libya. The author calls for a debate about Germany's strategic foreign policy orientation, which will be necessary in order to come to a more positive assessment of the country's membership in the Council after its term has expired.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

**Bosselmann Klaus, Brown Peter G., Mackey Brendan**

**Enabling a Flourishing Earth: Challenges for the Green Economy, Opportunities for Global Governance**

*in Review of European Community & International Environmental Law*, Volume 21, Issue 1, April , 23-30

This article addresses the two key themes of the 2012 United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development (Rio+20), taking an integrative perspective. The case is being made that a 'green economy' remains illusionary without major reforms of the UN system of global governance; and that reforms in governance require the implementation of a new economic vision. An integrative perspective requires a commonly shared moral basis, as exemplified by the Earth Charter.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

**Eleftheria Vasileiadou, Gaston Heimeriksb, Arthur C. Petersen**

**Exploring the impact of the IPCC Assessment Reports on science**

*in Environmental Science & Policy* , Vol. 14, n°8 , 1052–1061

Even though critique to IPCC is certainly not new, the climate controversies of 2009 and 2010 brought this critique again to the fore in public media. The paper contributes to this ongoing debate, and investigates empirically the impact of the four Assessment Reports of the IPCC on scientific publications and science, through scientometric analyses of cited references to IPCC reports. The results indicate, among other things, that the aggregate impact of IPCC reports on scientific publications has increased through each consecutive assessment report, independently from the increase of the climate change field, showing a pattern which suggests that the references are quite generic. Both disciplinary distribution and geographical distribution of the impact of the reports are skewed, the former towards geophysical sciences, the latter towards western/developed countries. However, this skewness is decreasing over time. Given the



increasing impact further away from the climate change field, it is important that the IPCC becomes more transparent about its internal processes and main conclusions.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Beardsley Kyle, Schmidt Holger

**Following the Flag or Following the Charter? Examining the Determinants of UN Involvement in International Crises, 1945–2002**

in *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 56, issue 1, march , 33-49

ABSTRACT: This paper compares the explanatory power of two models of UN intervention behavior: (i) an “organizational mission model” built around the proposition that variations in the amount of resources that the UN devotes to different conflicts primarily reflect the degree to which a conflict poses a challenge to the UN’s organizational mandate of promoting international peace and stability and (ii) a “parochial interest model” that revolves around the purely private interests of the five veto-holding members of the UN Security Council (the so-called P-5), i.e., interests that are either unrelated to or at odds with the UN’s organizational mandate. Examining data on UN conflict management efforts in more than 270 international crises between 1945 and 2002, we find that measures of the severity and escalatory potential of a conflict are significantly better predictors of the extent of UN involvement in international crises than variables that measure P-5 interests that do not align with the UN’s organizational mission of acting as a global peacemaker. This suggests that the UN adheres more closely to the humanitarian and security mission laid out in its Charter than critics of the organization often suggest.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Katrin Vohland, Musa C. Mlambo, Luiz Domeignoz Horta, Bege Jonsson, Axel Paulsch, Sylvia I. Martinez

**How to ensure a credible and efficient IPBES?**

in *Environmental Science & Policy* , Vol. 14, n°8 , 1188-1194

The accelerated loss of biodiversity, impaired ecosystem services, and lack of policy action pose a major threat to human welfare. The installation of an Intergovernmental Science-Policy Platform for Biodiversity and Ecosystem Services (IPBES), as decided upon at the UN general assembly in December 2010, will provide a much needed framework to better coordinate global response to biodiversity loss. The Busan Outcome laid out the foundation of the structure, function and governance of the IPBES. However, the main goal is to make IPBES credible and effective. Here we discuss three main challenges for IPBES: (1) How to identify topics for the agenda and the assessments, (2) how to organise the assessment process, and (3) how to make findings more policy relevant. In this contribution we recommend that scientists actively act as “early warners”, identify pertinent topics that unify different stakeholders, and reflect the characteristics of the different regions and scales. Science has to be independent and improve its communication e.g. through the elaboration of different models and policy scenarios. A short reflection on fairness and effectivity leads to the conclusion that trust due to transparency will be one of the main factors that determines the success of IPBES.



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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Montuoro Umberto

**Il nuovo intelligence dei diritti umani. Inedite architetture di prevenzione e sicurezza nell'impiego dei caschi blu**  
in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Volume 78, n. 4, ottobre-dicembre , 553-567

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Chasek Pamela

**Incorporating Regional Priorities into Global Conferences: A Review of the Regional Preparatory Committee Meetings for Rio+20**

in *Review of European Community & International Environmental Law*, Volume 21, Issue 1, April , 4-11

This year, the 2012 United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development (UNCSD, or Rio+20) marks the fortieth anniversary of the 1972 UN Conference on the Human Environment in Stockholm, the twentieth anniversary of the 1992 UN Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro and the tenth anniversary of the 2002 World Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg. As part of the preparations for Rio+20, the five UN Regional Economic Commissions convened regional preparatory meetings. These regional meetings have become de rigueur in the run-up to international conferences or summits. This article examines the regional contribution to Rio+20 by looking at the history of the UN Regional Economic Commissions and their role in preparing for the global sustainable development conferences, with specific emphasis on the Rio+20 process, and how the regional preparatory meetings examined some of the major issues on the agenda.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Stephena Christopher

**International Criminal Law: Wielding The Sword Of Universal Criminal Justice?**

in *International & Comparative Law Quarterly* , Volume 61 - Issue 01

Writing 62 years ago, Georg Schwarzenberger posited that international criminal law did not exist. As long as some States, those larger or more powerful, were held to a different standard, or, in fact, not held to account at all, it was premature to speak of such a thing. For Schwarzenberger, international criminal law was a misnomer without universal criminal justice. This article considers whether that same criticism can be made of international criminal law today. Indeed, it asks whether this is a realistic expectation in the first place. The recently concluded Review Conference of the International Criminal Court in Kampala, Uganda is seen as an ideal juncture at which to do so. This article analyses what is meant by the term international criminal law and then selects two models; the International Criminal Court and the exercise of universal jurisdiction, to gauge the success, or failure, of international criminal law in satisfying Schwarzenberger's criterion.



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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Von Braun Leonie, Micus Annelen

**Judicial Independence at Risk: Critical Issues regarding the Crime of Aggression Raised by Selected Human Rights Organizations**

in *Journal of International Criminal Justice*, Volume 10, Issue 1, March , 111-132

This article examines the amendments to the crime of aggression passed during the International Criminal Court Review Conference from the perspective of some of the human rights organizations engaged in the discussion. The authors find that the Kampala compromise has not realized the worst fears voiced by these civil society organizations before and during the Review Conference. Nonetheless, there is cause for concern as regards the amendment's effect on the standards of independence and integrity of the ICC, especially its Office of the Prosecutor. States parties have introduced a jurisdictional procedure that allows the United Nations Security Council to have a significant impact on the Court by expanding the reach of Article 16 of the Rome Statute, even though three of the permanent members have failed to ratify the Statute. The authors perceive the risks of increased selectivity and political interference in the decision-making of the Court in the future.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Creagan Erin

**Justified Uses of Force and the Crime of Aggression**

in *Journal of International Criminal Justice*, Volume 10, Issue 1, March , 59-82

This article contends that the crime of aggression should not have been codified in the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (ICC). The crime of aggression is an outlier in the Rome Statute, and not so unambiguously morally wrong as the humanitarian crimes of war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide. Aggression is instead a political crime, which yields an abstract harm. The decision by states to use force is itself political, and should be subject to political sanctions rather than criminal ones. It should also be the providence of states, through changes in custom particularly, to determine which uses of force are legitimate and which are not. More than this, the article also disputes that the concept of 'aggression' is a good one to distinguish positive and negative uses of force. Whether a use of force is also an incursion into sovereign territory is not as important as whether the use of force is committed for a just purpose or not. The article lists several examples of uses of aggressive force that show that penalization of aggression may be undesirable: humanitarian intervention, anticipatory self-defence, defence against non-state actors, prevention of conflict escalation, and intervention in favour of self-determination or democratic governance. The article thus concludes that uses of force by states should be decriminalized and further evaluated.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Orend Brian

**La justice après la guerre. Pour une nouvelle Convention de Genève appliquée au jus post bellum**

in *Raisons politiques*, n. 45, février



No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Cataleta Maria Stefania

**Le Tribunal spécial pour le Liban: de l'hypothèse d'un possible effet déstabilisateur sur le système de la justice pénale internationale**

in *Comunità Internazionale (La)*, vol. LXII, n. 1, primo trimestre , 55-76

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Paolo Cominetti, Sergio Vergalli

**Lo sviluppo sostenibile da Rio 1992 a Rio + 20**

in *Equilibri*, 1, aprile , 57-66

Which kind of connection exists between the Rio Conference in 1992 and Rio + 20? Our article outlines the stages of a process that has been going on for twenty years, considering its strengths and weaknesses and contextualizing it according to the different economic and political scenarios that have characterized these years. Our analysis starts from the definition of «sustainable development» and the fall of the Soviet bloc in the early 90s. It continues with the Kyoto Protocol and its ratification, considering the new global equilibrium determined by the new emerging countries like China and India. Finally, it ends by presenting the Rio + 20 themes: Green Economy and Poverty reduction, considering the effects of the global economic crisis of the last years.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Kepler Elise

**Managing Setbacks for the International Criminal Court in Africa**

in *Journal of African Law*, Vol. 56, issue 1 , 1-14

The International Criminal Court (ICC) suffered two notable setbacks in Africa in 2010: the African Union's (AU) renewed call for members not to cooperate in executing ICC arrest warrants for Sudanese President al-Bashir; and the president's first visits to the territory of ICC states parties since warrants were issued in 2009 and 2010. Factors surrounding these developments suggest they do not represent the predominant view or approach to the court in Africa, where there is considerable backing for the ICC among African government officials and civil society. African ICC states parties and civil society should enhance initiatives to demonstrate the support that exists for the court, and to ensure that attacks on it are understood as limited efforts that emanate more from criticisms of the UN Security Council than of the court. Developments in 2011 reinforce these assessments.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**





*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Winckler Joel Gwyn

**Managing the Complexities of Intervention: United Nations Peace Operations as Organisational Action**

**in Peace, Conflict and Development**, Issue 18, Special Issue "Approaches to Peace and Conflict, what is missing?", December , 83-103

This article assesses a major gap in the literature on UN peace operations in post-war situations, which may be described as the 'organisation of intervention'. Research has extensively pointed at the UN's failure to achieve its own objectives and operationally reach its own standards of interventions. However, there has been very little consideration of the means of the UN as a bureaucratic organisation, which manages and copes with these ambiguities and failures of intervention. This article theoretically explores the organizational conditions and processes through which UN officials manage the gaps between aims and achievements of UN peace operations as an integral part of their daily work. The goal is to develop a theoretical framework to analyse the internal organisational rules and procedures of the UN, which enable as well as affect the daily management and routine of peace operations in interaction with its environment. For this purpose, the article includes approaches of organizational sociology to understand UN peacekeeping and draws on empirical illustrations to clarify propositions for further research.

Full text available online at <http://www.peacestudiesjournal.org.uk/dl/6%20Iss%2018%20Art%2036%20Final.pdf>

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

ng Jessica

**Modifying the UN Charter through Subsequent Practice: Prospects for the Charter's Revitalisation**

**in Nordic Journal of International Law**, vol. 81, issue 1 , 1-20

ABSTRACT: Despite the vast challenges facing the United Nations in its ever expanding mandate, the task of reforming the organisation remains encumbered by its onerous amendment procedures. Recent attempts to instigate formal changes to the Charter of the United Nations have all failed. In this context, it is argued that greater attention should be paid to the other ways in which changes can be made to the Charter. The subsequent practice of member states and organs can play an important role in informing changes to the Charter's application. The idea that treaties can be modified through subsequent practice is not new under international law. While it was rejected as a principle that should be codified under the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties, its utility is being presently re-considered by the International Law Commission. However, the functional potential of this doctrine vis-à-vis the Charter has attracted little academic scrutiny. This article pre-empts some of the issues that will be examined by the Commission, arguing that it is time to expand the role of subsequent practice, by not only using practice to inform interpretations to the Charter, but to embrace the opportunity for amendments to be also made through the subsequent practice of parties. This approach promises to open up greater prospects for the Charter's revitalisation. If the conditions for modification are carefully considered, the doctrine can be a useful instrument for Charter reform.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*



Hikaru Yamashita

**Peacekeeping cooperation between the United Nations and regional organisations**

in *Review of International Studies (The)*, Volume 38, Issue 1, January , 165-186

This article considers a conceptual framework for peacekeeping cooperation between the United Nations and regional organisations. It articulates the 'subcontracting' and 'partnering' modes of global-regional peacekeeping cooperation, and examines how they have been practiced through efforts to form institutional partnerships with the African Union (AU) and the European Union (EU). The article argues that there is incremental progress in institutionalising global-regional cooperation in peacekeeping, and yet managing such cooperation in the future requires a clearer understanding of the role of the UN in the globalisation of peacekeeping.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Finocchiaro Giuseppe

**Profili di responsabilità penale individuale nella giurisprudenza della Corte Penale Internazionale per la ex-Jugoslava**

in *Comunità Internazionale (La)*, vol. LXII, n. 1, primo trimestre , 115-140

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Hoover Joseph

**Reconstructing responsibility and moral agency in world politics**

in *International Theory*, Volume 4, Issue 02, July , 233-268

Assigning responsibility is increasingly common in world politics, from the United Nation's assertion that sovereignty entails a 'responsibility to protect' to the International Criminal Court's attempts to hold individuals responsible for international crimes. This development is welcome but problematic as the model of moral agency that our contemporary practices of responsibility are based on leads to a number of problematic consequences that impede efforts to make world politics more just. In particular, our contemporary practices of responsibility are excessively focused on the obligations of individual and collective actors, at the expense of enabling conditions, and on holding specific perpetrators accountable, neglecting the need for wider social transformations in response to mass violence and suffering. Alternative understandings of moral agency, which better serve international/global practices of responsibility, are possible and here I defend an understanding of moral agency based on the philosophy of John Dewey. The critical insights and practical possibilities of this alternative understanding of moral agency are explored with reference to international interventions in Sierra Leone and Uganda.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Hofmann Stephanie C., Jütersonke Oliver

**Regional Organizations and the Responsibility to Protect in the Context of the Arab Spring**



in *Swiss Political Science Review - Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft - Revue suisse de science politique*, Volume 18, Issue 1, March 2012 , 132-135

The full text is free:

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1662-6370.2012.02057.x/full>

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Timothy O'Riordan, Anthony A. Leiserowitz, Alan H. McGowan and Susan L. Cutter

**Rio + 20: An Endangered Species?**

in *Environment: Science and Policy for Sustainable Development* , March/April 2012

During the third week of June 2012, the United Nations will convene Rio+20, officially known as the UN Summit on Sustainable Development (UNSSD), to celebrate the 20th anniversary of the UN Conference on Environment and Development held in Rio de Janeiro in 1992. Rio+20 will be the fourth in a series of global UN conferences on environment, natural resources, and sustainability, which began with the Stockholm Summit on the Human Environment in 1972, then the World Commission on Environment and Development in 1992, and the the Johannesburg World Summit on Sustainable Development in 2002.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Michael Huettner

**Risks and opportunities of REDD+ implementation for environmental integrity and socio-economic compatibility**

in *Environmental Science & Policy* , Vol. 15, n°1 , 4-12

REDD+ (reducing emissions from deforestation and forest degradation and the enhancement of carbon stocks) emerges as promising incentive mechanism for tropical forest protection. While REDD+ is expected to yield poverty reduction and biodiversity co-benefits, its mechanism design options pose several risks to socio-economic compatibility and environmental integrity.

We conduct a REDD+ expert survey to rate the perceived importance and likelihood of these risks to national REDD+ implementation. The dependency of the risk perception on stakeholder characteristics is analyzed using seemingly unrelated regression analysis and ANOVA. Additionally, the survey investigates the perceived effectiveness of different policy options to minimize these risks.

The majority of stakeholders viewed governance challenges as the largest risks to REDD+ implementation and preferred mandatory incentive and regulatory policy measures to mitigate them. Understanding these stakeholder perceptions will not only help improving national REDD+ implementation, but also provide insights for the international policy process.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**



*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Wallensteen Peter, Grusel Helena

**Targeting the Right Targets? The UN Use of Individual Sanctions**

in **Global Governance**, vol. 18, n. 2, april-june , 207-230

ABSTRACT: This study focuses on the United Nations' use of sanctions that target particular individuals. This practice is one of the smart sanctions that are standard UN strategy since the mid-1990s. It has given rise to a debate on human rights of those listed. This study is one of the first to analyze the ability of such sanctions to achieve compliance. The theory behind this strategy is identified, based on social and behavioral science insights. More than 400 individuals from eight nonterrorist cases since year 2000 are studied, based on publicly available information. They are studied with respect to their closeness to decisionmaking, demonstrating some flaws in the present application of such sanctions. Suggestions are made for a more focused UN targeting strategy.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Pemberton Jo-Anne

**The Changing Shape of Intellectual Cooperation: From the League of Nations to UNESCO**

in **Australian Journal of Politics & History** , Volume 58, Issue 1, March , 34-50

This article elaborates on some of the key ideas that gave rise to and animated the International Commission on Intellectual Cooperation, a body which was among the last permanent organisations of the League of Nations. Although the Commission's efforts to cement intellectual relations among nations often went unappreciated, its proponents considered intellectual cooperation to be the very heart and soul of the League's Covenant. From the outset, the Commission sought to harmonise the world's various intellectual and cultural currents while maintaining respect for diversity. During its life, the Commission also became increasingly aware of the issue of its own cultural particularity and the vital need to incorporate perspectives and traditions other than those in which its origins lay. It was in grappling with these issues, and not just in pursuing its broader mandate, that the Commission can be said to be the forerunner of UNESCO.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Dorn Charles, Ghodsee Kristen

**The Cold War Politicization of Literacy: Communism, UNESCO, and the World Bank**

in **Diplomatic History**, vol. 36, n. 2, April , 373-398

In 1947, officials at the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) established an unprecedented, worldwide literacy program. Simultaneously, however, officials at the World Bank refused to support educational programming, arguing that education-related projects could not guarantee a return on Bank investments. In 1962, however, World Bank lending policies began to shift. Lending for primary education increased from zero to 14 percent between 1963 and 1978 and overall Bank spending on education rose dramatically. During this same period,



however, critics increasingly questioned the central principles upon which UNESCO officials established their organization's educational programming, fearing that the organization had come under communist influence. This paper reexamines the evolving priorities of United Nations organizations during the Cold War and the increasing politicization of economic development. It offers a critical reassessment of the role of the World Bank and UNESCO in negotiating the ideological conflict between capitalism and communism.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Akande Dapo

**The Effect of Security Council Resolutions and Domestic Proceedings on State Obligations to Cooperate with the ICC**

in *Journal of International Criminal Justice*, Volume 10, Issue 2, May , 299-324

The article considers whether the obligations of states, which have been referred to the International Criminal Court (ICC) by the United Nations Security Council, are the same as the cooperation obligations of states parties to the ICC Statute. It is argued that despite the lack of clarity in the resolutions referring the situation in Darfur and in Libya to the ICC, the better view is that the obligation imposed on Sudan and Libya to 'cooperate fully' with the ICC should be regarded as an obligation to cooperate in accordance with the provisions of the ICC Statute. This means that those states are entitled to benefit from those limited provisions of the ICC Statute that permit a refusal to cooperate with the Court or permit the state to postpone the execution of a request by the Court for assistance. The article also considers the interaction between the obligations of states to cooperate with the ICC and domestic proceedings against those sought for ICC prosecution. It considers the extent to which the obligation of cooperation may be suspended by an admissibility challenge and addresses whether the permission to suspend the obligation of cooperation may extend to a suspension of the obligation to surrender an accused person to the ICC.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Politi Mauro

**The ICC and the Crime of Aggression: A Dream that Came Through and the Reality Ahead**

in *Journal of International Criminal Justice*, Volume 10, Issue 1, March , 267-288

This article attempts to assess the effectiveness, in terms of prosecution and punishment of the crime of aggression, of the compromise which emerged at the International Criminal Court (ICC) Review Conference at Kampala. The conclusions are drawn from different angles: the main success of the negotiations lies in the failure to demand, as a pre-requisite for the Court's intervention, a previous determination by the Security Council on the occurrence of a state aggression. The postponement (at least until 2017) of the concrete exercise of ICC jurisdiction will also give the Court enough time to prepare for dealing with the complex issues raised by the crime of aggression. On the other hand, absent a Security Council referral, the 'exemption' from the Court's jurisdiction of non-States Parties will restrict, substantially, the ICC's power to intervene and create circumstances where the Council may be tempted to use more frequently its power of deferral under Article 16 of the Statute. Also, the compromise on the entry into force of the amendments and their application still suffers from opposite interpretations by key actors in the Review Conference, particularly as regards the case of States Parties that have neither ratified the amendments nor lodged an opt-out declaration. Finally, the task for ICC Chambers, and for the Pre-Trial Division as a judicial body, in determining the exact



notion of the crime as defined by the amendments, remains problematic, in relation to both aspects of state aggression and individual conduct.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Schiff Benjamin

**The ICC's Potential for Doing Bad When Pursuing Good  
in Ethics and International Affairs**, vol. 26, n. 1, spring , 73-81

ABSTRACT: The International Criminal Court (ICC) seeks to end impunity for the atrocity crimes of genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes, and, eventually, crimes of aggression. My contribution to this discussion takes a consequentialist view to outline ethical hazards confronting the court. Since the ICC has only recently begun to operate, with its first suspect, Thomas Lubanga Dyilo of the Democratic Republic of Congo, arriving in The Hague in 2006 and his trial completed only in the fall of 2011 (and awaiting a verdict in 2012), it is too early to reach a general appraisal of the court's effects.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Franceschet Antonio

**The International Criminal Court's Provisional Authority to Coerce  
in Ethics and International Affairs**, vol. 26, n. 1, spring , 93-101

ABSTRACT: The United Nations ad hoc tribunals in the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda had primacy over national judicial agents for crimes committed in these countries during the most notorious civil wars and genocide of the 1990s. The UN Charter granted the Security Council the right to establish a tribunal for Yugoslavia in the context of ongoing civil war and against the will of recalcitrant national agents. The Council used that same right to punish individuals responsible for a genocide that it failed earlier to prevent in Rwanda. In both cases the Council delegated a portion of its coercive title to independent tribunal agents, thereby overriding the default locus of punishment in the world order: sovereign states.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Landale Brigitte Benoit, Llewellyn Huw

**The International Residual Mechanism for Criminal tribunals: The Beginning of the end for the ICTY and ICTR  
in International Organizations Law Review**, vol. 8, n. 2 , 349-365

ABSTRACT: This article identifies the significant steps that led to the adoption of Security Council Resolution 1966 (2010) establishing a Residual Mechanism for the ICTY and ICTR, and summarises the principal features of the Mechanism. It looks more closely at some of the Resolution's most important aspects, including the continuity of the Tribunals' jurisdiction, the way in which it seeks to avoid impunity for the fugitive indictees, and the commencement,





transitional and duration provisions. Based on the current trials and appeals schedules of the ICTY and ICTR, the article sets out which case(s) will fall to the Residual Mechanism to conduct rather than to the Tribunals. It identifies some of the key underlying considerations taken into account in the Security Council Informal Working Group on International Tribunals (IWGIT), which negotiated Resolution 1966 (2010) over a four year period.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Wertheim Stephen

**The League of Nations: a retreat from international law?**

in *Journal of Global History*, Volume 7 - Issue 02 - July , 210-232

During the First World War, civil society groups across the North Atlantic put forward an array of plans for recasting international society. The most prominent ones sought to build on the Hague Conferences of 1899 and 1907 by developing international legal codes and, in a drastic innovation, obligating and militarily enforcing the judicial settlement of disputes. Their ideal was a world governed by law, which they opposed to politics. This idea was championed by the largest groups in the United States and France in favour of international organizations, and they had likeminded counterparts in Britain. The Anglo-American architects of the League of Nations, however, defined their vision against legalism. Their declaratory design sought to ensure that artificial machinery never stifled the growth of common consciousness. Paradoxically, the bold new experiment in international organization was forged from an anti-formalistic ethos – one that slowed the momentum of international law and portended the rise of global governance.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Harder Andrew

**The Politics of Impartiality: The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration in the Soviet Union, 1946–7**

in *Journal of Cold War Studies*, Volume 14, Issue 2 - Spring , 347-369

Officials from the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) were among the world's first international civil servants charged with impartially implementing a humanitarian assistance programme in a contentious political environment. Using the underexploited papers of Richard Scandrett and Marshall MacDuffie, this article explores the story of UNRRA in the Soviet Union and assesses its significance in forging an ethos of international public service and humanitarianism in the United Nations system. I argue that this animating spirit has its roots in the first-hand exposure of UNRRA personnel to the destruction wrought by the war, and in the personal rapport UNRRA officials established with their Soviet counterparts. Meanwhile, a strong reaction against multilaterally administered relief arose in the USA, forcing the organization to vigorously defend its performance. In response, UNRRA staff rejected the politicization of relief and became more committed to the broader goal of strengthening international institutions in order to address global problems. UNRRA staff concluded that the impartiality of international relief work should be protected as a vital asset in alleviating human suffering. As today's humanitarian workers face an increasing threat of violence in places like Afghanistan and Sudan, the lessons on UNRRA's experience are worth remembering.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Clarke Alisa

**The Potential of the Human Rights-Based Approach for the Evolution of the United Nations as a System in *Human Rights Review*, Vol. 13, number 2 , 225-248**

ABSTRACT: The United Nations (UN), facing increasingly intense challenges in the fulfillment of its mission, also harbors the potential for enhanced effectiveness, relevance, and legitimacy in the form of the human rights-based approach. The human rights-based approach (HRBA) is one model for translating the organization's values into a more adaptive, inclusive, dynamic, and responsive system of processes and outcomes. In the arena of politics, its meeting with a meaningful degree of receptiveness could signal a growing acceptance of the validity of structural approaches to development and other issues despite traditional defensive positions on human rights. Application of the HRBA in programming is leading to greater appreciation for addressing core disparities and promoting empowerment for sustainable outcomes. It is also cultivating new qualities in development practitioners, advancing creativity, openness and responsiveness in organizational culture. In feeding its evolution in this way, the UN as a system has the potential for deeper, longer-term mission fulfillment and thus ensuring its viability.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Desai Bharat H.

**The Quest for a United Nations Specialised Agency for the Environment in Round Table (The): the *Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs*, volume 101, Issue 2**

Recent years have seen intense intergovernmental deliberations on issues concerning governance in the field of environment. Their aim has been to address the role of the institutions that provide platforms for international environmental cooperation. There are two main lines of enquiry: the role of regime-specific institutions that cater to sectoral regulatory frameworks (popularly known as multilateral environmental agreements, or MEAs); and the role of institutions that are established to follow up on global environmental conferences or a specific environmental task. Most of these institutions reflect intergovernmental consensual process. However, there are concerns about their proliferation and there is a growing cacophony of calls to 'bring coherence to the fragmented landscape of MEAs, intergovernmental bodies, UN system entities and other international organizations' (Sha Zukang (2011) 'Legal and policy dimensions of sustainable development: expected contribution of Rio + 20', *Environmental Policy and Law*, 41(6), pp. 244–246, at p. 245). In fact the need to bring order to environmental governance has assumed great importance and urgency if environmental cooperation is to be achieved. This paper explores, in particular, the role of the United Nations Environment Programme and its potential for conversion to a specialised agency of the UN.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Vijapur Abdulrahim P.

**The Question of Domestic Jurisdiction and the Evolution of United Nations Law of Human Rights in *International Studies*, vol. 47, n. 2-4, april-july , 247-265**



ABSTRACT: One important area of UN activity, where innumerable claims to and denials of the applicability of domestic jurisdiction clause have been made, is the question of promotion and protection of human rights. The lack of a clear definition and the ambiguity of these 'terms' had a major impact on the functioning of the UN organs, especially with respect to promoting and protecting human rights. Whenever a state is accused of violating the human rights of its citizens, it generally resorts to Article 2(7) claiming that the matter was not subject to UN jurisdiction. Although both scholars and the government representatives in UN debates have differed on the question of primacy of international over domestic jurisdiction, the overwhelming opinion has shifted in favour of acknowledging the weight of international jurisdiction as evolved through the functioning of various legal instruments and regimes of the UN. This does not imply that the UN's expanded jurisdiction has replaced state jurisdiction. Indeed, the incorporation of many principles/provisions in UN human rights treaties is aimed at protecting the sovereignty of states. The institutionalized monitoring process of international human rights norms shows that virtually all states at present are subject to some international legal obligations as regards the human rights of their citizens.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Vagias Michail

**The Territorial Jurisdiction of the International Criminal Court – A Jurisdictional Rule of Reason for the ICC?  
in Netherlands International Law Review, Vol. 59, issue 1 , 43-64**

The territorial scope of the jurisdiction of the International Criminal Court was an issue which was hotly debated prior to the adoption of the Rome Statute. Yet, in the first 10 years of the Court's operation the negotiators' concerns with regard to a jurisdictional overreach seem to have been misplaced. To date, the interpretation and application of Article 12(2)(a) of the Rome Statute – the key provision in this context – have remained uncontroversial. This practice, however, has left certain important questions untouched, and particularly the issue of jurisdiction in cases of the partial commission of a crime on State Party territory. In this context, the question is how little of an international crime should take place on State Party territory for the ICC to have jurisdiction. It is hereby suggested that in order to answer this question, the Court may have recourse to the jurisdictional rule of reason developed by Francis Mann in the context of his work on state jurisdiction and antitrust law. In this context, it is suggested that the Court would have jurisdiction over any case or situation that would have a sufficiently strong connection with the territory of a State Party. The meaning of a 'sufficiently strong connection' – an essential 'reasonableness' approach, showing the absence of an abuse of rights or arbitrariness – would then need to be specified on a case-by-case basis.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Vagias Michail

**The Territorial jurisdiction of the International Criminal Court – A jurisdictional rule of reason for the ICC?  
in Netherlands International Law Review, Volume 59, Issue 1 , 43-64**

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of the Rome Statute – the key provision in this context – have remained uncontroversial. This practice, however, has left certain important questions untouched, and particularly the issue of jurisdiction in cases of the partial commission of a crime on State Party territory. In this context, the question is how little of an international crime should take place on State Party territory for the ICC to have jurisdiction. It is hereby suggested that in order to answer this question, the Court may have recourse to the jurisdictional rule of reason developed by Francis Mann in the context of his work on state jurisdiction and antitrust law. In this context, it is suggested that the Court would have jurisdiction over any case or situation that would have a sufficiently strong connection with the territory of a State Party. The meaning of a 'sufficiently strong connection' – an essential 'reasonableness' approach, showing the absence of an abuse of rights or arbitrariness – would then need to be specified on a case-by-case basis.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Jean-Philippe Thérien

**The United Nations and Human Development: From Ideology to Global Policies**  
in *Global Policy*, Volume 3, Issue 1, 1–12

Building on the work of the United Nations Intellectual History Project, this article argues that the ideology of human development has now become the driving normative force behind the global policies supported by the UN in the area of development. The first part focuses on the UN's official discourse of the past two decades, and shows how it has been influenced by the concept of human development. The second section examines a set of global policies that illustrate how the UN has sought to put the principles of human development into practice. The article concludes that while human development ideology has represented for twenty years the most credible critique of mainstream development policies, its impact – like that of the UN in world affairs – remains nonetheless limited.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Alhargan Raed A.

**The impact of the UN human rights system and human rights INGOs on the Saudi Government with special reference to the spiral model**  
in *International Journal of Human Rights (The)*, Vol. 16, issue 4, 598-623

This article assesses the impact of the UN human rights system and human rights NGOs in Saudi Arabia. In doing so, it applies the spiral model, which seeks to clarify the impacts of transnational human rights networks on states. It assesses the usefulness of the model's five phases as an explanation of the changes in the Saudi government's human rights practices from 1990 to early 2011. In order to assess the impacts of international human rights pressures on Saudi Arabia, the article investigates women's rights. It argues that human rights INGOs, aided with advocacies resulting from the UN human rights system, in particular UN treaty-based bodies, will lead to more concessions and adaptations to new norm

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Sheila M. Olmstead and Robert N. Stavins



### **Three Key Elements of a Post-2012 International Climate Policy Architecture**

in *Review of Environmental Economics and Policy* , Vol. 6, n°1 , 65-85

This article describes three essential elements of an effective post-2012 international climate policy architecture: a framework to ensure that key industrialized and developing nations are involved in differentiated but meaningful ways, an emphasis on an extended time path for emissions targets, and the inclusion of flexible market-based policy instruments to keep costs down and facilitate international equity. This overall architecture is consistent with fundamental aspects of the science, economics, and politics of global climate change; addresses specific shortcomings of the Kyoto Protocol; and builds on the foundation of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change.

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#### **Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Palmer Nicola

#### **Transfer or Transformation?: A Review of the Rule 11 bis Decisions of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda**

in *African Journal of International and Comparative Law*, Volume 20, Number 1

Transfer or Transformation?: A Review of the Rule 11 bis Decisions of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda

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#### **Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Beardsley Kyle

#### **UN intervention and the duration of international crises**

in *Journal of Peace Research*, Volume 49, Number 2, March , 335-349

This article examines the effect of UN actions on the duration of international crises. Four different types of action – assurance, diplomatic engagement, military involvement, and intimidation – and three different outcomes – compromise, victory, and stalemate – are considered. After building on the existing literature to develop expectations of how a third party like the UN shapes crisis trajectories, hypotheses are tested using the International Crisis Behavior (ICB) data and a new events dataset on UN activity. Results from competing-risks models reveal that UN military involvement does well to decrease the risk of one side achieving victory, and diplomatic engagement increases the ability of the belligerents to reach a compromise in the long run. Moreover, diplomatic engagement accompanied by military involvement substantially hastens the pace of stalemate outcomes. Both tactics, however, have some trade-offs. Military involvement can decrease the sense of urgency for compromise; diplomatic engagement can be used for insincere motives and increase the risk of one-sided victory over time. UN actions of assurance and simple intimidation have considerable shortcomings as crisis management vehicles.

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#### **Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Valerio Bosco

#### **Un and regionalism: challenges and opportunities**

in *CeMiSS - Osservatorio Strategico e Quarterly*, CeMiSS-Quarterly Year IX, Winter 2011 , 88-96





The recent release of the report “the Regional Dimension of Development and the UN system” revitalized the debate on the role of the UN regional commissions in providing support to regional organizations’ efforts aimed at promoting development and stability at regional level. The report, which has been sponsored by the 4 regional commissions of the UN, namely the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), The Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia (ESCWA), The Economic Commission for Europe (ECE), the Economic Commission for Latin American and the Caribbean (ECLAC) , and the Economic and Social Commission for the Asia and Pacific (ESCAP), provides a an in-depth analysis of evolution of regionalism and the current engagement between the UN system as a whole and the regional organizations in order to support development outcomes. Whilst highlighting the contribution of regionalism as a vital link between global processes and the national level, the report opened the way for an in-depth review and analysis of the potential role that UN regional commissions could play in further coordinating the work carried out by UN development agencies, promoting structural crisis prevention and supporting UN Secretariat efforts aimed at accompanying politic transitions, such as those currently taking place in Northern Africa and the Middle East.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Carlo Carraro

**Vent'anni dopo. Un nuovo inizio?**

in *Equilibri*, 1, aprile , 11-16

The United Nations Conference on the Human Environment held in Stockholm in 1972, twenty years before the Earth Summit in Rio in 1992, marked the first milestone in the history of international cooperation for the environment. The 1992 Rio summit delivered the first global agreement on climate change control. Twenty + twenty years later, the Rio + 20 conference, scheduled to be held in June 2012, will open a new stage in international negotiations with the participation of developing countries, and its focus will be broadened to include a debate on the global and sustainable «development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs».

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

O’Connell Mary Ellen, Niyazmatov Mirakmal

**What is Aggression?: Comparing the Jus ad Bellum and the ICC Statute**

in *Journal of International Criminal Justice*, Volume 10, Issue 1, March , 189-207

Under the international law on resort to force, the jus ad bellum, any serious violation of the United Nations Charter prohibition on the use of force amounts to aggression. Despite a close connection for over a century between the prohibition on aggression by states and the crime of aggression for which individuals may be held accountable, delegates to the 2010 International Criminal Court Review Conference in Kampala, Uganda felt compelled to bifurcate the two prohibitions and reach a compromise. Today, the ICC Statute contains a detailed provision on the crime of aggression, but with a byzantine procedure for entry into force of the amendments in place and absent a much narrower standard for mens rea of the crime, the authors doubt the likelihood of successful prosecution. This conclusion





underscores that the Kampala compromise does not in fact restate the law against the use of force binding on states; it underlines the importance of supporting and revitalizing the law that has as its purpose protecting the right to life of millions of people.

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### **Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

#### *Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Rodman Kenneth A.

#### **Why the ICC Should Operate Within Peace Processes**

*in Ethics and International Affairs*, vol. 26, n. 1, spring , 59-71

ABSTRACT: Is it ethical for the prosecutor at the International Criminal Court (ICC) to consider political factors, such as peace processes, in selecting situations to investigate or cases to prosecute? During the early years of the court, a number of documents and statements from the Office of the Prosecutor (OTP) suggested that there were occasions when it was. Two OTP policy papers issued in 2003 recommended that the prosecutor assess “all circumstances prevailing in the country or region concerned, including the nature and stage of the conflict and any intervention by the international community,” and whether prosecution might “exacerbate or otherwise destabilize a conflict situation.” In the same spirit, the ICC's chief prosecutor, Luis Moreno-Ocampo, referred to his decision-making as a “dialogue between many actors” with a “strategic dimension . . . [that] involves all stakeholders.” This language suggested a process of consultation and coordination with local and international actors involved in conflict resolution to adapt international criminal justice to on-the-ground political realities.

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### **Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

#### *Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Struett Michael J.

#### **Why the International Criminal Court Must Pretend to Ignore Politics**

*in Ethics and International Affairs*, vol. 26, n. 1, spring , 83-92

ABSTRACT: Since the International Criminal Court (ICC) prosecutes crimes of mass violence that are inherently political in nature, its actions will inevitably have political consequences about which the prosecutor and judges should be as well informed as possible. As some of the other contributors to this roundtable note, the ICC's actions and inactions may even have life-and-death consequences in the real world. It is ethically irresponsible for the ICC's officers to ignore those concerns. At the same time, the court's moral and legal authority derives entirely from its claim that it applies universal rules wherever it has jurisdiction. In order for the International Criminal Court to build legitimacy over time, it must both act and be seen to act in a neutral way that transcends political pressures. Rule-of-law courts do not derive their authority from their ability to command the use of force. Nor do they have the legitimacy of elected political officials who act as the representatives of a political community. The legitimacy of courts is a function of their claim to uphold universal rules of law that the community has chosen to adopt, regardless of whether doing so is popular or even prudent in a particular case with particular constituencies. Consequently, court officers in their formal actions—including prosecutorial requests for investigations, issuing arrest warrants, and filing charges, as well as in the judges' decisions on those questions—should always ground the rationale for their decisions in the pretense that they act only to uphold the law and without regard for political considerations.



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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations*

Jan AArt Scholte

**More Inclusive Global Governance? The IMF and Civil Society in Africa**

in *Global Governance*, vol. 18, n. 2, april-june , 185-206

ABSTRACT: Does engagement with civil society generate more inclusive global governance? This article examines that question in the context of relations between the International Monetary Fund and civil society organizations in six countries of sub-Saharan Africa. IMF exchanges with CSOs in this region have indeed brought some new voices into global governance. However, the overall scale and depth of these connections has remained modest. Moreover, such engagement as has developed has generally favored geographically, socioeconomically, and culturally privileged constituencies. These limitations to, and hierarchies of, access and influence in IMF-CSO relations have resulted from a combination of: personal qualities of the individuals involved, institutional attributes of both the IMF and CSOs, and deeper structures of contemporary global politics. Attention to these various circumstances could yield greater inclusion.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations*

Waziri Kasim Musa

**Re-Thinking the TRIPS Agreement: History and Analysis**

in *Indian Journal of International Law*, Vol. 51, no. 3

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations*

Dolls Mathias, Peichl Andreas, Zimmermann Klaus F.

**A challenge for the G20: Global debt brakes and transnational fiscal supervisory councils**

in *Intereconomics*, Volume 47, Number 1 / January 2012 , 31-38

Debt-to-GDP ratios have grown to unprecedented levels in many industrialised economies. To combat this threat, the authors call for a global debt brake following the Swiss or German example. The debt brakes should be incorporated into national constitutions and monitored by independent transnational fiscal councils, which should conduct regular evaluations of national budget plans in order to ensure that they meet the requirements stipulated by the debt brake.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations*

Elisa Van Waeyenberge

**Accountability at the World Bank**

in *Development and change*, Vol. 43, n°2 , 615-621



Review essay on the 2009 and 2010 World Bank publications: "Accountability at the WB" and "The Inspection Panel. Annual Report July 1, 2009, to 30 June, 2010".

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations*

Destaa Melaku Geboye, Hirscha Moshe

**African Countries In The World Trading System: International Trade, Domestic Institutions And The Role Of International Law**

in *International & Comparative Law Quarterly* , Volume 61 - Issue 01

This article addresses an important and complex subject relating to the link between international law and economic development. There is broad agreement that trade liberalization and participation in foreign markets play an important role in economic development. Countries in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) have generally pursued a liberalization route over the past two decades, but their economic performance has been deeply disappointing. In this article, we look at seven countries in the Horn of Africa and examine, from legal and institutional perspectives, the central question of why these countries have failed to translate their comparative advantage, particularly in the livestock sector, into meaningful trade-led economic growth. In order to answer this question, we have reviewed the relevant legal and policy instruments and the literature, visited five of the seven countries, and interviewed different players in the livestock value chain. Analysis of the evidence reveals that the main impediments to trade relate to rising sanitary import requirements in foreign markets and weak institutional capacity within the Horn. The limited technical and financial resources available to these countries also reduce their capacity to meet these standards. Meaningful institutional change requires substantial involvement of local actors and it takes place incrementally and over the long term. International law can play a role in this process by promoting the rule of law and tackling corruption, facilitating capacity-building, and encouraging regional integration.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations*

Geboye Desta Melaku, Hirsch Moshe

**African countries in the World Trading System: international trade, domestic institutions and the role of international law**

in *International and Comparative Law Quarterly*, Vol. 61, issue 1 , 127-170

This article addresses an important and complex subject relating to the link between international law and economic development. There is broad agreement that trade liberalization and participation in foreign markets play an important role in economic development. Countries in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) have generally pursued a liberalization route over the past two decades, but their economic performance has been deeply disappointing. In this article, we look at seven countries in the Horn of Africa and examine, from legal and institutional perspectives, the central question of why these countries have failed to translate their comparative advantage, particularly in the livestock sector, into meaningful trade-led economic growth. In order to answer this question, we have reviewed the relevant legal and policy instruments and the literature, visited five of the seven countries, and interviewed different players in the livestock value chain. Analysis of the evidence reveals that the main impediments to trade relate to rising sanitary import requirements in



foreign markets and weak institutional capacity within the Horn. The limited technical and financial resources available to these countries also reduce their capacity to meet these standards. Meaningful institutional change requires substantial involvement of local actors and it takes place incrementally and over the long term. International law can play a role in this process by promoting the rule of law and tackling corruption, facilitating capacity-building, and encouraging regional integration.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations*

Davidson Ladly Sarah

**Border carbon adjustments, WTO-law and the principle of common but differentiated responsibilities**

**in International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics**, Volume 12, Number 1, March , 63-84

This paper considers unilateral border measures, as contemplated by a number of developed states in conjunction with domestic emissions reduction schemes, as they relate to international trade and international environmental law. Specifically, I argue that to the extent that WTO-compliance requires strict adherence to the principle of nondiscrimination, as embodied in the national treatment and most-favored nation provisions in the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs, there is the potential for conflict with the principle of common but differentiated responsibilities (CBDR), both as a free-standing principle of customary international law and as set out in various multilateral environmental agreements and, in particular in the climate change context, the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change and the Kyoto Protocol. This is insofar as the unilateral imposition of BCAs by developed countries shifts costs of compliance with environmental legislation in developed economies onto the developing world. Such allocation may conflict with the principle of CBDR, which recognizes the unequal contribution to environmental degradation of developed countries as well as their enhanced ability to address the challenges presented by such degradation and, as a consequence, requires that they undertake more onerous obligations with respect to climate change mitigation. The paper concludes with a discussion of the extent to which this conflict is illustrative of a deeper tension between efficiency and equity considerations inherent in the intersection of international economic law and international environmental law.

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*Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations*

Hegen Rune Jansen

**Certified or branded? A game-theoretic analysis of the IMF's policy support instrument**

**in Review of International Organizations (The)** , vol. 7, n. 2, June , 203-230

ABSTRACT: While often considered a purely financial institution, the IMF has throughout its history performed non-financial services for its membership. The latest example is the Policy Support Instrument (PSI), a certification mechanism established in 2005 for which only poor members are eligible. Based on a formal game-theoretic model, I argue that it is unlikely that the PSI will serve well the intention of facilitating capital market access for members requesting the service. Their low income, the lack of significant consequences for markets, the IMF's traditional reluctance to criticize members, as well as the need to promote the use of the new arrangement indicate that the Fund could emphasize participants' welfare over the interests of private lenders. The continued importance of foreign aid in eligible countries also puts the IMF in the role of gatekeeping such flows, which might conflict with sending clear signals to commercial actors. All these reasons imply that in many cases its seal of approval will be of little use to third-parties,



despite the high standards to which PSI-countries are supposed to adhere. The best argument in favor of the PSI being a useful addition to the Fund's tool kit for low-income members is the fact that several countries have already signed a second one.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations*

Harpaz, Marcia Don

**Chinas WTO Compliance-Plus Anti-dumping Policy**

in *Journal of World Trade*, Volume 45 Issue 4 , 727-767

Is China complying with its World Trade Organization (WTO) anti-dumping (AD) commitments? The strong import competition created by the rapid opening of China's domestic market and the continued state involvement in its industry could conceivably generate domestic pressure on the Chinese government to use AD measures intensively and possibly illegally. Moreover, since its exports are a primary global target of AD actions, China might be expected to retaliate by levying questionable AD measures on imports. Despite factors conducive to a more protectionist bias and possible non-compliance, I argue that China is not only complying with AD rules but also demonstrating domestic restraint, and to a certain extent, a pro-liberalization interpretation of the rules. This policy along with China's Doha Round negotiating proposals on AD suggests what is characterized in this article as a compliance-plus policy. The fact that China has chosen to pursue such a policy is not trivial, taking into account the more protectionist paths taken by other key WTO members. On a broader level, this case study aims at contributing to the contemporary debate regarding China's changing role in the global arena. By complying with WTO rules, China is demonstrating that it is accepting, following, and becoming increasingly vested in their maintenance.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations*

Chi Manjiao

**China's Participation in WTO Dispute Settlement Over the Past Decade: Experiences and Impacts**

in *Journal of International Economic Law*, volume 15 n.1 , 29-49

The year 2011 marked the 10th year of China's World Trade Organization (WTO) membership. Acceding to the WTO demonstrates China's attempt to integrate in the global trading system as one of the world's biggest economies. To date, China has been involved in 31 WTO cases as complainant or respondent and has gradually become one of the most frequent users of WTO dispute settlement mechanism. This article provides a skeletal review of China's participation in WTO dispute settlement over the past decade and analyzes some of its salient and systematic impacts on China. Active participation in WTO dispute settlement inevitably poses challenges to China, but it is helpful for China to improve its trade and social-political governance regimes and to maintain healthy and constructive trade relations with other WTO members.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations*

Joshua Meltze





### **Climate Change and Trade—The EU Aviation Directive and the WTO**

in *Journal of International Economic Law*, volume 15 n.1 , 111-156

With limited progress in the UN climate change negotiations, the EU has been looking at ways to further reduce global CO<sub>2</sub> emissions by extending the scope of its cap and trade system, most recently by including flights entering and leaving EU airspace. With the EU Aviation Directive entering into force on 1 January 2012, all airlines will need to hold permits to cover their CO<sub>2</sub> emissions for flights operating in EU airspace. For instance, Singapore Airlines will be required to hold permits for CO<sub>2</sub> emissions for its flights from Singapore to Frankfurt, which will include all CO<sub>2</sub> emissions over Singapore, third countries, the high seas and EU airspace. As climate change is a global challenge, national and regional efforts to reduce CO<sub>2</sub> emissions have an international impact by nature, particularly on trade. With the World Trade Organization (WTO) responsible for regulating world trade, this article analyses the consistency of the EU Aviation Directive with WTO rules. The EU's decision to include both non-EU and EU airlines under its cap and trade system is a response to the so-called carbon leakage and competitiveness issues that would have arisen if the scheme had been limited to EU airlines only. Carbon leakage arises when a carbon price leads domestic businesses to relocate to countries not pricing carbon or to increased imports of goods from countries not pricing carbon, resulting in no net reduction in global CO<sub>2</sub> emissions. Competitiveness issues occur when a carbon price increases the price of domestically produced goods, causing consumers to substitute with cheaper imports from countries not pricing carbon, ultimately harming domestic industry and undermining support for these policies. With airlines providing an important international services trade, including CO<sub>2</sub> emissions from aviation under the EU cap and trade system has important implications for international trade, particularly since air transport functions as an enabler of other forms of trade such as just-in-time manufacturing strategies, tourism, and business links. Despite the number of ways in which the Aviation Directive is in conflict with WTO rules, the article demonstrates that the type of WTO rules that the EU Aviation might violate are useful disciplines on how countries develop and apply climate change action that impedes international trade. Developing climate change measures consistently with WTO rules strikes an appropriate balance between giving WTO Members the policy space to take action to reduce CO<sub>2</sub> emissions while maintaining an open and non-discriminatory trading system that supports economic growth and global welfare.

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#### **Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations*

Maruyama, Warren H.

#### **Climate Change and the WTO: Cap and Trade versus Carbon Tax?**

in *Journal of World Trade*, Volume 45 Issue 4 , 679-726

In the rush to enact cap and trade, major World Trade Organization (WTO) concerns have been overlooked. These problems are not necessarily fatal, but fixing them would have political costs. Free emissions allowance rebates to trade-intensive industries represent a WTO-illegal export subsidy, which may make a US cap-and-trade system unworkable for export-dependent economies like Japan, Germany, and China. The best interim solution would be a carbon or energy tax that is imposed on imports and rebated on exports to ensure a level playing field. Such a system could be implemented under the WTO's existing border tax adjustment rules even in the absence of a multilateral climate agreement.

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Fasan Olu

**Commitment and Compliance in International Law: A Study of the Implementation of the WTO TRIPS Agreement in Nigeria and South Africa**

in *African Journal of International and Comparative Law*, Volume 20, Number 2 , 191-228

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Ayşe Kaya

**Conflicted Principals, Uncertain Agency: The International Monetary Fund and the Great Recession in Global Policy**, Volume 3, Issue 1 , 24–34

The G20's renewal of faith in the International Monetary Fund (IMF) during the 2008 financial crisis appears to have reversed the IMF's declining relevance evident in the years preceding the crisis. This article examines this putative revival of the IMF, arguing that the G20's actions contained a paradox of delegation. On the one hand, the nature of the G20's replenishment of the IMF's resources during the crisis (mostly through credit lines available to the IMF) as well as the independence the major G20 economies can afford to have from the IMF (given that they are not beholden to its resources) has meant that the G20 countries faced low sovereignty costs in reviving the IMF. On the other hand, truly re-establishing the IMF's relevance would impose higher sovereignty costs, specifically in the form of strengthened IMF surveillance over G20 economies. This paradox of delegation suggests that the G20's action toward the IMF does not inform properly whether the G20 states have contemplated the trade-off between suffering sovereignty costs and achieving gains from delegation. In this regard, the proper role of the IMF in the governance of the global economy remains uncertain.

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Knack Stephen, Rogers F. Halsey, Heckelman Jac C.

**Crossing the threshold: A positive analysis of IBRD graduation policy**

in *Review of International Organizations (The)* , vol. 7, n. 2, June , 145-176

**ABSTRACT:** According to World Bank policy, countries remain eligible to borrow from the IBRD until they are able to sustain long-term development without further recourse to Bank financing. Graduation from IBRD is not an automatic consequence of reaching a particular income level, but rather is supposed to be based on a determination of whether the country has reached a level of institutional development and capital-market access that enables it to sustain its own development process without recourse to Bank funding. This paper takes a positive approach to IBRD graduation policy, investigating what income and non-income factors appear to have influenced graduation status in recent decades, based on panel data for 1982 through 2009. Explanatory variables include the per-capita income of the country, as well as measures of institutional development and market access that are cited as criteria by the graduation policy, and other plausible explanatory variables that capture the levels of economic development and vulnerability of the country. We find that the observed correlates of Bank graduation status are generally consistent with the stated policy. Countries that are wealthier, more creditworthy, more institutionally developed, and are less vulnerable to trade, financial, and other shocks are more likely to be graduates. Predicted probabilities generated by the model conform closely to the actual graduation



and de-graduation experiences of Trinidad and Tobago and Korea, among other countries, and suggest that Hungary and Latvia may have graduated prematurely—a prediction subsequently borne out by the large loans that they later received from the IBRD in the wake of the global financial crisis.

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Bauer Molly E., Cruz Cesi, Graham Benjamin A.T.

**Democracies only: When do IMF agreements serve as a seal of approval?**

in *Review of International Organizations (The)*, vol. 7, n. 1, march, 33-58

ABSTRACT: Conditional lending by the IMF is predicated, in part, on the belief that IMF programs are associated with increased capital inflows to participating countries. This belief is generally consistent with theoretical arguments in the academic literature (e.g., Bird and Rowlands 1997; Bordo et al. 2004) but the empirical literature often finds otherwise (e.g., Jensen 2004). This paper argues that the effect of IMF agreements on a country's access to foreign direct investment (FDI) depends on its domestic institutions. Access to FDI depends on a country's ability to credibly commit to implementation, and this ability varies systematically across regime type. The theory is empirically tested using a treatment effects model with a Markov transition in the treatment equation in a dataset covering 142 countries from 1976 to 2006. We find that in democracies IMF program participation has a strong positive effect on FDI inflows and in autocracies participation has a weak negative effect.

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Martin Roy

**Democracy and the Political Economy of Multilateral Commitments on Trade in Services**

in *Journal of World Trade*, Volume 45 Issue 6, 1157–1180

Research on the relationship between democracy and trade has so far neglected multilateral negotiations and more generally the content of trade agreements, in particular the market access bindings undertaken by countries. This article finds that more democratic countries undertake greater market access commitments under the multilateral General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS). I argue that non-democratic regimes take fewer commitments, because these reduce their discretion in granting rents to ensure the support of small groups. In contrast, for democratic regimes, commitments that lock-in levels of access have lower costs because voters generally do not favour increased protectionism. Democracies also have greater incentives to take commitments since they signal good economic policy-making to voters. Moreover, the article finds that endowments have a direct impact on commitments. I argue that greater human capital endowments translate into greater pressures from industry groups for international commitments. The empirical analysis provides support for these propositions. The analysis also suggests that economic size and regulatory capacity are positively linked to GATS commitment

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Marc D. Froese

**Do Developed Countries ‘Lawyer up’ Faster than Developing Countries? Evaluating the Speed and Momentum of Trade Litigation at the World Trade Organization**

in *Journal of World Trade*, Volume 45 Issue 6 , 1237–1266

Recent scholarship raises a number of questions about how countries at different income levels use the World Trade Organization's (WTO's). It is generally accepted that countries with large trade volumes will use the DSU more than smaller economies. It stands to reason that developed countries would also be faster to participate in dispute settlement processes after acceding to the WTO Agreement. This article shows that economic development status does not explain the speed at which members engage in dispute settlement following accession. In fact, there is less uniformity in the pace at which members undertake dispute settlement than might be expected given the global divisions of wealth, access to information and availability of legal talent

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Dreher Haxel, Gassebner Martin

**Do IMF and World Bank Programs Induce Government Crises? An Empirical Analysis**

in *International Organization*, vol. 66, issue 2 , 329-358

ABSTRACT: We examine whether and under what circumstances World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) programs affect the likelihood of major government crises. We find that crises are, on average, more likely as a consequence of World Bank programs. We also find that governments face an increasing risk of entering a crisis when they remain under an IMF or World Bank arrangement once the economy's performance improves. The international financial institution's (IFI) scapegoat function thus seems to lose its value when the need for financial support is less urgent. While the probability of a crisis increases when a government turns to the IFIs, programs inherited by preceding governments do not affect the probability of a crisis. This is in line with two interpretations. First, the conclusion of IFI programs can signal the government's incompetence, and second, governments that inherit programs might be less likely to implement program conditions agreed to by their predecessors.

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Ferdi De Ville

**European Union regulatory politics in the shadow of the WTO: WTO rules as frame of reference and rhetorical device**

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 19, Issue 5 2012 , 700-718

This contribution asks how the World Trade Organization (WTO) affects European Union (EU) regulatory politics. While WTO rules have no direct effect, authors who take a rational choice institutionalist perspective argue that these rules are enforced domestically through the mobilization of exporters triggered by the WTO dispute settlement system. This contribution challenges the plausibility of this argument and offers an alternative perspective rooted in historical and discursive institutionalism. It contends that WTO rules act as both a frame of reference influencing actors' perceptions of the scope of legitimate policy outcomes and as a rhetorical device that may be used by actors in domestic political battles over regulatory policy decisions. Two recent decisions on EU regulation with international trade effects are



process-traced to demonstrate the value of the alternative perspective against the rational choice institutionalism model: Registration, Evaluation and Authorization of Chemicals (REACH) and the proposed 'carbon border tax' in the framework of the EU emissions trading scheme post-2013.

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Baris Karapinar,

**Export Restrictions and the WTO Law: How to Reform the 'Regulatory Deficiency**

**in Journal of World Trade**, Volume 45 Issue 6 , 1139–1155

Trade barriers in the form of export restrictions imposed on various food products and natural resources have been subject to extensive public attention. A notable illustration of the growing importance of export restrictions was the establishment of a panel by the World Trade Organization (WTO) Dispute Settlement Body (DSB) in December 2009 to examine complaints brought by the United States, the European Union (EU), and Mexico concerning China's export restriction policies. While export restrictions undermine the stability of the multilateral trading system by distorting global markets, the WTO law regulating this field arguably represents a case of 'under-regulation' or 'regulatory deficiency'. Hence, stricter WTO regulation in this area of apparently large 'policy space' is needed. However, various reform proposals submitted to the WTO face strong opposition mainly from developing countries. In this context, this article attempts to illustrate how a sufficiently 'differentiated' reform agenda on export restrictions could help maintain the stability of the multilateral trading system while addressing the legitimate concerns of developing countries.

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Narlikar Amrita, Kumar Rajiv

**From Pax Americana to Pax Mosaica? Bargaining over a New Economic Order**

**in Political Quarterly** , Volume 83, Issue 2, April-June 2012 , 384–394

While the economic rise of new powers, frequently identified as the 'BRICs' (Brazil, Russia, India, and China), has been dramatic, the implications of this emerging multipolarity for global economic governance are not clear. In this paper, we address the question: can the diffusion of power among a greater diversity of countries result in the creation of a new global economic order—a Pax Mosaica—to succeed the Pax Americana of the previous century? Our argument proceeds in four steps. First, we provide a brief overview of the achievements and limitations of the system that was established at the end of World War II, and lasted for over half a century in the form of Pax Americana. In the second section, we investigate the emergence of multipolarity, and highlight the opportunities and costs that this generates. In the third section, we explore the routes whereby the changing balance of power might be harnessed towards the creation of a Pax Mosaica. We do so by posing four sets of questions, which must be answered if the mosaic distribution of power is to lead to greater economic stability, growth, and peace. The fourth section concludes the paper with ideas for reform with reference to the World Trade Organization, the Bretton Woods institutions, and the G20.

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Nolle Daniel E.



## **Global Financial System Reform: The Dodd-Frank Act and the G20 Agenda**

in *Journal of Financial Economic Policy*, Volume 4 issue 2

**Purpose** - The Dodd-Frank Act of 2010 is the keystone policy response directed at reforming U.S. financial system activities and oversight in the wake of the 2007-2009 financial crisis. The United States also has financial system reform policy commitments in the international arena, including in particular by virtue of its membership in the G20. This analysis considers U.S. policy initiatives related to a core dimension of financial system reform: risks posed by systemically important financial institutions ("SIFIs").

**Design/methodology/approach** - The paper provides a detailed comparison of SIFI policy initiatives and timetables under both the Dodd-Frank Act and the G20 agenda, as reflected in the ongoing work plan of the Financial Stability Board (FSB), and poses the question "Are U.S. domestic and international financial system reform commitments in sync?"

**Findings** - The study finds that, fundamentally, the answer is "yes." However, the comparison yields two caveats with potential policy implications. First, the two agendas differ in their relative emphasis on the coverage of both banks and nonbanks. The G20/FSB focus, at least over the near-term, is bank-centric compared with the Dodd-Frank Act, which consistently addresses both bank and nonbank financial firms. Second, implementation of Dodd-Frank Act provisions is subject to long-established U.S. law mandating that there be sufficient opportunity for public input into the rulemaking process, whereas the G20/FSB process has been less systematic and transparent on public consultation and feedback.

**Practical implications** - These observations may be relevant to the current debate over the speed and scope of Dodd-Frank Act implementation measures, and to the discussion about the future international competitiveness of U.S. banks and nonbank financial firms.

**Originality/value** - This study is the first to present a detailed, comprehensive comparison of financial system reform initiatives and provisions in the Dodd-Frank Act and the G20 agenda.

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**Henkschke Lauren**

#### **Going it alone on climate change A new challenge to WTO subsidies disciplines: are subsidies in support of emissions reductions schemes permissible under the WTO**

in *World Trade Review*, Volume 11 - Issue 01 - gennaio 2012 , 27-52

This paper examines the specific ways in which the provision of emissions permits by governments in carbon trading schemes, interacts with, and challenges, the disciplines on subsidies in the WTO Agreement on Subsidies and Countervailing Measures. It will argue that the case of emissions permits gives rise to two key challenges. First, it highlights the need for a resolution on the issue of the characterization of intangible goods under the SCM Agreement, and the importance this has for the calculation of benefit and hence the correct application of SCM disciplines. Secondly, when applied to emissions permits, the SCM Agreement produces a result that heavily favours the complaining Member at the expense of 'distributive justice'. This is compounded by the current lack of directly applicable exceptions for subsidies directed at legitimate public policy goals. Fundamentally, this will affect the potential cost and continuing viability of national emissions trading schemes and further challenge the environmental credentials of the WTO.

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**CARVALHO, Maria Izabel Valladão de**





**Instituições e grupos de interesse: a União Europeia nas negociações agrícolas da Rodada Doha (2001-2005)**

in *Revista Brasileira de Política internacional* , vol.54 no.2 , 212-229

This article deals with the influence of the agriculture interest groups in the positions adopted by EU during the Doha Round. The proposals defended by the two actors were compared and analyzed. The text argues that the distinctions of positions found can be explained by the institutional rules of the decision-making process of EU Common Trade Policy. The conclusion highlights that the pressures affected the proposals defended by EU in Doha Round negotiations, but they did not prevent advancements in this context.

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Caraway Teri L., Rickard Stephanie J., Anner Mark S.

**International Negotiations and Domestic Politics: The Case of IMF Labor Market Conditionality**

in *International Organization*, vol. 66, issue 1 , 27-61

ABSTRACT: What is the role of international organizations (IOs) in the formulation of domestic policy, and how much influence do citizens have in countries' negotiations with IOs? We examine these questions through a study of labor-related conditionality in International Monetary Fund (IMF) loans. Using new data from IMF loan documents for programs from 1980 to 2000, we test to see if citizens' economic interests influence IMF conditionality. We examine the substance of loan conditions and identify those that require liberalization in the country's domestic labor market or that have direct effects on employment, wages, and social benefits. We find evidence that democratic countries with stronger domestic labor receive less intrusive labor-related conditions in their IMF loan programs. We argue that governments concerned about workers' opposition to labor-related loan conditions negotiate with the IMF to minimize labor conditionality. We find that the IMF is responsive to domestic politics and citizens' interests.

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Horton, Lynn

**Is World Bank "Good Governance" Good for the Poor? Central American Experiences**

in *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* , Vol. 11, n°1 , 1-28

This paper explores the World Bank's concept of "good governance" as applied in rural Central America. It argues that World Bank good governance seeks to constrain unequal accumulation and privilege in the public sector, but leaves largely unaddressed structural inequalities in the private sector and the conflation of economic and political power in the public sector. This paper suggests that the World Bank analysis does not adequately consider more embedded state/civil society relations linked to national and sub-national political cultures. In contexts in which nation-building projects have promoted forms citizenship linked to more activist "leveling" and paternalistic states, good governance is likely to be ideologically contested. World Bank good governance under these circumstances is unlikely to quell discontent or naturalize the neoliberal state.

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Gherari Habib

**L'OMC à bout de souffle. Quelques observations sur la 8ème Conférence ministérielle**  
in *Revue générale de droit international public*, Vol. 116, n. 1 , 111-134

No abstract available

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Arp Björn

**La integración de los derechos humanos en la labor del Banco Mundial: el caso del Ombudsman y asesor en materia de observancia**

in *Revista Espanola de Derecho Internacional*, Vol. 64, n. 1 , 11-42

No abstract available

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Gosset Ulysse

**Le FMI face a la crise**

in *Politique internationale*, n. 134 - Hiver, 2012

In this exclusive interview with Ulysse Gosset for *Politique Internationale*, the Managing Director of the International Monetary Fund, Christine Lagarde, frankly shares her vision of the current financial crisis. "My job is to tell the truth," she says, even if the truth is hard to swallow. Since the end of 2007, the world has experienced a general financial crisis that is a result of three main factors: 1) countries which no longer have room to maneuver, and must consolidate their budgets; 2) financial establishments that are forced to recapitalize; and 3) flat growth. Optimists hoped that emerging countries would drive global growth -but we have seen that this isn't the case. According to Christine Lagarde, the risk lies in aborted growth and structural unemployment, especially in developed countries, with the ensuing social consequences. She calls on Europe to take its own destiny in hand, without waiting for miraculous solutions from outside. And she says that the IMF will assume its responsibilities, no matter what financing needs arise.

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You Shang

**Le droit antidumping européen face à la Chine : un juste milieu difficile à fixer**

in *Revue internationale de droit économique* , Vol. 26, n°1 , 95-112

In *EU-Fasteners (China)*, the Panel and the Appeal Body of the Dispute Settlement Body of WTO, supporting China's position, required the EU to bring its antidumping practice into conformity with the provisions of the AD agreement. This case is a part of the DSB's efforts to restore the "delicate balance" in trade defense law as it relates to the special case of non market economy countries (NME), such as China. Thus, it reinforces the individual treatment principle set out in the AD agreement and limits the elbowroom of the EU, which has to contain the persistent risk of trade distortion caused



by the State's intervention in the economic by appropriate and efficient legal instruments. The case illustrates perfectly the WTO antidumping rules' difficult task to find a compromise between the perfect legal coherence and the efficiency objective. The reports of the DSB will have considerable impact on the trade defense policy not only of the European Union, but also that of many other OMC Members, which use the same method. This effort could be a part of the DSB's more global rebalancing or disciplining of the major trade partners' AD and CVD measures as practiced vis-à-vis Chinese exporters. Actually, due to its NME status, China suffers also from other special treatment, such as the analogue country method in the determination of the normal value in AD investigations. It is not excluded that such special practices will be brought under the DSB's control in the upcoming years before 2016 when China will receive the full market economy status.

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**Elsig Manfred, Stucki Philipp**

**Low-income developing countries and WTO litigation: Why wake up the sleeping dog?**

**in Review of International Political Economy**, Volume 19, Issue 2, 2012 , pages 292-316

The World Trade Organization (WTO) is one of the most judicialized dispute settlement systems in international politics. While a general appreciation has developed that the system has worked quite well, research has not paid sufficient attention to the weakest actors in the system. This paper addresses the puzzle of missing cases of least-developed countries initiating WTO dispute settlement procedures. It challenges the existing literature on developing countries in WTO dispute settlement which predominantly focuses on legal capacity and economic interests. The paper provides an argument that the small universe of 'actionable cases', the option of free riding and the assessment of the perceived opportunity costs related to other foreign policy priorities better explain the absence of cases. In addition (and somewhat counterintuitively), we argue that the absence of cases is not necessarily bad news and shows how the weakest actors can use the dispute settlement system in a 'lighter version' or in indirect ways. The argument is empirically assessed by conducting a case study on four West African cotton-producing countries (C4) and their involvement in dispute settlement.

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**Ivo J. M. Arnold, Ronald MacDonald and Casper G. de Vries**

**MF Support and Inter-Regime Exchange Rate Volatility**

**in Open Economies Review**, volume 23 n.1 , 193-211

It is widely agreed that when moving from fixed to floating exchange rates the increase in exchange rate volatility is not matched by an equivalent rise in the volatility of fundamentals. We argue and demonstrate that in inter-regime comparisons one has to account for 'missing variables' that compensate for the fundamental variables' volatility under fixed exchange rates. Previous studies have often used foreign exchange reserves, but without much success. We argue why reserves are not a reliable measure, while IMF credit support is. Our empirical analysis identifies IMF support as a crucial and significant compensating variable.

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PEREIRA, João Márcio Mendes.

**O Relatório Meltzer de 2000 e a reforma do Banco Mundial e do FMI**  
in *Revista Brasileira de Política internacional* , vol.54 no.2 , 118-137

The article discusses the propositions of the Meltzer Report for the reform of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. This report came from the work conducted between 1998 and 2000 by a Commission from the North American Congress. Afterwards, it discusses the reply from the American Treasury to those propositions and shows how some of them were selectively implemented by the George W. Bush administration.

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Wilkinson Rorden

**Of Butchery and Bicycles: The WTO and the 'Death' of the Doha Development Agenda**  
in *Political Quarterly* , Volume 83, Issue 2, April-June 2012 , 395-401

The World Trade Organization's (WTO) Doha round is in trouble; but so is the way we talk about the institution and the negotiations. Economists, international lawyers, political scientists, practitioners and pundits alike have locked themselves into a deeply constraining and quite unhelpful way of talking and thinking about the WTO that has little to offer either the round or the Organization. Indeed, the way commentators have chosen to talk about the problems of the round, as well as the options for moving forward, may actually be compounding matters, reinforcing the likelihood that Doha will produce little, that future negotiations will continue to be dramatic and hard to conclude, and that inequitable outcomes will persist. My aim here is to shine a light on the bounded nature of the current debate with a view to agitating for a less constrained and more fruitful conversation about Doha, the WTO and beyond.

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Squarrito Theresa

**Opening the Doors to the WTO Dispute Settlement: State Preferences on NGO Access as Amici**  
in *Swiss Political Science Review - Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft - Revue suisse de science politique*, Volume 18, Issue 2, June 2012 , 175-198

Abstract: Greater access and inclusion of civil society is a possible means of increasing participation in international governing processes and thus enhancing the democratic legitimacy of global governance. Yet, opening the doors of an international organization to civil society is often controversial. At the core of such controversies are costs and benefits that may arise from the inclusion of civil society. The aim of this article is to explore the opening of international organizations' doors to civil society actors, emphasizing state's preferences. To explore state preferences on civil society's access, this article looks at the WTO dispute settlement process and amici submissions, and asks: what factors shape states' preferences to allow civil society actors access? Drawing from a unique dataset on state preferences on amici submissions to the WTO's dispute settlement process, I argue that state preferences are shaped by the capacity to manage costs of civil society access.



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Williams Laron K.

**Pick your poison: economic crises, international monetary fund loans and leader survival**  
in *International Political Science Review* , vol. 33, n. 2, march , 131-149

ABSTRACT: Loans from international organizations impose large costs on the receiving nation. The decisions to accept such loans and then whether or not to implement the prescribed reforms are made with high stakes in mind. Domestic leaders are most likely facing punishment for the current economic crisis, but what is their incentive to implement the arrangements if the costly reforms associated with the loans may reduce their ability to satisfy their supporters? To fully understand this relationship, I develop a theory that explains leader tenure in the post-reform period as a function of the rational decision to accept a loan. Leaders who expect to be secure in the adjustment period are more willing to accept the conditions that accompany loans rather than attempt to withstand the crisis on their own. With the use of a selection duration model, I examine the interplay between electoral incentives and institutional dynamics to show that leaders governing under different institutional arrangements are affected differently for involvement in IMF loans. Since leaders choose when to accept IMF loans based on their own expectations of post-reform tenure, democratic leaders are less likely to participate in loans. Authoritarian leaders, on the other hand, are more likely to participate in agreements because their hold on power in the post-reform period is stronger.

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Ma Qian

**Reasonable Period of Time' in the WTO Dispute Settlement System**  
in *Journal of International Economic Law*, volume 15 n.1 , 257-285

This article provides a detailed examination of the problems existing in the determination of the reasonable period of time (RPT) in the World Trade Organization (WTO) dispute settlement system. It begins with a brief discussion on how the RPT is determined, both from the provisions of the Dispute Settlement Understanding (DSU) and from the WTO cases. Then, it analyzes various problems relevant to the RPT determination. What follows is an evaluation of the relevant reform proposals made by some WTO Members, on the basis of which the author puts forward his own suggestions. In particular, this article suggests that the current notification system be reformed to reduce the 'black case work', and that an interim relief system be introduced into the DSU. The author believes that only with the perfection of the retaliatory mechanism of the WTO dispute settlement system can the RPT mechanism best play its role of ensuring prompt compliance.

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Epps Tracey

**Recent Developments in WTO Jurisprudence: Has the Appellate Body Resolved the Issue of an Appropriate Standard of Review in SPS Cases?**

in *University of Toronto Law Journal*, Vol. 62, issue 2 , 229-254



No abstract available

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Fosse, Henrik Barslund - Raimondos; Møller, Pascalis

**Reducing Tariffs According to WTO Accession Rules: The Case of Vietnam**

*in Review of Development Economics*, volume 16 n.2 , 331-358

When Vietnam joined the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 2007 it was granted an accession period up to 2014. During this period tariffs would have to fall according to the accession agreement. This paper evaluates this 2007–2014 trade liberalization by building an applied general equilibrium model and calibrating it to the Vietnamese data. The model pays careful attention to the fact that Vietnam has many state-owned enterprises. The model simulations show that the WTO tariff reductions will reduce overall welfare. Moreover, the biggest loss will take place among the poor rural households in Vietnam. This paper proposes other tariff reforms that will both raise overall welfare and reduce income inequality.

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Claus D. Zimmermann,

**Rethinking the Right to Initiate WTO Dispute Settlement Proceedings**

*in Journal of World Trade*, Volume 45 Issue 5 , 1057–1070

This article analyses the economic merits of the factual right of governments to interpose themselves as political filters ex ante of potential World Trade Organization (WTO) disputes. As analysed in this article, the current state of WTO law regarding the initiation of dispute settlement proceedings undermines the longterm objectives in pursuance of which states join trade agreements like the WTO Agreement in the first place. This article proposes the creation of an independent prosecution department within the WTO Secretariat, with an exclusive right to initiate dispute settlement proceedings. Without the existing discretionary filtering power, WTO membership would constitute a more credible commitment by governments that they wish to tie their hands in order to better resist domestic lobbying from powerful, import-competing, industries, giving in to which might maximize the government's short-term political welfare but would be contrary to society's long-term interest in free trade.

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Allee Todd L., Scalera Jamie E.

**The Divergent Effects of Joining International Organizations: Trade Gains and the Rigors of WTO Accession**

*in International Organization*, vol. 66, issue 2 , 243-276

ABSTRACT: Governments have joined the World Trade Organization (WTO) in vastly different ways: some have taken mere days to join without undertaking any trade liberalization, while others have taken more than a decade and been forced to undergo significant liberalization. We argue that the more rigorous a state's accession to an international organization (IO), and thus the greater policy change required to join, the greater the benefits it will receive from



membership in the organization. In the trade context, states facing greater scrutiny from the WTO and thus engaging in greater trade liberalization as part of the WTO accession process should experience greater trade on joining compared to those who face little scrutiny and engage in little if any liberalization. We develop a three-part classification of WTO members based on type of accession—early, automatic, and rigorous—and then compile detailed original data on the accession experiences of each relevant state, including length of time, number of veto players, rounds of questions, and tariff and nontariff commitments. Results of exhaustive quantitative tests on all countries from 1950 to 2006, which are robust to estimator, sample period, and model specification choices, consistently demonstrate that those who engage in the greatest amount of accession-driven liberalization experience the greatest trade increases from WTO membership, particularly in the years right after joining. In contrast, those who do little or nothing to join do not see any trade gains from being a WTO member. These findings reconcile previous findings on the effects of WTO membership on trade, highlight the causal importance of IO accession, and illuminate the conditions under which IOs will have beneficial effects for member states.

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**Michael N. Jacobs**

**The Offensive Power of Regional Trade Agreements**  
in *Journal of World Trade*, Volume 45 Issue 4 , 767-784

Given the bilateral structure of the World Trade Organization (WTO) dispute settlement process, several scholars have concluded that success in the process is determined by the complainant state's ability to make a credible and potentially harmful retaliatory threat to the respondent state. Previous research has found that the trade relationship between the two states in a dispute influences the potential potency of retaliatory threats. This analysis builds off of previous studies and hypothesizes that membership in a Regional Trade Agreement (RTA) will increase a state's bargaining position and its success in the dispute process. A probit regression is used to test this hypothesis. Fifty-seven dispute settlement cases from 1995-1998 are included in the analysis. The results indicate that RTA membership does increase a state's likelihood of success in the WTO dispute settlement process, but only for the complainant state in the dispute.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations*

**Henrik Horn, Louise Johannesson, Petros C. Mavroidis**

**The WTO Dispute Settlement System 1995–2010: Some Descriptive Statistics**  
in *Journal of World Trade*, Volume 45 Issue 6 , 1107–1138

The World Trade Organization (WTO) is the busiest state to state court nowadays. It is a rarity in international relations since it includes compulsory third-party adjudication and a permanent second instance court. This paper aims to shed light on the actual use of the system by WTO Members. We divide WTO Members into five distinct groups and evaluate their participation in terms of which agreements they invoke as legal benchmark to challenge practices by other WTO Members, the identity of panelists chosen, their percentage of wins and defeats, etc. The time span for our statistical observations extends from the advent of the WTO 1995 to end of 2010.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations*

Stewart Richard B. , Rattón Sanchez Badin Michelle

**The World Trade Organization: Multiple dimensions of Global Administrative Law  
in International Journal of Constitutional Law**, Vol. 9, issue 3-4 , 556-586

This article examines the WTO development of Global Administrative Law (GAL) norms of transparency, participation, reason giving and review. Vertically, the WTO has significantly improved members' domestic administration by requiring adherence to GAL norms. But internally, it has failed to follow such norms in decision making by its own administrative bodies; it should do so. Horizontally, it should evaluate other global regulatory bodies' adherence to GAL norms in deciding whether to recognize their regulatory standards. Wider adoption of GAL norms would promote more effective and responsive trade regulation in an increasingly complex global administrative space engaging a wide variety of decision making bodies, constituencies, and competing values

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations*

Hyoung-kyu Chey

**Theories of International Currencies and the Future of the World Monetary Order  
in International Studies Review**, vol. 14, issue 1, march , 51-77

ABSTRACT: The international standings of currencies form a principal characteristic of the international monetary order, shaping the world economic and political system by influencing the economic and political relationships among countries. This paper provides a systematic review of the literature on international currencies, encompassing both economics and political science, with the aim of providing useful groundwork to help develop a better analytical framework for the study of international currency standing. In particular, this paper discusses the international currency concept, the benefits and costs of issuing an international currency, and the determinants of international currency standing. It also assesses conflicting prospects for the future of the US dollar as the world's key currency, addressing the likelihoods of further internationalization of the euro and the renminbi, the dollar's main potential rivals. It in addition calls attention to certain political economy factors as salient issues for the future study of international currency standing.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations*

Copelovitch Mark S., Ohls David

**Trade, institutions, and the timing of GATT/WTO accession in post-colonial states  
in Review of International Organizations (The)** , vol. 7, n. 1, march , 81-107

ABSTRACT: Prior to 1995, when the World Trade Organization (WTO) superseded the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), a number of states took advantage of GATT Article XXVI:5(c), which allowed them—as former colonies or component territories of existing GATT members—to quickly and simply join the multilateral trade regime. The speed with which these post-colonial accessions took place, however, varied widely: some states joined immediately upon independence, while others joined much later. Still other post-colonial states passed on this opportunity, only to subsequently begin the longer, more onerous accession process required of other GATT/WTO



applicants. Our paper seeks to explain this variation in the timing of post-colonial states' accession to the GATT/WTO. We argue that three key variables explain the timing of accession decisions: 1) a country's trade ties with existing member-states; 2) its existing preferential trade agreement (PTA) commitments; and 3) its domestic political institutions—specifically, the country's level of democracy. Furthermore, we argue that the effects of these variables are conditional upon each other: post-colonial countries with more extensive trade ties to existing member-states were more likely to accede rapidly under Article XXVI:5(c), but only under specific conditions—namely, when they had not already locked in ties with key trading partners through bilateral or regional PTAs, and when they were governed by a more democratic regime. We test this argument empirically using an original dataset of 61 post-colonial states from 1951 to 2004. Our results strongly support this explanation of GATT/WTO accession and help to clarify the pattern of participation in the multilateral trading system that we have observed over the last half-century.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations*

Lagarde Christine

**Von Regeln und Role Models**

in *Internationale Politik*, 67 Jahrgang, n. 3-4, März-April, 28-31

ABSTRACT: Mit einem Frauenanteil von gerade mal einem Prozent auf den Führungspositionen scheint die Finanzwelt eine Bastion gegen die Emanzipation der Frauen zu sein. Mit welchen Folgen? IWF-Chefin Christine Lagarde spricht im Interview mit der IP über Schubladendenken, weibliches Wirtschaften und ihre eigene Vorbildfunktion.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations*

Robert B. Zoellick

**Why We Still Need the World Bank**

in *Foreign Affairs*, March/April, Vol 91, 2

Looking Beyond Aid

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations*

Conversazione con Jamie P. SHEA, vicesegretario generale aggiunto della Nato, a cura di Fabrizio MARONTA

**'In Kosovo la Nato ha imparato a parlare'**

in *Limes*, n.3

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Christoph Bluth

**Arms control as a part of strategy: the Warsaw Pact in MBFR negotiations**  
in *Cold War History*, Vol. 12, n°2 , 245-268

New archival materials have become available that allow us to test the conventional interpretation of Warsaw Pact policy towards conventional arms reductions in Europe. They shed new light on the objectives of the Eastern side in talks on mutual and balanced arms reductions, how it approached the dispute over the assessments of the military balance and sought to preserve its advantages while constraining West German military capabilities, and demonstrate that Soviet military leaders perceived a shift in the conventional military balance in favour of the West in the 1980s.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations*

Meshkov Alexey

**Aspettiamo dalla NATO proposte concrete**

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLIV, numero speciale, n. 166 , 40-47

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations*

Zagorskii Andrei

**Auf verlorenem Posten? Die Zukunft der OSZE**

in *Osteuropa*, 62. Jahrgang, Heft 2, Februar , 117-134

ABSTRACT: The Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe is in a severe crisis. After the enlargement of the European Union and the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, the OSCE suspended work in East Central Europe. In Southeastern Europe, the most important area of OSCE activity in the 1990s, the organisation is increasingly being replaced by the EU. The OSCE has failed to significantly increase its activities in the post-Soviet realm. Many Western states may wish for such an expansion of activity, but the overwhelmingly authoritarian regimes of the post-Soviet realm see this as unwanted interference. Thus, the OSCE has to wait for a new great moment, a second wave of democratic upheavals, before it can again champion the values of democracy and rule of law as declared in the Charter of Paris for a New Europe.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations*

Kivimäki Timo

**Democracy, Autocrats and U.S. Policies In the Middle East**

in *Middle East Policy*, Volume 19, Issue 1, Spring , 64-71

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations*

Alcañiz Isabella

**Democratization and Multilateral Security**

in *World Politics*, vol. 64, n. 2, april , 306-340

ABSTRACT: Does democratization increase commitment to multilateral security? In this article, the author argues that democratic transitions increase the incentives of states to cooperate in multilateral security and that this is observable in the rate at which new democracies ratify international treaties of arms control, nuclear nonproliferation, and disarmament. New democrats, she asserts, seek a positive international reputation as an insurance mechanism against future regime reversals. By becoming “good citizens” of the global system, newly elected democratic leaders seek to expose potential conspirators to the possibility of diplomatic and economic sanctions if they were to attempt to reverse the transition. First, using original data on the ratification rates of 201 states for twenty major arms control, nonproliferation, and disarmament treaties, the present study shows conclusively that new democracies outpace older democracies and all autocracies in committing to multilateral security. Second, the study empirically tests whether the swift ratification of security treaties works as a consolidation strategy and finds that, indeed, it does. That is, new democracies that commit to nonproliferation and arms control treaties are less likely to experience a regime reversal.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations*

Kamp Karl-Heinz

**Die NATO vor dem Gipfel in Chicago**

in *Zeitschrift für Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik* , vol. 5, n. 2, april , 243-354

ABSTRACT: The forthcoming NATO summit in Chicago will take on a host of crucial issues: Afghanistan, the NATO-Russia relationship, missile defense, the future role of nuclear weapons, and the question of how to spend scarce defense budgets in a more efficient way. On most of these issues members of NATO differ significantly. Thus, it will be difficult to agree on a large number of sparkling “deliverables”. In this case, however it might be more beneficial for the cohesion of NATO to debate crucial issues longer, more thoroughly and in an open unbiased way.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations*

Vincenzo Bovea & Elisa Cavatorta

**From Conscription to volunteers: budget shares in NATO defence spending**

in *Defence and Peace Economics*, Volume 23, Issue 3 , 273-288

A growing number of NATO countries suspended compulsory military service during the past decade or are now phasing it out, moving to an All Volunteer Force (AVF). An AVF can free resources available for investment in up-to-date equipments, thus improving operational capabilities. Our paper investigates shifts in NATO military expenditure shares on personnel, equipment, infrastructure and other costs over the period 1970–2008 and explores the impact of the transition to AVFs on these shares of the defence budget. Results suggest that while the end of conscription did not reduce the share of spending on personnel, NATO forces are increasingly less reliant on soldiers



and more on capital.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations*

Mascia Marco

**Human Security between Conceptualisation and Practical Enactment: The United Nations and European Union Vision**

in *Pace Diritti Umani*, anno 9, n. 2, maggio-agosto , 7-26

ABSTRACT: L'assunto di partenza del presente saggio è che la sostenibilità scientifica del tradizionale (statocentrico) concetto di sicurezza è messo in discussione dallo sviluppo di irreversibili processi di mutamento strutturale nel sistema delle relazioni internazionali. L'interdipendenza complessa è la condizione umana del nostro tempo, caratterizzata dal fatto che le realtà sociali, politiche, economiche, culturali, interne ai vari Stati sono immediatamente sensibili l'una nei confronti delle altre e, più in generale, rispetto a variabili che pertengono al sistema internazionale in quanto tale. La tendenza nelle istituzioni internazionali è ad estendere la dimensione umana del concetto di sicurezza internazionale ai temi della stabilità politica, della democrazia, dello sviluppo umano e dei diritti umani. L'autore ritiene che la sicurezza umana è oggi impensabile senza il riferimento ai diritti umani e allo sviluppo umano. Nel saggio si argomenta come questa nuova dimensione del concetto di sicurezza si vada affermando nella visione e nell'azione di due istituzioni internazionali multilaterali: le Nazioni Unite e l'Unione Europea.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations*

Zajec Olivier

**L'Alliance atlantique présente sa facture à l'Europe**

in *Monde Diplomatique (Le)*, mai

Les membres de l'Organisation du traité de l'Atlantique nord (OTAN) se retrouveront les 20 et 21 mai au sommet de Chicago, la ville du président Barack Obama. Aucune place n'est laissée à l'improvisation : il en va du peu de crédit restant à la « nouvelle Alliance atlantique », qui prétendait s'ériger en gendarme du monde.

« Une plaque tournante d'un réseau mondial de sécurité, ayant établi des partenariats avec plus d'une trentaine de pays. » Par ces mots, la Maison Blanche persiste à célébrer une Organisation du traité de l'Atlantique nord (OTAN) qui continue imperturbablement à se penser comme une alliance non seulement militaire, mais aussi sécuritaire, jusques et y compris dans le domaine de la gestion civile des crises, domaine d'excellence de l'Union européenne. Pourtant, au-delà de la sémantique ouatée des réunions transatlantiques, l'illusion grandiloquente et aut centrée d'une « OTAN globalisée » s'est abîmée dans les montagnes afghanes. M. Barack Obama, prisonnier d'une logique stratégique bancal, n'aura fait que gérer les suites du nation-building et de la guerre de contre-insurrection de l'administration Bush, au travers d'un désengagement plus ou moins bien mis en scène.

« Claim victory and run ! » (« Crier victoire et fuir ») : la manière dont certains analystes américains résumant le bilan de l'opération afghane en dit long sur les résultats atteints. Le tout sous la houlette de deux secrétaires généraux de l'OTAN, le Britannique George Robertson et le Danois Anders Fogh Rasmussen, dont l'habileté rhétorique à justifier une



non-stratégie n'a eu d'égale que l'incapacité à mettre en avant les intérêts du continent européen et le zèle à étouffer toute critique de la ligne officielle. De sorte que jamais, peut-être, depuis l'effondrement de l'URSS, l'édifice créé en 1949 n'a été aussi fragilisé.

A rebours des annonces du sommet de Lisbonne de 2010 sur la « sécurité coopérative », qui ambitionnait d'inclure les « Occidentaux lointains », comme les Néo-Zélandais ou les Japonais, de plus en plus d'Etats membres sont tentés de faire rentrer le génie dans la lampe, en cantonnant l'Alliance à sa mission initiale de défense collective européenne, selon une logique géographique et non plus idéologique (la défense des « valeurs communes »). En toile de fond doctrinale, l'arc des intérêts (territoire, population, voisinage proche) (...)

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Timo Noetzel & Benjamin Schreer

**More flexible, less coherent: NATO after Lisbon**

in *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol.66, Issue1 , 20-33

At its 2010 Lisbon summit, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) took significant steps towards becoming a modern alliance. In the face of a changing security environment and divergent strategic interests among 28 members, NATO adapted its strategic concept and reformed its way of formulating strategy. The new strategic concept advances conflict management as a core task for the alliance. In combination with a greater emphasis on developing partnerships, NATO conceptually strengthened its profile as a global security actor. The summit also reflected a new approach to formulating NATO strategy by providing the Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen with a strong role in setting the strategic agenda. Indeed, he assumed a more supranational function rather than acting as a representative of all allies. But as the Libya operation demonstrates, NATO will struggle to maintain cohesion in an increasingly 'polycentric' alliance. While the focus on conflict management will make the alliance more flexible, it will also become a less coherent global security actor.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations*

Bernard E. Brown

**NATO Goes Realistic**

in *American Foreign Policy Interests*, Volume 34, Issue 2 , 80-85

The two pillars of the Atlantic Alliance are the United States and the European Union (EU). In 2011, France and the United Kingdom went to war in Libya entirely outside the defense structures of the EU. It was also the first time a major military operation was carried out by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) that was not under the leadership of the United States. This article presents reasons why the EU was totally absent in Libya and why it does not necessarily portend "Europeanization" of the Alliance. The fundamental problem in organizing transatlantic relations is the asymmetrical relationship between the United States and Europe.

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David Scott

**NATO and India: The politics of strategic convergence**

in *International Politics* , Volume 49, Issue 1 , 98-116

In this article, I argue that after having experienced a distinctly cool relationship throughout most of the post-war period and for the 10 years following the end of the Cold War, India and North Atlantic Organization (NATO) are now gradually moving towards each other. Indeed, during the past decade, NATO's 'out-of-area' operations have taken it eastwards from the Mediterranean, while India's 'extended neighbourhood' framework has brought it westwards from the Indian subcontinent. This has created a geopolitical overlap between these two actors, most notably in Afghanistan but also elsewhere in the Indian Ocean. Common advocacy of liberal democracy and overt concerns over jihadist destabilization have brought these two actors together. In NATO's post-Cold War search for relevance and India's post-Soviet search for partners, they have found each other. Unstated potential concerns over China are also a feature in this strategic convergence. However, while NATO has adopted a flexible range of 'Partnership' frameworks, India's sensitivity on retaining 'strategic autonomy' will limit their cooperation to informal ad hoc arrangements.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations*

Damon Coletta, Sten Rynningb

**NATO from Kabul to Earth orbit: can the alliance cope?**

in *Journal of Transatlantic Studies* , Volume 10, Issue 1 , 26-44

It is widely acknowledged that NATO has multiple rationales. What is more contestable is the view that the burgeoning complexity of the security environment feeds these rationales and that NATO may not be able to cope. If each rationale is like a personality, then NATO's multiple personalities have a corrosive effect on the Alliance since they prevent it from setting consistent goals and pursuing them. The prescribed cure is a clarified personality that emphasises one rationale at the expense of others. This paper questions the metaphor behind this debate. NATO's multiple rationales are built into the Alliance, we argue, and a better metaphor may be NATO as a congress whose members are independent yet tied to an overarching political project. Such a congress will never be unitary, but it can at times make decisions. Sometimes decision-making will require grand and thus elusive bargains; sometimes it can be moved from formal committees to backroom caucuses that eschew big questions of rationale and instead focus on problem-solving. In any case, congresses can cope with persistent, competing preference orderings and divergent resource bases among constituent states. Where the split personality analogy leads to the collapse of NATO as a coherent actor, the congress metaphor affords better notional explanations for what we actually observe, a messy, raucous alliance that muddles through from Kabul to Earth orbit.<sup>1</sup>

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations*

Dorman Andrew M.

**NATO's 2012 Chicago summit: a chance to ignore the issues once again?**

in *International Affairs* , vol. 88, issue 2, march , 310-312

ABSTRACT: NATO and its members are beginning to gear themselves up for the summit in Chicago in May 2012. Such summits are always important, especially when they are held in the United States during an election year and in the



aftermath of the French presidential elections. This article addresses the issues that are likely to be most prominent at the Chicago summit—NATO's wars; enlargement and Russia; burden-sharing; and divergent agendas—before drawing some general conclusions. The outstanding question is whether these issues will lead to division within NATO and hence its possible demise—or will they be finessed?

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations*

**Bastian Giegerich**

**NATO's Smart Defence: Who's Buying?**

in *Survival*, Volume 54, N. 3 , 69-77

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations*

**Ivo H. Daalder and James G. Stavridis**

**NATO's Victory in Libya**

in *Foreign Affairs*, March/April, Vol 91, 2

The Right Way to Run an Intervention

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations*

**Coticchia Fabrizio**

**The 'enemy' at the gates? Assessing the European military contribution to the Libyan war**

in *Perspectives on federalism*, Vol. 3, issue 3 , E- 48-70

According to the 'Defense Strategic Guidance' (2012), the growing military capabilities of US allies will create new opportunities for sharing responsibilities in world affairs. The US strategic document considers the recent military operation in Libya a successful example in terms of burden sharing. The paper aims to assess the validity of such perspective, analyzing the concrete military contribution provided by the most relevant European countries involved in the intervention: UK, France and Italy.

The NATO military mission has triggered a controversial debate in *International Security Studies* (ISS). Three months after the end of operations, it is possible to provide a strategic and military overview of the intervention. What are the key results and lessons learnt of the mission? What have been the shortfalls? What has been the role played by European armed forces (and by the EU defense policy)? Can 'Unified Protector' be considered a success in terms of burden sharing?

Through the analysis of primary (official documents) and secondary sources (especially ISS literature), the article aims at answering these questions. After illustrating the current debate over the operation and how Libyan campaign represents the most recent evolution of contemporary military operations, the paper critically examines the crucial features of 'Unified Protector'. The preliminary results of the analysis reject the Strategic Guidance's optimism on



European military capabilities, emphasize shortages, problems and a massive dependence on US assets.

Full text available at:

<http://www.on-federalism.eu/index.php/fabrizio-coticchia/81-essay/106-the-enemy-at-the-gates-assessing-the-european-military-contribution-to-the-libyan-war->

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations*

Trine Flockhart

**Towards a strong NATO narrative: From a 'practice of talking' to a 'practice of doing'**  
in *International Politics* , Volume 49, Issue 1 , 78-97

The article contributes to the growing theoretical scholarship on NATO by developing a theoretical framework that demonstrates the complex relationship between doing and being, identity and action, and knowledge and practice. The article addresses the puzzle that NATO in the past decade has been busier than ever, yet has not managed to construct a strong narrative and maintain ontological security. The article presents a framework, which assumes that ontological security is influenced by identity and narrative construction processes, which are themselves reinforced or undermined by practical action, conceptualized as 'functional action' and 'rhetorical action'. By analyzing NATO's current and past narratives, practices, and action patterns, the article shows that NATO's recent crisis is not just a deeper and more serious crisis because Afghanistan is a difficult mission, but that the depth of the crisis is the result of changes in NATO's established practices and new fundamentally different patterns of action

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Hallams Ellen, Schreer Benjamin

**Towards a 'post-American' alliance? NATO burden-sharing after Libya**  
in *International Affairs* , vol. 88, issue 2, march , 313-327

ABSTRACT: NATO's recent operation in Libya has been described by some commentators as reflecting a new burden-sharing model, with the US playing a more supportive role and European allies stepping up to provide the bulk of the air strikes. The US administration of President Barack Obama seemed to share this view and has made clear that post-Libya it continues to expect its allies to assume greater responsibility within the alliance. Moreover, unlike previously, changes within the US and the international system are likely to make America less willing and able to provide for the same degree of leadership in NATO that the alliance has been used to. However, this article finds that Operation Unified Protector in Libya has only limited utility as a benchmark for a sustainable burden-sharing model for the alliance. As a result, an ever more fragmented NATO is still in search for a new transatlantic consensus on how to distribute the burdens more equally among its members. While no new generic model is easily available, a move towards a 'post-American' alliance may provide the basis for a more equitable burden-sharing arrangement, one in which European allies assume a greater leadership role and are prepared to invest more in niche military capabilities.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations*

Neuneck Götz, Meier Oliver, Zellner Wolfgang

**Vor dem Nato-Gipfel: Dilemmata europäischer Rüstungskontrolle**

in **Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik**, März, 2012 , 59-68

Ungeachtet der drohenden Eskalation im Nahen Osten steht der diesjährige Nato-Gipfel am 20./21. Mai in Chicago ganz im Zeichen der zunehmenden Krise zwischen der Nato und Russland: Schon im März wurde ein geplantes Nato-Russland-Gipfeltreffen abgesagt. Denn die Organisation ist weiterhin nicht bereit, Russland als gleichberechtigten Partner anzuerkennen. Genau das aber hatte Russland gefordert. Es wollte nur teilnehmen, wenn sich beide Seiten auf den gemeinsamen Aufbau eines Raketenabwehrsystems in Europa einigen.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Kozuki Toyohisa

**Why Asia needs a new security framework**

in **Europe's World**, Issue 21, Summer

Asia's relatively volatile security environment as much as its surging economic growth lies behind growing U.S. and Russian interest in the Asia-Pacific region. Toyohisa Kozuki reports on efforts to build a multi-lateral framework for relations between the countries of East Asia.

[http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home\\_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21998/language/en-US/Default.aspx](http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21998/language/en-US/Default.aspx)

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Karsten Jung

**Willing or Waning? NATO's Role in an Age of Coalitions**

in **World Affairs**, Vol. 16, n. 2, March / April

Twenty years after the great debate over NATO's future at the end of the Cold War, we appear to have come full circle—"back to the future," in John Mearsheimer's words. Its instrumental role in pacifying the Balkans, its major commitment in Afghanistan, and its recent operation in Libya notwithstanding, the role and relevance of the alliance appear no more certain today than they were when the Berlin Wall came down in 1989. At the same time, so-called coalitions of the willing seem to be emerging as an increasingly serious competitor to the Atlantic alliance and its traditional role as the primary conduit for Western security policy. Particularly in post-9/11 Washington, such informal and flexible arrangements are enjoying considerable popularity as a means for projecting power and stability out of area. At least since the French push for employing a similar model in the fight against Qaddafi, this preference for ad hoc coalitions over permanent alliances is no longer unique to the superpower.

It is therefore high time to stop and ponder what role and relevance a Cold War alliance can still aspire to in (what appears to be) an age of coalition warfare: that is, to inquire into the post-Cold War trends that explain NATO's troubles



of the past two decades, to examine how their (superior) ability to cope with these trends can account for the rise of coalitions over the same period, and to delineate from this a potential future role for the alliance based not on competition, but on cooperation with the coalitions.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations*

Nikolaj Petersen

**'Footnoting' as a political instrument: Denmark's NATO policy in the 1980s**  
in *Cold War History*, Vol. 12, n°2 , 295-317

The intensification of the Cold War in the 1980s bred tensions within both the NATO alliance and its member states. Criticism of NATO's policy was pronounced among the social democratic parties in Northern Europe and found extraordinary expression in Denmark during the so-called footnote period of 1982–88. Here a coalition of centre-left opposition parties was able to control NATO policy by way of parliamentary resolutions which forced the government to take increasingly critical positions in NATO, mainly by 'footnoting' communiqués. The government chose to 'live with' footnoting in order to keep power. The result was domestic strife, allied criticism and a policy which moved Denmark away from NATO's mainstream.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Held David ,Young Kevin ,

**Más allá de la crisis financiera: conceptualización de las debilidades de la gobernanza mundial**  
in *Foro Internacional*, VOLUMEN LI - NÚMERO 4

This article offers an analysis of the regulation of financial activities worldwide, considering both what works and what doesn't. While major successes in international financial regulation have been achieved, considerable deficiencies remain. These, however, are not exclusive to the financial sphere, but reveal disturbing similarities to the current regimes of both security regulation and environmental protection. The financial failings of global government, together with the renewed reform efforts, require a new framework in order to improve existing institutions and deal with specific problems, as well as for a more comprehensive reformulation of the current multilateral order

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Alejandro Colás

**No class! A comment on Simon Bromley's American power and the prospects for international order**  
in *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* , Vol, 25, Issue 1 , 39-52

This intervention argues that Bromley's account of American power underplays some of the structural weaknesses in the US-made liberal order. These weaknesses are not principally the result of relative economic decline, but chiefly the product of a political insistence among US ruling classes in getting their own way (that is, for the immediate American interests to prevail) regardless of their longer-term socio-economic or political consequences. It is the quest for



American primacy, not the pursuit of a liberal international order that is the chief driver of US external relations. Likewise it is the more volatile dynamics of class antagonism and alliances both within and outside the USA—not the rational calculation of states as Bromley suggests—that tend to determine the success or failure of American primacy. I flesh out these claims by looking successively at the ideology of post-war American Empire, the contradictions of its actual implementation and the forms of socio-economic and political instability it generates. Bromley's sanguine view of the future of liberal order, it is argued, is only persuasive with a very narrow, inter-statist conception of world order and one which therefore underestimates the social origins of geopolitical disorder.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Mancini Marina

**A Brand New Definition for the Crime of Aggression: The Kampala Outcome**  
in *Nordic Journal of International Law*, vol. 81, issue 2, 227-248

ABSTRACT: At the first Review Conference of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, which was held in Kampala in 2010, the negotiations on the crime of aggression resulted in a complex package, at the core of which are the definition of the crime and the conditions for the exercise of the Court's jurisdiction over it. This article examines the definition of the crime of aggression, as enshrined in the new Article 8 bis, considering the various parts of that package as well as the existing practice and case law. On the basis of this analysis, it evaluates the relevance of the Kampala definition to the evolution of customary international law.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Smith Michael Joseph

**A Brief Response to Michael Ignatieff**

in *Ethics and International Affairs*, vol. 26, n. 1, spring, 49-52

ABSTRACT: In his elegant essay on the tension between a singular global ethic and global ethics in the plural, Michael Ignatieff invites us to “think harder about the conflicts of principle between them.” He is certainly right that harder thinking is needed: advocates of both versions of a global ethic sometimes seem locked into mutual self-righteousness. What we might call singular, or universal, ethicists often accuse pluralists of parochial atavism, while the partisans of plural, usually national, ethics think that the universalists are naive at best, arrogant at worst. Both are utterly convinced that they are right.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Davis James W.

**A Critical View of Global Governance**

in *Swiss Political Science Review - Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft - Revue suisse de science politique*, Volume 18, Issue 2, June 2012, 272-286





Abstract: This article suggests that various dimensions of the larger project of global governance are incoherent and illegitimate. Three dimensions of global governance – the provision of global public goods; processes of transnational regulation; and efforts to spread universal human rights – are examined and found to be deficient in terms of the ability of affected populations to participate in decisions over value trade-offs. Citizens' rights to participation in democratic processes often have been diminished as the locus of political decision making has shifted: on the one hand, to institutions beyond the territorial borders of the nation state; on the other, away from political institutions and towards "global civil society," which seems oddly intolerant of diversity. But if global governance is anti-pluralist and disenfranchising, it risks devolving into an imperial project. Hence, the paper concludes with a plea for a return to international politics as a control on the threat of empire.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Wheatley Steven

**A Democratic Account of the Right to Rule in Global Governance**

in *Swiss Political Science Review - Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft - Revue suisse de science politique*, Volume 18, Issue 2, June 2012 , 158–174

Abstract: The objective of this article is to examine the extent to which a democratic conception of legitimate political authority can be applied to global regulatory regimes. The analysis is both a response to the concerns around the putative 'democratic deficit' at the domestic level that results from the globalization of governance functions and the need for global regulators to demonstrate a 'right to rule' in conditions in which it is no longer meaningful to speak about 'sovereignty' as legitimating the exercise of political power in world society. The essay draws on the work of Joseph Raz and Jürgen Habermas to develop a conceptual framework for understanding the idea of legitimate political authority – as it applies to democratic societies – before going on to consider the complexities that emerge from the recognition of multiple overlapping regimes, all of which can make a plausible claim to democratic legitimacy and a right to rule on the issue under consideration.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Rengger Nicholas

**A Global Ethic and the Hybrid Character of the Moral World**

in *Ethics and International Affairs*, vol. 26, n. 1, spring , 27-31

ABSTRACT: In the lead essay of this symposium, Michael Ignatieff offers a characteristic blend of philosophical acuteness and political good sense on a topic that, we can all agree, is central to many of the most important questions on the contemporary political and international agenda. His analysis is prescient, challenging, and deserves pondering at some length; thus, in this short response I cannot deal with it in anything like the detail it deserves. But the enforced brevity is perhaps an advantage as well, in that it forces me to concentrate on where I differ from Ignatieff and on my own sense of what we might imply when we use such a term as "a global ethic."



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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Rengger Nicholas

**A Global Ethic and the Hybrid Character of the Moral World**

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Ebbesson Jonas

**A Modest Contribution to Environmental Democracy and Justice in Transboundary Contexts: The Combined Impact of the Espoo Convention and Aarhus Convention**

*in Review of European Community & International Environmental Law*, Volume 20, Issue 3, November , 248-257

The Espoo Convention with the Strategic Environmental Assessment (SEA) Protocol and the Aarhus Convention reduce the impact of State borders for participatory rights in environmental decision making with transboundary reach. While confirming the sovereignty of States, these treaties set out minimum standards for public participation in environmental decision making, to be applied also in transboundary contexts, and prohibit any discrimination as to citizenship, nationality or domicile in providing for public participation. In a modest way, they thus also promote environmental democracy and justice considerations across State borders. However, this potential is not yet used to the fullest extent possible.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Willcox Susannah

**A Rising Tide: The Implications of Climate Change Inundation for Human Rights and State Sovereignty**

*in Essex Human Rights Review*, vol. 9, n. 1, june

ABSTRACT: Climate change has adverse implications for a wide range of human rights. Low-lying, socio-economically disadvantaged small island developing states are among those most vulnerable to climate change harms – including rising sea levels and extreme weather events – which threaten the habitability of their territory and the enjoyment of basic human rights, including the right to self-determination. Customary international law and international human rights law establish extraterritorial obligations with regard to the fulfilment of those economic, social, cultural and collective rights threatened by climate change inundation. However, the international legal framework has been constructed



around a system of legal and political governance that is premised on state sovereignty and designed to mediate the vertical relationship between state and citizen. The disappearance of a low-lying small island state without an immediate successor has serious implications for statehood, sovereignty, self-determination and the protection of basic human rights. While this does not necessarily entail the abandonment of the human rights project as a response to climate change harms, it does require a re-conceptualisation of the existing human rights framework. The human rights regime must embrace forward-looking, trans-boundary mechanisms of monitoring and protection that no longer rely on the state as the central domain of moral concern, or risk becoming obsolete.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Christina J. Schneider, Johannes Urpelainen

**Accession Rules for International Institutions A Legitimacy-Efficacy Trade-off?**

in *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, April; 56 (2) , 290-312

Powerful states often accept unanimity voting on accession to international institutions, even though this enables weak states to blackmail powerful states into providing costly side payments. Whereas the literature attributes this choice mainly to efforts to bolster the legitimacy of international institutions, the authors demonstrate that the choice of unanimity also has a strategic component. The authors formally show that unanimous accession rules can profit powerful states by creating uncertainty as to the minimal level of reform that enables accession. If accession is valuable enough and the membership candidate is uncertain about the resolve of weak states, it plays safe by implementing ambitious reforms that improve the efficacy of the international institution. In this case, a legitimacy-efficacy trade-off does not exist: the unanimity rule enhances legitimacy while allowing powerful states to induce significant reforms by applicants to the benefit of current members.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

de Chazournes Laurence Boisson; Angelini Antonella

**After “The Court Rose“: The Rise of Diplomatic Means to Implement the Pronouncements of the International Court of Justice**

in *Law and Practice of International Courts and Tribunals (The)*, vol. 11, n. 1 , 1-46

ABSTRACT: What happens after the International Court of Justice releases a pronouncement? This article attempts to answer this question by reviewing the diplomatic initiatives taken by States as well as by other members of the Court's 'audience', such as international organizations. Both judgments and advisory opinions are covered. This allows comparing the relational dynamics afferent to each type of the Court's jurisdiction. Endorsing a broad definition of 'follow-up', the analysis aims at enhancing awareness as to the panoply of diplomatic initiatives that can be taken following a pronouncement of the Court as well as to the complexity of the implementation process at large.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Hurd Ian



**Almost Saving Whales: The Ambiguity of Success at the International Whaling Commission**

*in Ethics and International Affairs*, vol. 26, n. 1, spring , 103-112

ABSTRACT: The international regulation of whaling has been a tremendous success. It has reduced whale hunting dramatically from its peak in the 1960s and brought almost all species of whales out of danger of extinction. Today, whaling conservation stands as a—or perhaps the—paradigm of a successful international regime. Yet the international organization responsible for this success is itself in such crisis that it may not survive.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Hackmann Bernd

**Analysis of the governance architecture to regulate GHG emissions from international shipping**

*in International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics*, Volume 12, Number 1, March , 85-103

Despite the substantial and likely increasing contribution of greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions from international shipping and the related adverse impacts on global climate change, GHG emissions from international shipping are yet neither regulated by the Kyoto Protocol, nor through any other legally binding, internationally accepted regulation. This paper is looking into the governance architecture that is currently in place to regulate GHG emissions from international shipping with a view to analyze whether the institutional degree of fragmentation within this architecture is contributing to the current situation where no legally binding, internationally accepted regulation has been set up yet. Following the hypothesis that the degree and the characteristics of governance fragmentation have a crucial impact on the effectiveness and performance of a governance system, this paper focuses on the current architecture of climate change governance in international shipping and the institutional interplay between its actors. Therefore, the analytical framework builds on approaches from international environmental governance, regime theory, institutional interplay, and fragmentation in international governance architectures.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Emily Hencken Ritter

**Bargaining and the effectiveness of international criminal regimes**

*in Journal of Theoretical Politics*, Volume 24, n. 2, April

International institutions lack the independent ability to punish non-compliance, but states sustain cooperation because they can target one another for punishment. In contrast, international criminal courts and tribunals (ICTs) can enforce rulings once suspects are in custody, but they lack the independent power of capture, leaving them unable to punish alleged criminals and therefore deter crime. We analyze a game between an ICT and a suspect to assess the potential of pre-arrest bargaining as a solution to the problem of capture. We show that ICTs that bargain with fugitives will be able to secure their surrender and administer justice, although this comes at the cost of incentivizing some crime. Further, those courts least able to secure their suspects' capture will, surprisingly, be the most willing to issue warrants. International institutions may thus be able to achieve compliance even when faced with uncooperative member states.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Kleinlein Thomas

**Between Myths and Norms: Constructivist Constitutionalism and the Potential of Constitutional Principles in International Law**

in *Nordic Journal of International Law*, vol. 81, issue 2 , 79-132

ABSTRACT: The aim of this article is to restate, refine and defend the constitutionalist argument in international law. As a basis for a more nuanced approach, the contribution sorts the phenomena to which the constitutionalization thesis refers. Secondly, it analyzes methodological and doctrinal features of constitutionalist approaches to public international law and clears up some myths in and about international constitutionalism. Finally, the text focuses on presumptions and burdens of justification established by various judicial institutions. They seem to express constitutional concerns in different areas of international law. It is submitted that these presumptions and burdens of justification are plausibly backed by processes of identity change and argumentative self-entrapment. On the basis of constructivist approaches in International Relations, these processes can be understood as creating the normativity of constitutional arguments. The special character of their normative force may be explained by classifying them as principles in contrast to strict rules.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Koetz Thomas, Farrell Katharine N., Bridgewater Peter

**Building better science-policy interfaces for international environmental governance: assessing potential within the Intergovernmental Platform for Biodiversity and Ecosystem Services**

in *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics*, Volume 12, Number 1, March , 1-21

This article addresses implementation failure in international environmental governance by considering how different institutional configurations for linking scientific and policy-making processes may help to improve implementation of policies set out in international environmental agreements. While institutional arrangements for interfacing scientific and policy-making processes are emerging as key elements in the structure of international environmental governance, formal understanding regarding their effectiveness is still limited. In an effort to advance that understanding, we propose that science-policy interfaces can be understood as institutions and that implementation failures in international environmental governance may be attributed, in part, to institutional mismatches (sic. Young in *Institutions and environmental change: Principal findings, applications, and research*, MIT Press, Cambridge 2008) associated with poor design of these institutions. In order to investigate this proposition, we employ three analytical categories—credibility, relevance and legitimacy, drawn from Cash et al. *Proc Natl Acad Sci* 100(14):8086–8091, (2003), to explore basic characteristics of the institutions proscribed under two approaches to institutional design, which we term linear and collaborative. We then proceed to take a closer look at institutional mismatches that may arise with the operationalisation of the soon to be established Intergovernmental Platform on Biodiversity and Ecosystem Services (IPBES). We find that, while there are encouraging signs that institutions based on new agreements, such as the IPBES, have the potential to overcome many of the institutional mismatches we have identified, there remain substantial tensions between continuing reliance on the established linear approach and an emerging collaborative approach, which can be expected to continue undermining the credibility, relevance and legitimacy of these institutions, at least in the near future.





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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Nilsson Måns, Persson Åsa

**Can Earth system interactions be governed? Governance functions for linking climate change mitigation with land use, freshwater and biodiversity protection**

in *Ecological Economics*, Volume 75, March , 61-71

Earth system interactions, as highlighted by the planetary boundaries framework, occur within and across natural, social and economic systems and shape global environmental change. This paper addresses the multi-level governance problem of coherently addressing key interactions between four Earth sub-systems – climate change, freshwater use, land use and biodiversity – taking into account concerns over problem shifting. After discussing possibilities for regional downscaling of the boundaries, we explore challenges for the EU region to coherently address this particular set of interacting Earth sub-systems and reduce the risk of problem shifting. This analysis demonstrates that Earth system interactions can be governed, but that they likely require comprehensive packages of governance responses across both sub-systems and levels. Three overarching governance functions are tentatively identified that directly or indirectly address Earth system interactions: reduction of system stress, risks and vulnerabilities; triggering and navigation of transformation of economic activity; and development of a diversity of options. Finally, the paper briefly discusses political and institutional challenges for developing, enabling and stabilising these governance functions.

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*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Doran Peter

**Care of the Self, Care of the Earth: A New Conversation for Rio+20?**

in *Review of European Community & International Environmental Law*, Volume 21, Issue 1, April , 31-43

What if capitalism, understood as an economic, social and cultural complex, was on the agenda of a world summit on sustainable development? How has the culture of capitalism – its psychic investment in colonizing our attention – compromised our ability to respond meaningfully to the challenges of sustainable development? Those are two of the questions behind this exploration of the constraints that appear to limit the scope of economic debate at conferences such as Rio+20 in Rio de Janeiro in 2012. There is an emerging consensus that consumerist excess and the media complex of consumerism are bad for us, environmentally, socially and psychologically. This article suggests that we underestimate the way in which our immersion in the ‘social logic’ of capitalist consumption constrains our attempts to understand and respond to the ecological crises at both a personal and political level – and that both dimensions of our response are bound together. In an acknowledgement of a certain closure around such themes within Western thought, the article looks to a point of exteriority in Peter Herschok’s work, drawing on China’s Chan Buddhist philosophy, for intimations of a worldview that challenges the West’s over-commitment to forms of ‘control’ in favour of a cultivation of mindful and careful awareness – and an offering of unconditional attention.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Voccia Alexander





**Climate change: what future for small, vulnerable states?**

in *International Journal of Sustainable Development and World Ecology*, Volume 19, Issue 2 , 101-115

Small Island Developing States (SIDS) are not only among the smallest countries in the world, they are also among the most vulnerable. Prime amidst the challenges that result from such vulnerability and that constrain the sustainable development efforts of SIDS is climate change, which represents the most immediate threat to their future. Although SIDS are among the least responsible for climate change, they are the hardest hit by its effects. Impacts are already being experienced in terms of environmental degradation, loss of infrastructure, increasing health risks, economic stress and national security, all of which contribute to increasing poverty levels and diminishing the quality of life.

The objective of this paper is to shed new light on the complex relationship between SIDS and climate change, with a view to better understanding the current vulnerabilities, future projections and possible impacts, as well as to outline proposed courses of action. In order to achieve its objective, this paper will draw first-hand information from some of the most recent findings that have emerged during intergovernmental processes and debates within and across the United Nations system and other major international fora, including summits and high-level events, as well as on the latest academic literature and scientific evidence.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Wunderlich Jens-Uwe

**Comparing regional organisations in global multilateral institutions: ASEAN, the EU and the UN**

in *Asia Europe Journal*, Volume 10, Numbers 2-3 / July , 127-143

Structural change brought about by the end of the Cold War and accelerated globalisation have transformed the global environment. A global governance complex is emerging, characterised by an ever-greater functional and regulatory role for multilateral organisations such as the United Nations (UN) and its associated agencies. The evolving global governance framework has created opportunities for regional organisations to participate as actors within the UN (and other multilateral institutions). This article compares the European Union (EU) and Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) as actors within the UN network. It begins by extrapolating framework conditions for the emergence of EU and ASEAN actorness from the literature. The core argument of this article is that EU and ASEAN actorness is evolving in two succinct stages: Changes in the global environment create opportunities for the participation of regional organisations in global governance institutions, exposing representation and cohesion problems at the regional level. In response, ASEAN and the EU have initiated processes of institutional adaptation.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Tudoroiua Theodor

**Conceptualizing BRICS: OPEC as a Mirror**

in *Asian Journal of Political Science*, Volume 20, Issue 1 , 23-45

Brazil–Russia–India–China–South Africa (BRICS) is a popular yet poorly conceptualized group. This article builds a parallel between BRICS and OPEC in order to assess the former using a weak cognitivist version of the regime theory. The five countries created an international regime whose members cooperate in view of acquiring, collectively and



individually, increased influence in international financial and economic institutions. As they do not concern this domain, the diverging interests of the five members do not hamper the rather limited socialization process at work and the implicit development of the regime. However, they will most likely prevent BRICS from reaching generalized political cooperation. Consequently, the group can be expected to increase its influence significantly in comparison to the present level but not to become one of the world's leading actors.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Klabbers Jan

**Controlling International Organizations: A Virtue ethics Approach**

in *International Organizations Law Review*, vol. 8, n. 2 , 285-289

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Phelan Liam, McGee Jeffrey, Gordon Rhyall

**Cooperative governance: one pathway to a stable-state economy**

in *Environmental Politics*, Volume 21, Issue 3, May , 412-431

Exponential increases in material and energy use globally threaten Earth System stability in many ways including through climate change. Yet societies remain committed to economic growth, reflected in the way publicly traded corporations are legally obliged to maximise shareholders' profits. In contrast, businesses governed cooperatively by members, i.e. democratically and transparently, may be better suited to operating in an ecologically sustainable way, enacting their members' ethical commitments. Combining a complex adaptive systems approach with community economies theory, we argue that cooperatives offer a significant transformative opportunity to resocialise and repoliticise economies away from the growth imperative. Cooperative governance is consistent enough with currently dominant neoliberal governance (itself closely aligned with economic growth) to gain initial policy traction. Ultimately, we seek an overall shift to a stable-state economy – a global economy whose operation sustains rather than threatens the familiar (to humans and our civilisations) stable state of the Earth System.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Urpelainen Johannes

**Costly Adjustments, Markets and International Reassurance**

in *British Journal of Political Science*, vol. 42, issue 3, july , 679-704

ABSTRACT: Two leaders engaged in international co-operation must each build trust by credibly signalling that they will not exploit the other by defecting at the implementation stage. Previous research does not reveal the difficulty and cost of such international reassurance. The role that costly adjustments by markets play in international reassurance is analysed, showing that fully efficient information revelation can be achieved when market actors under intense competitive pressures undergo sufficiently costly adjustments in expectation of international co-operation. 'Nice' leaders



can reveal their true preferences simply by saying they intend to co-operate, because 'mean' leaders are unwilling to mislead market actors into undergoing futile costly adjustments. However, market imperfections prevent full information revelation unless market actors prefer international co-operation to the status quo.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Thomadakis Stavros B.

**Crisis without a Legacy: Reflections on Institutional and Regulatory Reform  
in Mediterranean Quarterly**, Volume 23, Number 1, Winter

The scope of the present global financial crisis is comparable to that of the 1930s. Public policies responding to each have been very different, however. The large macroeconomic response of the past three years has averted a new Great Depression, but regulation of the financial sector has been much softer than in the 1930s. This is partly due to financial globalization that extends beyond the capacities of national regulators. Macroeconomic antidepression measures have created new realities: the rise of indebted states. The sovereign crisis imposes market discipline on states while, conversely, states are too weak to impose regulatory discipline on markets. New modes of supranational regulation and a new ethics of the public interest are necessary for a new era of balanced prosperity.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Paech Niko

**Das Elend der Konsumwirtschaft. Von Rio+20 zur Postwachstumsgesellschaft  
in Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik**, Juni, 2012 , 55-63

Fast genau vor 20 Jahren fand in Rio de Janeiro die erste UN-Konferenz für Umwelt und Entwicklung statt. Der Gipfel und das dort verabschiedete Leitpapier „Agenda 21“, das eine nachhaltige ökologische, ökonomische und soziale Entwicklung im 21. Jahrhundert sicherstellen sollte, gelten heute noch als Meilensteine internationaler Umweltpolitik. Ende dieses Monats findet nun erneut eine UN-Konferenz für nachhaltige Entwicklung in Rio de Janeiro statt: Rio+20. Doch anders als damals sind die Erwartungen an die Nachfolgekonferenz überaus verhalten. Denn inzwischen sind die politischen Herausforderungen noch gewachsen: Die Folgen des durch Treibhausgase erzeugten Klimawandels sind bereits spürbar, die Artenvielfalt nimmt rapide ab und die globalen ökonomischen Ungleichgewichte bestehen unvermindert fort.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Bacevich Andrew

**Der American Way of War. Von der Befreiung u&#776;ber die Befriedung zur gezielten To&#776;tung  
in Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik**, Juni, 2012 , 91-96

Die Vereinigten Staaten stecken nun schon im zweiten Jahrzehnt einer „era of persistent conflict“, wie das Pentagon zu formulieren beliebt. Vormalig als „Antiterror-Weltkrieg“ bekannt – „the war formerly known as the global war on terrorism“ (hier inoffiziell abgekürzt als WFKATGWOT) – erscheint dieser Krieg zunehmend fragmentiert und diffus. Ohne siegen



zu können, aber auch nicht gewillt, ihr Scheitern zuzugeben, sind die Vereinigten Staaten aus dem Irak abgezogen. Jetzt versuchen sie aus Afghanistan herauszukommen, wo es genauso wenig nach einem glücklichen Ende aussieht.

The full text is free:

<http://www.blaetter.de/archiv/jahrgaenge/2012/juni/der-american-way-of-war>

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Häberle Peter

**Die chinesische Charta 08 - auf dem Forum der Verfassungslehre als Kulturwissenschaft**  
in *Jahrbuch des öffentlichen Rechts der Gegenwart*, Band 60, 2012

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Scheller Henrik

**Fiscal Governance und Demokratie in Krisenzeiten**  
in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 13, 2012

In der Euro-Krise ist eine Stärkung der Exekutiven sowie eine Vertikalisierung der Finanzströme zu beobachten. Die Wechselwirkungen zwischen der Politik und den Finanzmärkten erfordern Fiscal Governance.

Bereits in der Antike galt pecunia nervus rerum - das Geld ist der Nerv aller Dinge. Diese Weisheit erfährt in der gegenwärtigen Finanz- und Wirtschaftskrise eine neue Bedeutung. Denn als Rückgrat des gesamten politischen Systems unterliegt die öffentliche Finanz- und Haushaltspolitik derzeit einem atemberaubenden Transformationsprozess. Diese Veränderungen sind deshalb bemerkenswert, weil davon eines der letzten Zuständigkeitsreservate nationalstaatlicher Souveränität berührt wird. Zudem erschüttern sie - so die hier vertretene These - ganz maßgeblich die demokratischen Grundfesten der Bundesrepublik und der Europäischen Union (EU).

The full text is free:

<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/126014/fiscal-governance-und-demokratie-in-krisenzeiten>

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Brown Bob

**For an Earth's Parliament**  
in *Federalist Debate (The)*, Year XXV, n. 2, May

<http://www.federalist-debate.org/index.php/current-issue/comments/item/767-for-an-earth's-parliament>



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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Held David

**From the American Century to a Cosmopolitan Order**

in *Social Europe Journal*, Volume 6, Issue 2, Winter / Spring , 27-30

<http://www.social-europe.eu/wp-content/uploads/2012/03/SocialEurope-20.pdf>

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Cole John C.

**Genesis of the CDM: the original policymaking goals of the 1997 Brazilian proposal and their evolution in the Kyoto protocol negotiations into the CDM**

in *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics*, Volume 12, Number 1, March , 41-61

A body of literature is emerging applying critical consideration to the Kyoto Protocol Clean Development Mechanism's ('CDM') achievement of policy goals regarding sustainable development, geographical distribution of projects and related matters. This article places this literature in the context of the policymaking goals of the CDM's Brazilian architects. The CDM arose from the Brazilian Proposal's Clean Development Fund, and was negotiated between Brazil and the United States in the weeks preceding the Kyoto Conference of Parties. The CDM's Brazilian architects continued to pursue their underlying policy goals by taking a leadership position in the Marrakesh Accords negotiations. During this period Brazil's primary policy objectives comprised achieving meaningful mitigation of GHG emissions to avoid dangerous interference with the climate system, derailing a perceived US/IPCC initiative to allocate emissions cap obligations in the Kyoto Protocol on the basis of current emissions, and taking a leadership position both among the G-77 and China and in the multilateral climate negotiations as a whole. The CDM arose in this context from the G-77 and China's desire to coerce the North's compliance with the North's emissions cap obligations through an alternative means of compliance. As a result, there was no focus on broad conceptions of sustainable development, or on broad distribution of CDM projects throughout the South. Instead, the CDM's Brazilian architects envisioned that CDM-related sustainable development would arise exclusively from the presence of the CDM projects. Similarly, the Brazilian Proposal advocated allocation of the Clean Development Fund on a basis proportionate to each non-Annex I countries projected 1990–2010 greenhouse gas emissions. These views persisted through the evolution of the Clean Development Fund into the CDM and through Marrakesh Accords negotiations. This article argues that the CDM has largely met the policy goals of its Brazilian architects and that the pursuit of different, additional, refined or more nuanced policy goals necessitates corresponding refinements to the CDM, or any successor mechanism, specifically targeting those different, additional, refined or more nuanced policy objectives, lending support to the emerging literature proposing changes to the CDM to pursue corresponding policy objectives.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Altwater Elmar

**Genossenschaft und gutes Leben. Der Sozialismus des 21. Jahrhunderts**



in **Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik**, April, 2012 , 53-63

Die Aufmerksamkeit aller Klima- und Entwicklungspolitiker wie -Aktivisten richtet sich bereits auf die kommende UN-Mammutkonferenz „Rio+20“. Vielleicht hat deshalb kaum jemand bemerkt, dass wir uns seit dem 1. Januar 2012 im UN-Jahr der Genossenschaften befinden.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Langshaw Alexander

**Giving Substance to Form: Moving towards an Integrated Governance Model of Transboundary Environmental Impact Assessment**

in **Nordic Journal of International Law**, vol. 81, issue 1 , 21-38

ABSTRACT: This article addresses the distinction drawn by the International Court of Justice in its judgment in the Pulp Mills case between procedural and substantive obligations in relation to transboundary environmental impact assessment (TEIA). Challenging the presumption that procedural obligations are fundamentally linked with the broader substantive goals of TEIA, this paper contends that this will only be the case where a focus on a strong role for public participation can serve to mitigate the information asymmetries endemic to TEIA processes. Longer-term reform strategies, incorporating a threefold focus upon procedural obligations, substantive standards and effective enforcement processes, are also explored.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Attila Ágh

**Global Governance and Integrative Balancing: EU Efforts to Respond to the Global Challenge**

in **Global Policy**, Volume 3, Issue 2, May , 145–153

In the early 21st century globalisation has radically transformed the whole world. In the rapidly globalising world the main issue for the EU is globalisation-cum-regionalisation, namely to increase policy cooperation with its own neighbourhood to strengthen its global position and to avoid systemic failure in its partner countries by offering them a win-win game through regional organisations. Globalisation has unleashed the process of regionalisation at various levels, so restructuring the political space around the globe. New territorial units have been organised in order to be able to withstand the pressure of globalisation, and to be more effective in the global competition that has also generated the need for global governance. The basic principle in the recent regionalisation efforts by the EU is 'integrative balancing', empowering unequal external partners through meaningful cooperation. In this spirit the EU has recently transformed its global policy in both aspects of globalisation-cum-regionalisation. It has accelerated common institution building with neighbouring states. The EU has also established an active cooperation framework with the newly emerging global powers as 'strategic partners'. Altogether, the European Council concluded in October 2010 that 'wider governance reform should be delivered' in the EU's global policy

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**





*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

André Broome, Liam Clegg & Lena Rethel

**Global Governance and the Politics of Crisis**

in **Global Society**, Volume 26, Issue 1 , 3-17

The notion of global governance has always been intimately linked to that of crisis. In recent crisis episodes the architecture of global governance has been held responsible for weak or ineffective regulatory mechanisms that failed to either prevent systemic crises or to at least give an “early warning” of impending disasters, while in other episodes global governance institutions have been blamed for poor crisis responses and management. Global governance institutions have also been blamed for failing to expand the scope of their jurisdictions to incorporate new systemic risks and new market players, as well as for their inability to adapt to new political, economic, social and environmental challenges. The framing article for this special issue on “Global Governance in Crisis” examines four key features of global governance in the context of the global financial crisis: (1) the dynamic role played by ideas in making global governance “hang together” during periods of crisis; (2) how crisis serves as a driver of change in global governance (and why it sometimes does not); (3) how ubiquitous the global financial crisis was as an event in world politics; and (4) the conditions that constitute an event as a crisis. Due to the complexity and institutional “stickiness” of the contemporary architecture of global governance, the article concludes that a far-reaching overhaul and structural reforms in global governance processes is both costly and improbable in the short-term.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Gupta Joyeeta, Sanchez Nadia

**Global Green Governance: Embedding the Green Economy in a Global Green and Equitable Rule of Law Polity  
in Review of European Community & International Environmental Law**, Volume 21, Issue 1, April , 12-22

The global community is crossing planetary boundaries while it has not yet met the basic needs of at least one-third of the global population. Although governance systems are developing, they are still unable to adequately deal with current global environmental problems. This article assesses global green governance, inferring that it is reactive, incoherent and fragmented, lacks the tools to implement a systemic approach, is ad hoc rather than principled, is becoming politically charged, and may be unable to support the implementation of a green economy and cope with the societal changes expected by 2050. The article concludes that fragmentation of international environmental law and policy is inevitable, but that some degree of constitutionalization is necessary to provide a rule of law framework in an increasingly globalized, networked, multilevel world.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Maffettone Sebastiano

**Global justification and local legitimation**

in **Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy**, Volume 15, Issue 2, 2012 , 239-257

Abstract

This paper distinguishes between the concepts of justification and legitimation with a view to offering a normative



standard for global justice compatible with cultural pluralism. According to this distinction, justification is presented as an idealized, substantive and top-down enterprise rooted in the moral and metaphysical substrate of a specific culture. On the other hand, legitimation has a procedural and factual connotation and derives its strength from the success of some culturally independent but historically situated practice (bottom-up approach). Building on this distinction, I argue that justification and legitimation should be made complementary for the sake of cross-cultural dialogue.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Georg Co-Pierre, Meinert Philipp

**Globale Finanzmarktaufsicht**

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 13, 2012

Der Artikel beschreibt die neue Struktur der Finanzmarktaufsicht im Nachgang der Finanzkrise aus ökonomischer und juristischer Sicht als Prozess internationaler Kooperation.

The full text is free:

<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/126028/globale-finanzmarktaufsicht>

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Stöcker Christian

**Governance des digitalen Raumes: aktuelle netzpolitische Brennpunkte**

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 7, 2012

Ob Netzneutralität, Datenschutz oder Urheberrecht – wie der digitale Raum reguliert werden sollte, ist höchst umstritten. Dazu kommt, dass viele Entscheidungen auf nationaler Ebene kaum sinnvoll getroffen werden können.

The full text is free:

<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/75832/governance-des-digitalen-raumes-aktuelle-netzpolitische-brennpunkte>

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Camilleri Joseph A.

**Governance in an age of transition: an evolutionary perspective**

in *Global Change, Peace & Security*, vol. 24, n. 1, 1-7

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Johnson Craig A.



**Governing climate displacement: the ethics and politics of human resettlement**

in *Environmental Politics*, Volume 21, Issue 2, March , 308-328

Projected impacts of climate change raise difficult ethical questions about the responsibility of national governments and international institutions to protect human populations displaced by climate disasters and long-term environmental change. The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change projects that climate change will entail large-scale displacement of populations exposed to the disruption of food supplies, health systems, human settlements and livelihoods. The ethics of supporting policies that expose very poor people to the risk of climate-induced disasters, and the politics of developing policies that would reduce the risk of this kind of suffering, are explored. Drawing upon the capabilities approach of Martha Nussbaum and Amartya Sen, the ethics and politics of promoting human resettlement as a means of mitigating the risk of climate disasters in low-income areas of the developing world are considered.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Bernstein Steven

**Grand Compromises in Global Governance**

in *Government and Opposition* , Vol. 47, n. 3, July , 368-394

Two attempts at grand compromise have underpinned global order since the end of the Second World War. The first, a compromise between laissez-faire liberalism and domestic interventionism, famously described by John Ruggie as 'embedded liberalism', legitimated and stabilized a multilateral order for 50 years. A second attempt, this time between North and South at the end of the Cold War around a discourse of 'sustainable development', remains uneasy, conflict prone and much less institutionalized. They are compared and contrasted by asking whether they are truly compromises or reflect domination and hegemony, what conditions led to them, and what drivers of change have limited and challenged them. Ultimately, differences in their bases of legitimacy offer lessons for the prospects of building a new grand compromise in the wake of contemporary strains on global governance.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Spilker Gabriele

**Helpful Organizations: Membership in Inter-Governmental Organizations and Environmental Quality in Developing Countries**

in *British Journal of Political Science*, vol. 42, issue 2, april , 345-370

ABSTRACT: Does membership in intergovernmental organizations help developing countries enhance their environmental performance? This article argues that IGO membership can improve the environmental performance of developing countries, by linking different issues, promoting the general idea of environmental sustainability and providing a channel through which these countries receive technologies and resources necessary to reduce pollution. This argument has been tested on panel data for 114 developing countries in 1970–2000. The results confirm that, controlling for a country's income and its political system, IGO membership is indeed associated with a reduction in both air pollution and greenhouse gases. To understand the mechanisms behind this result better, IGO membership is disaggregated according to both function and the degree of institutionalization of the respective organization.



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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

**Criddle Evan J., Fox-Decent Evan**

**Human Rights, Emergencies, and the Rule of Law**  
in *Human Rights Quarterly*, vol. 34, number 1, february

ABSTRACT: This article illuminates the normative basis for international law's regulation of public emergencies by arguing that human rights are best conceived as norms arising from a fiduciary relationship between states (or state-like actors) and persons subject to their power. States bear a fiduciary duty to guarantee subjects' secure and equal freedom, a duty that flows from their institutional assumption of sovereign powers. The fiduciary theory disarms Carl Schmitt's critique of constitutionalism by explaining how emergency powers can be reconciled with the rule of law.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

**Howard-Hassmann Rhoda E.**

**Human Security: Undermining Human Rights?**  
in *Human Rights Quarterly*, vol. 34, number 1, february , 88-112

ABSTRACT: This article warns that the human security discourse and agenda could inadvertently undermine the international human rights regime. Insofar as human security identifies new threats to well-being, new victims of those threats, new duties of states, or new mechanisms for dealing with threats at the inter-state level, it adds to the established human rights regime. When it simply rephrases human rights principles without identifying new threats, victims, duty-bearers, or mechanisms, however, at best it complements human rights and at worst it undermines them. A narrow view of human security is a valuable addition to the international normative regime requiring state and international action against severe threats to human beings. By contrast, an overly broad view of human security ignores the human rights regime; by subsuming human rights under human security, it also undermines the primacy of civil and political rights as a strategic tool for citizens to fight for their rights against their own states.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

**Christopher L. Pallas**

**Identity, Individualism, and Activism beyond the State: Examining the Impacts of Global Citizenship**  
in *Global Society*, Volume 26, Issue 2 , 169-189

The concept of global citizenship has risen to prominence through its use by policy makers, activists, and scholars, who employ the idea of global interconnectedness to encourage individuals to actively engage with transnational issues. Proponents of global citizenship claim that it will promote greater global unity and equality of rights, and even generate a new, post-national identity. Yet self-professed global citizens operate in a transnational realm marked by extreme disparities in power between the members of different states and economic classes. This article assesses whether



global citizenship can live up to the claims of its adherents, or whether it will replicate the existing inequalities and moral hazard currently manifest in global policy-making. The article uses the work of T.H. Marshall to identify the conditions under which citizenship has generated equality and unity in the national realm and examines whether these conditions are present beyond the state. It then compares the resulting theory with global citizenship's observed impacts in transnational activism. It concludes that unity and equality of rights cannot be achieved globally in the absence of a commonly shared pool of social and economic resources and that, ironically, global citizenship may worsen existing power imbalances by legitimating elites' use of power.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

**Knight Carl**

**In defence of global egalitarianism**

in **Journal of Global Ethics**, Volume 8, Issue 1, 2012 , 107-116

Abstract

This essay argues that David Miller's criticisms of global egalitarianism do not undermine the view where it is stated in one of its stronger, luck egalitarian forms. The claim that global egalitarianism cannot specify a metric of justice which is broad enough to exclude spurious claims for redistribution, but precise enough to appropriately value different kinds of advantage, implicitly assumes that cultural understandings are the only legitimate way of identifying what counts as advantage. But that is an assumption always or almost always rejected by global egalitarianism. The claim that global egalitarianism demands either too little redistribution, leaving the unborn and dissenters burdened with their societies' imprudent choices, or too much redistribution, creating perverse incentives by punishing prudent decisions, only presents a problem for global luck egalitarianism on the assumption that nations can legitimately inherit assets from earlier generations – again, an assumption very much at odds with global egalitarian assumptions.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

**Bruch Carl, Boulicault Marion, Talati Shuchi, Jensen David**

**International Law, Natural Resources and Post-conflict Peacebuilding: From Rio to Rio+20 and Beyond**

in **Review of European Community & International Environmental Law**, Volume 21, Issue 1, April , 44-62

Since the end of the Cold War, peacebuilding efforts and international environmental law have developed independently and in very different manners. Experiences in managing natural resources to support post-conflict peacebuilding in dozens of countries over the past twenty years, however, highlight the critical role that natural resources often play. The 2012 United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development (Rio+20) provides an opportunity to consider the lessons from these experiences and provide a vision for future consolidation of approaches. This article reviews the development of peacebuilding, highlighting the importance of natural resources. It then surveys the status of international law governing post-conflict peacebuilding, including international environmental law. Looking forward, it considers the likely directions of international law in governing post-conflict peacebuilding, concluding with thoughts on how to capitalize on Rio+20 to advance more effective approaches.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Von Staden Andreas

**Introduction to Special Issue: Toward Greater Interdisciplinarity in Research on the Legitimacy of Global Governance**

**in Swiss Political Science Review - Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft - Revue suisse de science politique**, Volume 18, Issue 2, June 2012 , 149-157

Abstract: The legitimacy of global governance arrangements remains a major focus of scholarly interest across the social sciences. To maximize the potential insights of such research, a closer cooperation of scholars across the relevant disciplines and the creation of a genuinely interdisciplinary research program promises significant rewards. The normative blueprints for more democratically legitimate forms of global governance developed by political theorists in particular would benefit, I argue, from a closer linkage with political science, with the latter providing critical insights into the causal factors and mechanisms that determine outcomes in international politics, insights that are indispensable for studying and assessing the feasibility of implementing abstractly attractive normative designs. The contributions in this Special Issue begin to cross the “normative-positive divide” each in its own way and collectively point the way toward more integrated future research.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Ceva Emanuela, Rossi Enzo

**Introduction: Justice, Legitimacy and Diversity**

**in Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy**, Volume 15, Issue 2, 2012 , 101-108

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Dobson Hugo

**Japan's response to the changing global order: the case of a 'Gaggle of Gs'**

**in International Relations of the Asia-Pacific**, Vol. 12, n. 2, May , 229-257

Over recent years, media, academic, and policy-makers' attention has focused on changes in the global order from a unipolar to a multipolar world. The emergence of the Group of 20 (G20) since 2008 as the 'premier forum for international economic cooperation', which includes a number of developed and developing countries, and its 'eclipse' of the Group of 8 (G8) summit are acknowledged as some of the most salient symptoms of this shift. This article takes the intensive period of 'G' summitry between 2008 and 2011 as a pertinent case study to begin to explore the concrete responses of key protagonists to this reconfiguration of the architecture of global governance specifically and thereby the recent shift in the global order more broadly. In the specific case of Japan, widely assumed to be a declining power, the article highlights both consistency and change in the responses of and strategies employed by Japanese policy-makers within 'G' summitry. Various theoretical positions can account for this to differing degrees which also bring into relief the ultimately contradictory trajectory of Japan's response to the changing global order.





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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Wyeth Vanessa

**Knights in Fragile Armor: The Rise of the "G7+"**

in *Global Governance*, vol. 18, n. 1, january-march , 7-12

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Krämer Ludwig

**L'Union européenne et la gouvernance environnementale mondiale**

in *Revue du droit de l'Union Européenne*, n. 4 , 593-614

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Runavot Marie-Clotilde

**L'avenir du "modèle intergouvernemental" de l'organisation internationale**

in *Revue générale de droit international publique*, vol. 115, n. 3

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Massiah Gustave

**La stratégie altermondialiste**

in *Actuel Marx*, N° 51 (avril 2012)

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Huth Paul, Croco Sarah, Appel Benjamin

**Law and the Use of Force in World Politics: The Varied Effects of Law on the Exercise of Military Power in Territorial Disputes**

in *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 56, issue 1, march , 17-31



ABSTRACT: In this paper, we investigate how international law shapes leaders' decisions regarding the use of force in the context of territorial disputes. We argue that if the legal principles relevant to the dispute are capable of suggesting a focal point, international law will have a powerful role to play in informing leader behavior. Specifically, if a focal point exists, the state that it favors will avoid using force and prefer negotiations when considering an initial challenge to the status quo. However, we expect focal points to have the opposite effect once states are involved in a militarized dispute. Under these circumstances, the state with a legal advantage will be more likely to escalate the level of military force. Using a series of statistical tests, we find strong support for our theoretical argument.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Rodrik Dani

**Leaderless of Global Governance**

in **Social Europe Journal**, Volume 6, Issue 2, Winter / Spring , 31-32

<http://www.social-europe.eu/wp-content/uploads/2012/03/SocialEurope-20.pdf>

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Take Ingo

**Legitimacy in Global Governance: International, Transnational and Private Institutions Compared**

in **Swiss Political Science Review - Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft - Revue suisse de science politique**, Volume 18, Issue 2, June 2012 , 220-248

Abstract: How to generate legitimate forms of governance beyond the nation state is often considered a central question in contemporary world politics (Moravcsik 2004: 336). To proceed in theory-building, scholars need to systematically assign the theory-driven assumptions on legitimate forms of governance beyond the nation-state with the various, already observable, forms of global governance. This article aims to conduct a comparative appraisal of the legitimacy quality of different patterns of governance by applying a framework of indicators for their assessment. The indicators are selected from the scholarly debate within International Relations on the legitimacy of global governance arrangements and structured by a multi-dimensional concept of legitimacy (input-, throughput- and output-dimension). This framework is then applied to international, transnational and private forms of global governance in three policy fields in order to show how each of them try to produce and maintain legitimacy, which strategies they apply and in how they interact with their stakeholders.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Barry Christian

**Local Priorities, Universal Priorities, and Enabling Harm**

in **Ethics and International Affairs**, vol. 26, n. 1, spring , 21-26



ABSTRACT: "National communities," Michael Ignatieff writes in his thoughtful essay on the prospects for a global ethic, "have some good reasons, as well as some not so good ones, to privilege local ahead of universal priorities and interests." And he goes on to explain the clash of local and universal priorities as rooted in a conflict between the values of "justice and democracy." I would rather suggest that the conflict is an internal one—a conflict inherent in our thinking about what justice requires. But in any case, he is surely right that providing a compelling account of how to distinguish good from bad reasons for privileging local priorities, and identifying how weighty the good reasons for local priorities are, is fundamental to developing a plausible global ethic.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Murdie Amanda, Davis David R.

**Looking in the mirror: Comparing INGO networks across issue areas**  
in *Review of International Organizations (The)*, vol. 7, n. 2, June, 177-202

ABSTRACT: International Relations scholarship has begun to focus a great deal of attention on social networks and their influence on political outcomes. In this paper, we contribute to this effort by examining the network relationships of international non-governmental organizations (INGOs) across four issue areas: the environment, health, human rights, and development. Using originally coded data on over 4000 INGOs, we find that the characteristics of network relations across the four areas are in fact quite different. Further, we find that these differences are driven in part by the characteristics of the INGOs, including whether they are located in the global North or South and their ties to intergovernmental organizations. Finally, we highlight the crucial "bridge" role of organizations that focus on a "hybrid" of multiple issue-areas within the overall network.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Andersson Nils

**L'humanitaire fourvoyé**

in *Pensée (La)*, n. 369, Janvier-mars 2012

Après les échecs au Kurdistan, en Somalie, au Rwanda et au Kosovo du concept du « droit d'ingérence humanitaire » invoqué par l'ONU dans les années 1990, un nouveau concept est adopté en 2005 : « La responsabilité de protéger » dont la Libye s'avère un déplorable laboratoire d'essai.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Bowen Wyn Q., Cottee Matthew, Hobbs Christopher

**Multilateral cooperation and the prevention of nuclear terrorism: pragmatism over idealism**  
in *International Affairs*, vol. 88, issue 2, March, 349-368

ABSTRACT: The second Nuclear Security Summit on 26–27 March 2012 in Seoul provides an important opportunity to



gauge international consensus on the threat posed by nuclear terrorism, and to evaluate progress in the development of multilateral cooperative efforts to prevent it. However, the 'nuclear security' agenda has long been complicated by the complexity of the issues it covers and diverging perceptions of the risks and threats in this area. Further complications involve the politics that have constrained the development of formal cooperative approaches and the patchwork nature of the existing multilateral policy architecture. While the Summit is unlikely to go very far in mitigating these complications, it will nonetheless provide impetus to multilateral efforts to strengthen the international regulative framework in this area and, in the process, to develop the norm of nuclear security. Beyond Seoul several priorities stand out. Nuclear safety and nuclear security need to be approached in a more balanced way by the International Atomic Energy Agency, and it must also be allowed to adopt a more joined-up, and less stove-piped, approach to nuclear governance across the safeguards, safety and security fields. Developing countries that are concerned by growing demands for strengthened nuclear security arrangements need greater reassurance from those proposing them that these will not undermine their rights under the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty to pursue civil applications of nuclear energy. Greater progress also needs to be made in universalizing the key nuclear security conventions and their amendments, and attention should be given to how momentum and high-level political buy-in to the nuclear security agenda can be maintained in the future both as part of, and beyond, the Nuclear Security Summit process.

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### **Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

#### *Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Erman Eva, Follesdal Andreas

#### **Multiple citizenship: normative ideals and institutional challenges**

in **Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy**, Volume 15, Issue 3, 2012 , 279-302

#### Abstract

Institutional suggestions for how to rethink democracy in response to changing state responsibilities and capabilities have been numerous and often mutually incompatible. This suggests that conceptual unclarity still reigns concerning how the normative ideal of democracy as collective self-determination, i.e. 'rule by the people', might best be brought to bear in a transnational and global context. The aim in this paper is twofold. First, it analyses some consequences of the tendency to smudge the distinction between democratic theory and moral theories of legitimacy and justice. Second, it develops a conceptual framework that distinguishes between necessary conditions, aspects and aims of democracy. On this basis it specifies three objectives of democracy, some of which may also hold for multilevel governance. It is argued that there are in principle at least three reasons to value democratic institutions: they are intrinsically justified to the extent that they distribute fair shares of political influence over decision-making; they are instrumentally justified to the extent that they secure several of our other best interests, one of which is our interest in non-domination; and finally, they are also instrumentally justified insofar as they secure the just distribution of other goods. The aim of this framework is not to develop a specific theory of multilevel governance but to point at important distinctions to be made and normative criteria to be specified. The intention is to take the debate forward by noting some of the issues that any satisfactory account must address. The framework lays out the grounds for analysing the institutional challenges facing legitimate multilevel governance through what is speculatively called 'multiple citizenship', understood in explorative terms, opening the door for the manifold roles that citizens could and ought to play in multilevel governance, not only as democratic agents, but also as agents of democracy and agents of justice.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Pallas Christopher L., Urpelainen Johannes

**NGO monitoring and the legitimacy of international cooperation: A strategic analysis**

*in Review of International Organizations (The)* , vol. 7, n. 1, march , 1-32

ABSTRACT: States often invite NGOs to monitor international cooperation. Under what circumstances are states likely to take this step? We argue that NGO monitoring allows states to provide domestic publics with credible evidence regarding successful cooperation, but that this credibility carries a cost: if states fail to cooperate, a participating NGO will expose this failure and thus delegitimize the cooperation effort. Our formal analysis indicates that states obtain a dual benefit from NGO participation: in addition to enhanced legitimacy, NGO scrutiny helps states credibly commit to high cooperation levels vis-à-vis each other. The increased costs of failure, however, may deter state use of NGO monitoring. Surprisingly, we find that NGO monitoring is the most useful for states when the cooperation cost is relatively low. We explore the empirical relevance of our theoretical argument in NGO monitoring of World Bank development projects and compliance with the Kyoto Protocol. We also explain why NGO monitoring has been disallowed in the Global Environment Facility. Our analysis provides a firm strategic foundation for the idea that NGO participation sometimes confers benefits to states, and our theory has several empirically falsifiable implications.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Ostrom Elinor

**Nested externalities and polycentric institutions: must we wait for global solutions to climate change before taking actions at other scales?**

*in Economic Theory*, Volume 49, Number 2 / February 2012 , 353-369

The literature on global climate change has largely ignored the small but positive steps that many public and private actors are taking to reduce greenhouse gas emissions. A global policy is frequently posited as the only strategy needed. It is important to balance the major attention on global solutions as the only strategy for coping with climate change. Positive actions are underway at multiple, smaller scales to start the process of climate change mitigation. Researchers need to understand the strength of polycentric systems where enterprises at multiple levels may complement each other. Building a global regime is a necessity, but encouraging the emergence of a polycentric system starts the process of reducing greenhouse gas emissions and acts as a spur to international regimes to do their part.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Laming Richard

**No Globalisation without Representation**

*in Federalist Debate (The)*, Year XXV, n. 1, March

<http://www.federalist-debate.org/index.php/current/item/752-no-globalisation-without-representation>



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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Towns Ann E.

**Norms and Social Hierarchies: Understanding International Policy Diffusion “From Below”  
in *International Organization*, vol. 66, issue 2 , 179-209**

ABSTRACT: This article aims to rethink the operation of norms in international policy diffusion. Norms do not simply standardize state behaviors, as is conventionally argued; norms also draw on and set up hierarchical social orders among states. Through a conceptual rethinking we gain a better understanding of where—among which states—new policies may first emerge: social hierarchies create incentives for new policies to develop at the margins of international society so that policies may diffuse “from below.” We also get a better grasp of how policy advocates frame the appropriateness or benefits of a new state practice: they must frame policy demands in terms of the international standing and rank of the targeted state. This article's empirical aspiration is to use these insights to help account for the international policy diffusion of legal sex quotas, a policy to increase the level of female legislators that developed first among “developing” states rather than among the so-called core of international society. By pointing to the link between norms and social hierarchy, the article helps account for policy diffusion “from below.”

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Hüller Thorsten

**On Infeasibilities of Cosmopolitan Democracy – Lessons from the European Union**

**in *Swiss Political Science Review - Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft - Revue suisse de science politique*, Volume 18, Issue 2, June 2012 , 249–271**

Abstract: This article critically examines institutional versions of cosmopolitan democracy and institutional ideas of global federalism. Assuming global institutions to be as they are designed in conceptions of cosmopolitan democracy, the paper addresses a feasibility question: (To what degree) would such global democratic structures meet normative standards of democratic accountability. As there is no global democracy existing, the argumentation makes a detour, first investigating the experiences of the most advanced project of cosmopolitan democracy – the European Union – and then, second extrapolating from persistent, structural democratic deficits in the EU to the feasibility of global democracy. Compared to national arenas, the EU faces a gradual deficit in democratic capacities and the global reality of cosmopolitan democracy would be –even compared to the EU – a downgraded democracy as well. The main findings are: Vertical accountability is either more ineffective or more inegalitarian or both. Neither unitary nor federal systems should be seen as a plausible solution for the threat of ‘Verselbständigung’ caused by multilevel politics. And nationally segmented public spheres will not promote a similar type of politicised discourses around ‘common’ global issues.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Ronen Yaël

**Participation of Non-State Actors in ICJ Proceedings**





in **Law and Practice of International Courts and Tribunals (The)**, vol. 11, n. 1 , 77-110

ABSTRACT: This article examines the participation in ICJ proceedings of non-state actors, and particularly non-state territorial entities and NGOs, from both a doctrinal and a practical perspective. An evaluation of the practice of the ICJ against the framework of its Statute sheds light on the ICJ's openness to the expanding variety of actors in the international arena, as well as on the characteristics of such actors that inform the Court's policy. The study reveals remarkable flexibility on the part of the ICJ in allowing participation of NSAs in advisory opinions involving territorial entities aspiring to statehood or of otherwise indeterminate territorial status, but resistance insofar as concerns other participation of NSAs. The article proposes a framework for understanding the practice of the ICJ, based on the nature of the NSA, the content of the dispute, and the procedural requirements of justice.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Hipler Jochen

**Perspektiven der internationalen Politik im 21. Jahrhundert. Rahmenbedingungen deutscher Außenpolitik**

in **Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte**, Band 10, 2012

Die Weltpolitik befindet sich im Umbruch. Die Pluralisierung von Machtzentren wurde ausgelöst durch eine Erosion der US-Dominanz, den Aufstieg neuer Mächte und die Unfähigkeit der Großmächte, ihre Politikziele durchzusetzen.

The full text is free:

<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/75793/perspektiven-der-internationalen-politik-im-21-jahrhundert-rahmenbedingungen-deutscher-aussenpolitik>

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Schmid Martin, Varwick Johannes

**Perspektiven für die deutsche Nato-Politik**

in **Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte**, Band 10, 2012

In vielen Nato-Debatten der vergangenen Jahre verhielt sich Deutschland neutral bis vorsichtig opponierend. Der Beitrag skizziert, inwieweit sich diese Annahme mit Blick auf die anstehenden Themen des Nato-Gipfels in Chicago bestätigt.

The full text is free:

<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/75790/perspektiven-fuer-die-deutsche-nato-politik>

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Murray Odette



**Piercing the Corporate Veil: The Responsibility of Member states of an International Organization**  
in *International Organizations Law Review*, vol. 8, n. 2 , 291-347

ABSTRACT: This paper applies two manifestations of the principle of good faith - *pacta sunt servanda* and the doctrine of abuse of rights - to the complex relationship between member states and international organizations. The paper argues that these existing doctrines operate as a legal limit on the conduct of states when creating, controlling and functioning within international organizations. The paper begins by exploring an innovative provision in the International Law Commission's recently finalised Draft Articles on the Responsibility of International Organisations - Draft Article 61 - according to which a member state will bear international responsibility for the act of an international organization where the member state uses the organization to circumvent its own international obligations. Examining the development of Draft Article 61 and the jurisprudence upon which it is based, this paper argues that the principle which the Commission in fact seeks to articulate in Draft Article 61 is that of good faith in the performance of treaties. As such, being based on a primary rule of international law, this paper queries whether Draft Article 61 belongs in a set of secondary rules.

The paper then considers the role of states in the decision-making organs of international organizations and argues that the widely held presumption against member state responsibility for participation in decision-making organs can and should be displaced in certain cases, in recognition of the various voting mechanisms in international organizations and the varied power which certain states may wield. The paper argues that the doctrine of abuse of rights operates as a fundamental legal limit on the exercise of a member state's voting discretion, and thereby forms a complementary primary obligation placed on states in the context of their participation in international organizations.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Fisher Susannah

**Policy storylines in Indian climate politics: opening new political spaces?**

in *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, Volume 30, Issue 1, February , 109-127

With this paper I consider the role of diffuse nonstate and subnational actors working together in networks in Indian climate politics. The Indian government has maintained several core principles in the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change negotiations since the emergence of climate change as a major international issue, and until recently the engagement of nonstate and subnational actors has been limited. However, new networked political actors are emerging that are widely linked into transnational networks, often supported by external funding and bringing new, diverse organisations into the debate. I argue that to understand their role and significance we must be more attentive to the spatiality of the policy process and must reconceptualise the relationship between nonstate actors and the state. The international arena is not the only area of climate politics, or necessarily the most significant, and attention to the role of local politics could develop a more rooted understanding of Indian climate politics.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Suk-Ki Kong

**Politics of cosmopolitan citizenship: the Korean engagement in the global justice movements**

in *Citizenship Studies*, vol. 16, issue 1 , 69-84



ABSTRACT: This article explains why and how the Korean social movements engage in the Global Justice Movement (GJM). We believe that Korean social movements gradually developed consciousness of cosmopolitan citizenship through engaging in the GJM. We found that international opportunities like the UN and World Social Forum processes, whether positive or negative, have forced Korean social movements to engage in the GJMs. Environmental and human rights movements (belonging to the 'new social movements') were increasingly disappointed with the UN process and focused on the GJM with changing the strategy from institutionalization to global campaigns or south-to-south collaboration. Labor and peasants movements (belonging to the 'old social movements') continue to struggle with developing sustained networks because of lack of the so-called 'rooted cosmopolitans.' Despite such differences, Korean civil society becomes more conscious of global justice as a new master frame to tackle neoliberal globalization within the future.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Leininger Julia, Böckenförde Markus

**Prozesse fördern, nicht nur Produkte fordern: Demokratie und Menschenrechte in der deutschen Außenpolitik in Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte**, Band 10, 2012

Menschenrechte und Demokratie sind grundlegende Parameter der deutschen Außenpolitik. Doch stehen sie in einem Spannungsverhältnis mit anderen politischen Zielen wie etwa im Hinblick auf außenwirtschaftliche Beziehungen mit undemokratischen Regimen.

The full text is free:

<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/75799/prozesse-foerdern-nicht-nur-produkte-fordern-demokratie-und-menschenrechte-in-der-deutschen-aussenpolitik>

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Colgan Jeff D., Keohane Robert O., Van de Graaf Thijs

**Punctuated equilibrium in the energy regime complex in Review of International Organizations (The)**, vol. 7, n. 2, June, 117-143

ABSTRACT: The concept of a regime complex has proved fruitful to a burgeoning literature in international relations, but it has also opened up new questions about how and why they develop over time. This article describes the history of the energy regime complex as it has changed over the past 40 years, and interprets this history in light of an interpretive framework of the sources of institutional change. One of its principal contributions is to highlight what Stephen Krasner referred to as a pattern of "punctuated equilibrium" reflecting both periods of stasis and periods of innovation, as opposed to a gradual process of change. We show that the timing of innovation depends on dissatisfaction and shocks and that the nature of innovation—that is, whether it is path-dependent or de novo—depends on interest homogeneity among major actors. This paper is the first to demonstrate the empirical applicability of the punctuated equilibrium concept to international regime complexes, and contributes to the eventual development of a dynamic theory of change



in regime complexes.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Thibault Jean-François

**R2P and the Debt of the International Community**

in *Peace Review*, vol. 24, n. 2 , 210-218

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Arvan Marcus

**Reconceptualizing human rights**

in *Journal of Global Ethics*, Volume 8, Issue 1, 2012 , 91-105

Abstract

This paper defends several highly revisionary theses about human rights. Section 1 shows that the phrase ‘human rights’ refers to two distinct types of moral claims. Sections 2 and 3 argue that several longstanding problems in human rights theory and practice can be solved if, and only if, the concept of a ‘human right’ is replaced by two more exact concepts:

International human rights: moral claims sufficient to warrant coercive domestic and international social protection.

Domestic human rights: moral claims sufficient to warrant coercive domestic social protection but only non-coercive international action.

Section 3 then argues that because coercion is central to both types of human rights, and coercion is a matter of justice, the traditional view of human rights – that they are normative entitlements prior to and independent of substantive theories of justice – is incorrect. Human rights must instead be seen as emerging from substantive theories of domestic and international justice. Finally, Section 4 uses this reconceptualization to show that only a few very minimal claims about international human rights are presently warranted. Because international human rights are rights of international justice, but theorists of international justice disagree widely about the demands of international justice, much more research on international justice is needed – and much greater agreement about international justice should be reached – before anything more than a very minimal list of international human rights can be justified.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Ignatieff Michael



## **Reimagining a Global Ethic**

in *Ethics and International Affairs*, vol. 26, n. 1, spring , 7-19

ABSTRACT: Reimagining a global ethic” is a project worthy of Andrew Carnegie and of the Carnegie Council's upcoming commemoration of his founding gift in 1914. As a collaborative research project stretching forward over the next three years, it ought to be integrative and reconciliatory: that is, it must try to understand the globalization of ethics that has accompanied the globalization of commerce and communications and to figure out what ethical values human beings share across all our differences of race, religion, ethnicity, national identity, and material wealth. When human beings do disagree morally, the search for a global ethic becomes an attempt to elucidate by analysis what exactly people are disagreeing about, so that, after arguing out our differences, we can either agree to disagree or work together to find common ground. Finding common ground on large ethical matters and understanding more deeply why, in some instances, we remain at odds with each other is worthwhile in itself, but it might also further Andrew Carnegie's original goal in founding the Council, which was to reduce the amount of conflict and violence in the world.

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### **Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Kevin Archer

#### **Rescaling Global Governance: Imagining the Demise of the Nation-State**

in *Globalizations* , Volume 9, Issue 2 , 241-256

Much has been written recently about the supposed decline in the sovereign power of nation-states due to global economic processes and the emergence of supranational governing institutions like the World Trade Organization, the World Bank, NAFTA, the EU, etc. This has posed what some consider a problem for still largely nation-state-centric social theory in terms of making sense of what appears to be a major transformation in global governance patterns and institutions. This article argues that the apparent transformation in global governance is less historically revolutionary than evolutionary with the key being a shift in power relations among capitalist class factions at all levels of governance. Toward substantiating this claim, the article focuses on what some argue to be the (re)-emerging global political-economic significance of subnational city-regions as a result of the apparent geographic rescaling of global governance downward from dominant inter-nation-state relations. Of importance is that this apparent (re)emergence of sovereign actors at the subnational city-region scale is largely the result of this contemporary new regionalist discourse essentially rendering itself a reality. It is therefore a highly contested, and contestable, phenomenon, even in the overwhelmingly neoliberal context of the United States.

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### **Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Krook Mona Lena

#### **Rethinking the life cycles of international norms: The United Nations and the global promotion of gender equality**

in *European Journal of International Relations* , vol. 18, n. 2, june , 103-127



ABSTRACT: The diffusion of international norms and their effects on policy and political behaviour are central research questions in international relations. Informed by constructivism, prevailing models are marked by a crucial tension between a static view of norm content and a dynamic picture of norm adoption and implementation. Observing that norms continue to evolve after they emerge, we argue that a discursive approach offers a more promising way forward for theorizing and analysing the life cycles of international norms. We present a view of norms as processes, calling attention to both 'internal' and 'external' sources of dynamism. We illustrate this theory by tracing and comparing the life cycles of two global equality norms: gender-balanced decision-making and gender mainstreaming. We find that these norms emerged from two distinct policy realms, and after briefly converging in the mid-1990s, have since developed largely separately from, and often in tension with, one another.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Murdie Amanda M., Davis David R.

**Shaming and Blaming: Using Events Data to Assess the Impact of Human Rights INGOs**  
in *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 56, issue 1, march , 1-16

ABSTRACT: Do the "shaming" activities of HROs (human rights international non-governmental organizations) have a direct influence on state behavior? We argue, consistent with existing scholarship, that states targeted or "shamed" by these organizations do improve their human rights practices. However, mere shaming is not enough. Improvements in human rights practices result from the interaction of shaming by HROs with (i) a domestic presence of HROs within the targeted state and/or (ii) pressure by third-party states, individuals, and organizations. Using a new data set of the shaming events of more than 400 HROs toward governments, we test these propositions quantitatively and find widespread support for the arguments. This research provides the first global quantitative evidence of the conditional importance of HRO shaming in transnational advocacy efforts.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Weiss Thomas G.

**Shocking the stressed planet into better governance**  
in *Global Change, Peace & Security*, vol. 24, n. 1 , 17-24

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Tapperlo Merlo Germana

**Soggetti e ambiti della minaccia cibernetica: dal sistema-paese alle proposte di cyber-governance?**  
in *Comunità Internazionale (La)*, vol. LXII, n. 1, primo trimestre , 25-54





No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Falk Jim

**Some recent reflections on worlds in transition**

in *Global Change, Peace & Security*, vol. 24, n. 1 , 9-15

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Vormedal Irja

**States and markets in global environmental governance: The role of tipping points in international regime formation**

in *European Journal of International Relations* , vol. 18, n. 2, june , 251-275

ABSTRACT: This article develops a model for analysing international regime formation in the environmental domain. It is argued that current approaches to understanding how regimes emerge and develop are too narrow, and fail to account for the dynamic interplay between states and markets which induce the emergence of 'tipping points' leading to more extensive and stringent international institutions. The article demonstrates the central role of tipping points in regime formation using the example of international climate change.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Craik Neil, Koivurova Timo

**Subsidiary Decision Making under the Espoo Convention: Legal Status and Legitimacy**

in *Review of European Community & International Environmental Law*, Volume 20, Issue 3, November , 258-266

As the Espoo Convention responds to an evolving policy context, the Parties have increasingly turned to subsidiary means of decision making under the Convention. This article considers the kinds of activities that the Meeting of the Parties and the Implementation Committee are being called upon to perform and the ambiguous normative status of these decisions in international law. In light of these developments, it is argued that if the continued vitality and robustness of the Espoo regime complex is to be maintained, careful attention must be paid to questions of accountability, procedural justice and the quality of justification provided by subsidiary bodies.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Urpelainen Johannes

**Technology investment, bargaining, and international environmental agreements**

in *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics*, Volume 12, Number 2, May , 145-163



If countries are to engage in international environmental cooperation, they must bargain over the distribution of gains. When future bargaining over pollution abatement is expected, how should a country decide on public technology investments to reduce the domestic cost of pollution abatement? I find that while countries tend to underinvest because they fail to internalize the global benefits of new technology, the magnitude of the problem depends on a country's bargaining power. Powerful countries underinvest less frequently, because they expect to reap most of the global benefits from new technology in the international negotiations. I also investigate the effectiveness of a simple reciprocal technology agreement. I find that it can help solve the underinvestment problem, and this beneficial effect is particularly pronounced in the case of powerful countries. These findings imply that changing the bargaining protocol on climate change to the benefit of powerful countries may help secure the necessary technology investments.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

**Buhr Katarina, Thörn Philip, Hjerpe Mattias**

**The Clean Development Mechanism in China: Institutional Perspectives on Governance**

*in European Environment/Environmental Policy and Governance*, Volume 22, Issue 2, March-April , 77-89

The Clean Development Mechanism (CDM) has grown into a central feature of the global carbon market. Besides a range of normative and evaluative research into the CDM, scholars have applied international relations perspectives in which the CDM has been analysed as an example of global governance, engaging multiple actors across administrative levels. This paper focuses on a national government and how its activities affect the CDM market. We draw on an empirical case study of China to demonstrate how governmental action can be understood in light of national institutional factors, defined as normative, cognitive or regulative elements. The paper describes and explains the extensiveness of Chinese government action regarding the CDM and discusses its consequences for the market.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

**Ryan Cheyney**

**The Dialogue of Global Ethics**

*in Ethics and International Affairs*, vol. 26, n. 1, spring , 43-47

ABSTRACT: The message of Michael Ignatieff's reflections on reimagining a global ethic is a comforting one for political philosophers. It is vital, he writes, for philosophers to keep doing what they have been doing: addressing the injustices of globalization from a perspective of strict impartiality that treats every human being as the object of equal moral concern. Philosophers should continue to elaborate this "one world" perspective against those partial perspectives arising from the claims of one's particular country or particular religious faith. But their aim should not be to replace the one with the other, but to prompt an ongoing critical dialogue in which more particularistic doctrines of country or faith are called to justify themselves before the one-world ethic's impartial standards—thus prompting the kind of critical self-reflection that is essential to moral change. And in so doing, the one-world ethic cannot be uncritical of itself, for there are different ways of conceiving a global ethic, each of which must answer to the others.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**



*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Guastafarro Barbara, Moschella Manuela

**The EU, the IMF, and the Representative Turn: Addressing the Challenge of Legitimacy**

in *Swiss Political Science Review - Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft - Revue suisse de science politique*, Volume 18, Issue 2, June 2012 , 199–219,

Abstract: Over time, international organizations have adopted different strategies to redress their legitimacy deficits. Among them, two strategies stand out: expanding participation of relevant stakeholders and improving output. By analyzing the application of these strategies in the European Union (EU) and in the International Monetary Fund (IMF), we argue that these efforts at legitimization have not been satisfying because they have been implemented as supplements, rather than complements, of representation. Interestingly, then, the most recent efforts at legitimizing the two international bodies have started emphasizing the issue of representation. We illustrate our argument by reviewing and comparing the legitimacy-enhancing strategies that have been adopted in the EU and the IMF.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Marsden Simon

**The Espoo Convention and Strategic Environmental Assessment Protocol in the European Union: Implementation, Compliance, Enforcement and Reform**

in *Review of European Community & International Environmental Law*, Volume 20, Issue 3, November , 267-276

This article analyzes implementation, compliance, enforcement and reform of the Espoo Convention and Strategic Environmental Assessment (SEA) Protocol in the European Union (EU). It focuses upon suggested improvements and perceived gaps in transposition and, where gaps are real, considers how best to remedy them. It examines the reform of EU secondary law needed to improve the process and ensure compliance with these international treaty obligations, and associated EU caselaw. The judicial technique of invoking direct application and effect of international agreements in the EU is considered as an impractical means of addressing any perceived unimplemented provisions of the Espoo Convention and SEA Protocol in the absence of full transposition. It is concluded that without adequate law reform to meet any outstanding international legal obligations, the EU may be challenged via the treaty non-compliance procedures.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

McCarthy James

**The Financial Crisis and Environmental Governance Crisis and Environmental Governance 'After' Neoliberalism in Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie (Journal of Economic & Social Geography)** , Volume 103,

Issue 2, April , 180-195

The relationships between neoliberalism and environmental governance have been the topic of much scholarly and policy debate. The recent, and ongoing, economic crisis brings new questions and urgency to these debates. This paper examines whether and how the economic crisis might be understood as a crisis of neoliberalism and what the implications might be for environmental quality and the dominance of 'neoliberal' approaches to environmental



governance. The paper attempts to delineate some of the major potential relationships between neoliberalism and environmental governance through this crisis. It argues that although such relationships are contingent and subject to political action, in the US context at least the ongoing economic crisis has resulted in a weakening of support for environmental protections, in a manner that does not fit with current claims of the 'post-political' condition. The paper concludes by outlining several positive contributions critical geographers and other analysts of nature-society relations could make to challenging the current dominance of neoliberal policies in environmental management.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Zameret Shimri

**The Global Suffragettes, or Federalists as Heroes  
in Federalist Debate (The)**, Year XXV, n. 1, March

<http://www.federalist-debate.org/index.php/current/item/754-the-global-suffragettes-or-federalists-as-heroes>

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Fromageau Edouard

**The Global Water Partnership: Between Institutional Flexibility and Legal Legitimacy  
in International Organizations Law Review**, vol. 8, n. 2 , 367-395

ABSTRACT: The Global Water Partnership (GWP) represents a new kind of institution that raises various interesting questions in terms of international institutional law. Established in 1996 as a "virtual organization", it progressively evolved to become in 2002 a twofold institution structured around, on the one hand, a network without legal personality and, on the other hand, an international organization with full legal personality under international law. This article aims to analyze this unique structure and its consequences on membership and organic issues. The reasons underpinning this evolution will also be studied. If institutional flexibility prevailed in the early life of the institution, practical problems and concerns about legal legitimacy have led to a more formal structure in its later life. Principles such as those developed by the Global Administrative Law (GAL) project, namely legitimacy, transparency and accountability, have been also widely used to shape and organize this structure.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Jentleson Bruce W.

**The John Holmes Memorial Lecture: Global Governance in a Copernican World  
in Global Governance**, vol. 18, n. 2, april-june , 133-148

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**



*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Stiglitz Joseph

**The Perils of 2012**

in **Social Europe Journal**, Volume 6, Issue 2, Winter / Spring , 5-6

<http://www.social-europe.eu/wp-content/uploads/2012/03/SocialEurope-20.pdf>

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

De Mulder Jan

**The Protocol on Strategic Environmental Assessment: A Matter of Good Governance**

in **Review of European Community & International Environmental Law**, Volume 20, Issue 3, November , 232-247

In this article, the Strategic Environmental Assessment (SEA) Protocol to the Espoo Convention is introduced and analyzed. As an outcome of international processes aimed at the institutional adoption of sustainable development policy, the need for strategic environmental assessment has become obvious given the experiences with environmental impact assessment as an effective environmental policy tool for projects. The introduction of SEA and the adoption of a specific international legal instrument are also situated within ongoing international good governance and (new) public management developments which aim at improving decision making. In this context, the application of SEA and the SEA Protocol is analyzed focusing on its features, approaches and opportunities.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Ahlborn Christiane

**The Rules of International Organizations and the Law of International Responsibility**

in **International Organizations Law Review**, vol. 8, n. 2 , 397-482

ABSTRACT: This paper discusses the role of the so-called 'rules of the organization' in the draft Articles on the Responsibility of International Organizations (ARIO), as adopted by the International Law Commission (ILC) on second reading in 2011. Although the rules of the organization occupy a central place in the ARIO, the ILC has decided not to take a "clear-cut view" on their legal nature as either international law or internal law of the organization. This paper argues that the ILC's indecision has left the ARIO with a fluctuating scope of application concerning various provisions such as the attribution of conduct, the breach of an international obligation, the obligation to make reparation, and countermeasures against an international organization. The term of art 'rules of the organization' was developed by the ILC in its work on the law of treaties but has rarely been addressed in legal scholarship. Part 1 therefore first examines the legal nature of the different components of the so-called 'rules of the organization': the constituent instruments, the acts, and the established practice of the organization. While the constituent instruments are contracts between States at the moment of the creation of an international organization, it will be contended that they also operate as constitutions during the life of the organization, giving it the autonomy to create internal law in force between the subjects of its legal order, including its member States. In analysing the ARIO on second reading, Part 2 accordingly suggests reconceiving the rules of the organization as 'internal law' of the organization as long as it functions effectively, so as to appropriately reflect its constitutional autonomy for purposes of international responsibility.



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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Toscano Emanuele

**The Sphere of Action of the Alterglobal Movement: A Key of Interpretation**

**in Social Movement Studies**, Volume 11, Issue 1, 2012 , 79-96

Abstract

Drawing on extensive data gained from activist interviews, questionnaires and 'sociological interventions', this article sets out the conflicting dimensions of the alterglobal (global justice) movement in three countries (France, Italy and Great Britain). Proceeding from the various interpretations given by movement actors to the relationships of domination engendered by contemporary globalisation processes, we aim to construct an interpretative framework of the alterglobal movement and its different components. We argue that the internal identity of the movement can be plotted within a series of contrasting ideological, symbolic, and organisational relationships, and – despite the considerable diversity of the movement – movement actors share a common construction of their own alterglobal subjectivity across three specific dimensions: a resistance to domination, the importance of the elaboration of alternative worldviews and the practical steps taken in the pursuit of these alternatives.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Johan Karlsson Schaffer

**The boundaries of transnational democracy: alternatives to the all-affected principle**

**in Review of International Studies (The)**, Volume 38, Issue 2, April , 321-342

Recently, theorists have sought to justify transnational democracy by means of the all-affected principle, which claims that people have a right to participate in political decision-making that affects them. I argue that this principle is neither logically valid nor feasible as a way of determining the boundaries of democratic communities. First, specifying what it means to be affected is itself a highly political issue, since it must rest on some disputable theory of interests; and the principle does not solve the problem of how to legitimately constitute the demos, since such acts, too, are decisions which affect people. Furthermore, applying the principle comes at too high a cost: either political boundaries must be redrawn for each issue at stake or we must ensure that democratic politics only has consequences within an enclosed community and that it affects its members equally. Secondly, I discuss three possible replacements for the all-affected principle: (a) applying the all-affected principle to second-order rules, not to decisions; (b) drawing boundaries so as to maximise everyone's autonomy; (c) including everyone who is subject to the law. I conclude by exploring whether (c) would support transnational democracy to the extent that a global legal order is emerging.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Song Sarah

**The boundary problem in democratic theory: why the demos should be bounded by the state**

**in International Theory**, Volume 4, Issue 01, March , 39-68





Democracy is rule by the demos, but by what criteria is the demos constituted? Theorists of democracy have tended to assume that the demos is properly defined by national boundaries or by the territorial boundaries of the modern state. In a recent turn, many democratic theorists have advanced the principles of affected interests and coercion as the basis for defining the boundaries of democracy. According to these principles, it is not co-nationals or fellow citizens but all affected or all subjected to coercion who constitute the demos. In this paper, I argue that these recent approaches to the boundary problem are insufficiently attentive to the conditions of democracy. Democracy is not merely a set of procedures; it also consists of substantive values and principles. Political equality is a constitutive condition of democracy, and solidarity is an instrumental condition of democracy. The affected interests and coercion principles create serious problems for the realization of these conditions – problems of size and stability. Building on this critique, this paper presents democratic considerations for why the demos should be bounded by the territorial boundaries of the state, grounded in the state's role in (1) securing the constitutive conditions of democracy, (2) serving as the primary site of solidarity conducive to democratic participation, and (3) establishing clear links between representatives and their constituents. I examine and reject a third alternative, a global demos bounded by a world state, and conclude by considering some practical implications of my argument.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Stevenson Hayley, Dryzek John S.

**The discursive democratisation of global climate governance**

**in Environmental Politics**, Volume 21, Issue 2, March , 189-210

The global governance of climate change represents one of the more profound and, to date, intractable sets of problems confronting humanity. Legitimacy, accountability, fairness, and representation matter as well as effectiveness. In the absence of effective centralised authority, these democratic norms need to be sought in a polycentric context. An approach to democratisation is advanced that de-emphasises authoritative formal institutions, and instead operates in the more informal realm of the engagement and contestation of discourses in global public spheres. Democracy here is conceptualised not in terms of elections and constitutions, but in aspirations for inclusive, competent, and dispersed reflexive capacity. Based on empirical analysis of discursive engagement in several structured settings, key challenges for improving the democratic quality of global climate governance are assessed.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Orchard Phil,

**The evolution of the responsibility to protect: at a crossroads?**

**in International Affairs** , vol. 88, issue 2, march , 377-386

ABSTRACT: The Responsibility to Protect doctrine (R2P), now ten years old, has been widely accepted at the international level. As the books under review demonstrate, debates around its legitimacy are over. Instead, we see a developing second generation of literature focusing on how the R2P needs to be understood more concretely in both academic and policy terms, as well as how it affects the linked issues of humanitarian intervention and state-building. Within this literature, we see new and important questions emerging. These include how and when we should intervene and whether we can be successful at it; how we can assist states to ensure they fulfill their own responsibilities towards their populations; and where international authority lies. Unfortunately, the answers to these questions are hard ones.



Implementation, and how it reflects embedded culture at the international level, may be as hard—if not harder—as introducing the doctrine originally.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Cadman Tim, Maraseni Tek

**The governance of REDD+: an institutional analysis in the Asia Pacific region and beyond**  
in *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management*, Volume 55, Issue 5 , 617-635

This paper explores the changing nature of North/South relations in contemporary climate change governance. Focusing on the United Nations Collaborative Programme to Reduce Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation (REDD+), the paper presents a theoretical framework, through which stakeholder perceptions of REDD+ governance quality and institutional legitimacy can be evaluated. This is tested by means of a small-n survey of state and non-state participants from both the developed and developing countries, including the Asia-Pacific region. The survey results reveal generally higher ratings for REDD+ amongst Southern participants than in the North. A number of caveats are placed on the interpretation of data, and some conclusions drawn regarding contemporary climate governance and the emergence of a possible 'South/North Divide', challenging traditional notions of global power politics.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Gareau Brian J.

**The limited influence of global civil society: international environmental non-governmental organisations and the Methyl Bromide Controversy in the Montreal Protocol**  
in *Environmental Politics*, Volume 21, Issue 1, February , 88-107

Governance scholars have demonstrated that the agendas, discourses, and actions of global civil society groups are affected by powerful states. In neoliberal globalisation, powerful states push for market-based schemes to resolve global environmental problems, and civil society groups often contribute to that agenda. Through the lens of governmentality, scholars have shown how civil society acts in ways that re-legitimise and sustain state power/influence at the global scale. This study illustrates how international environmental non-governmental organisations operating in the Montreal Protocol contribute to the neoliberalisation of ozone governance, in some cases changing tactics to fit the neoliberal discourse of the treaty. Consequently, some international environmental non-governmental organisations have recently abandoned discourses of global environmental health, global security, and general welfare to address neoliberal concerns of individualism, competition, and transparency in ozone politics.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Awrey, Dan

**The limits of EU hedge fund regulation**  
in *Law and Financial Markets Review*, volume 5 n.2 , 119-128



This article examines the mechanics of the recently adopted EU Alternative Investment Fund Managers Directive. On balance, the results of this examination are not encouraging. The EU has failed to mount a persuasive case for why the Directive represents an improvement over existing national regulatory regimes or prevailing market practices in several key areas. Furthermore, by attempting to shoehorn an economically, strategically and operationally diverse population of financial institutions into a single, artificial class of regulated actors, the EU has established what is in many respects a conceptually muddled regulatory regime. Most importantly, however, the Directive's approach toward the amelioration of the potential systemic risks associated with alternative investment funds manifests an inherent and ultimately fatal structural flaw. This flaw punctuates the necessity of a globally co-ordinated response toward macro-prudential risks arising within a globally integrated financial system.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Rüland Jürgen

**The rise of “diminished multilateralism”: East Asian and European forum shopping in global governance in Asia Europe Journal**, Volume 9, Number 2-4 March , 255-270

The article argues that the “principled multilateralism” of the immediate post-Cold War period is increasingly giving way to what may be called a “diminished multilateralism.” Newly emerging global and regional powers such as the BRICS states (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa) and other rising powers in the Global South are increasingly questioning the legitimacy of the existing international architecture which they regard as a vehicle of the USA and Western countries to conserve their international influence in an era of rapid change. In the process, international institutions have increasingly become arenas of power rivalries which take the form of contests over access and membership, decision-making rules and normative order. The result is an increasing paralysis of these institutions and their inability to solve global problems. One aspect of these institutional power struggles is “forum shopping.” The article shows that East Asia and Europe have both become active players in forum shopping. Three conditions facilitated forum shopping: major crises and external shocks; sentiments of frustrated entitlement in connection with exclusive and discriminatory international institutions, and extra- and intra-regional power shifts.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Rodin David

**Toward a Global Ethic in Ethics and International Affairs**, vol. 26, n. 1, spring , 33-42

ABSTRACT: We are one humanity, but seven billion humans. This is the essential challenge of global ethics: how to accommodate the tension between our universal and particular natures. This tension is, of course, age-old and runs through all moral and political philosophy. But in the world of the early twenty-first century it plays out in distinctive new ways. Ethics has always engaged twin capacities inherent in every human: the capacity to harm and the capacity to help. But the profound set of transformations commonly referred to as globalization—the increasing mobility of goods, labor, and capital; the increasing interconnectedness of political, economic, and financial systems; and the radical empowerment of groups and individuals through technology—have enabled us to harm and to help others in ways that our forebears could not have imagined. What we require from a global ethic is shaped by these transformative forces; and global ethics—the success or failure of that project—will substantially shape the course of the twenty-first century.



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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

**Keohane Robert O.**

**Twenty Years of Institutional Liberalism**

**in *International Relations***, vol. 26, n. 2, june , 125-138

ABSTRACT: The world has now experienced what could be regarded as 20 years of Institutional Liberalism: the dominance of the view that cooperation in world politics can be enhanced through the construction and support of multilateral institutions based on liberal principles. E. H. Carr was famously skeptical of liberalism as he understood that tradition. This essay, prepared originally as the E. H. Carr Lecture at Aberystwyth University, interrogates Institutional Liberalism through a lens provided by Carr's most famous book on international relations, *The Twenty Years' Crisis*. It points out three trends since the 1990s that may be associated with Institutional Liberalism: increasing legalization; trends toward more legalism and moralism; and a decline in the coherence of some international regimes. Reviewing these trends in light of Realist critiques of liberalism, the essay rejects Realism as a good moral or practical guide to world politics, but reaffirms the value of the Realist view that institutions depend on structures of power and interests. Increases in legalization, legalism and moralism reflect a fusion of the social purpose of liberal democracies with their unprecedented geopolitical power since 1991. But declines in the coherence of international regimes reflect a greater divergence of interests, weighted by power. All international institutions are flawed and in some ways precarious, but strengthening them in ways that reflect legitimate social purposes remains a major challenge for our time.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

**Belkaïd Akram**

**Une mobilisation sociale transeuropéenne est-elle en train d'éclorre au Sud ?**

**in *Confluences Méditerranée***, n. 80 , 115-122

Fin février 2012, la police anglaise, accompagnée d'huissiers, démantelait le campement de tentes multicolores dressées à proximité de la Cathédrale Saint-Paul au cœur de la City londonienne. Par cette action très médiatisée, les forces de l'ordre mettaient fin à une occupation entamée en octobre 2011 et qui s'était inscrite dans le mouvement mondial des Indignés né à Madrid en Espagne, un an auparavant. Pour de nombreux observateurs, ce démontage, qui s'est déroulé sans trop de heurts, avait valeur de symbole car le village alternatif et anticapitaliste de Saint-Paul faisait figure de dernier bastion des Indignés. Quelques semaines auparavant, la police new-yorkaise avait elle aussi mit fin – avec une violence plus marquée – à l'occupation de plusieurs squares et espaces verts à proximité du New York Stock Exchange (la Bourse) et du quartier des affaires de la mégapole étasunienne. Après la fin d'« Occupy Wall Street » (Occupons Wall Street) est ainsi intervenue celle d'« Occupy the London stock exchange ». Dans une conjoncture marquée par l'essoufflement patent du mouvement des Indignés, y compris en Espagne, il n'en fallait pas plus pour que nombre de commentateurs en décrètent l'échec définitif, tout en le qualifiant d'épiphénomène romantique engendré à la fois par la crise économique et financière de 2008, mais aussi par les événements du « Printemps arabe » où les peuples, notamment ceux de Tunisie et d'Égypte, ont obtenu la chute de leurs dirigeants au cours des premiers mois de l'année 2011.



## PLAN DE L'ARTICLE

Un mouvement novateur  
Mimétisme ou convergence ?  
Préoccupations nationales ou doctrine européenne ?  
Un avenir incertain

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### **Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

van der Heijden Jeroen

#### **Voluntary environmental governance arrangements**

**in *Environmental Politics***, Volume 21, Issue 3, May , 486-509

Voluntary environmental governance arrangements have focal attention in studies on environmental policy, regulation and governance. The four major debates in the contemporary literature on voluntary environmental governance arrangements are studied. The literature falls short of sufficiently specifying whether or not voluntary environmental governance arrangements are successful in addressing environmental risks. This is due to the narrow focus of many contemporary studies and a tendency to study the form and content of voluntary environmental governance arrangements in isolation from their contextual settings. In order to gain a better understanding of voluntary environmental governance arrangements, scholars are challenged to study differently structured voluntary environmental governance arrangements in different contextual settings, to move beyond single country or single voluntary environmental governance arrangements studies, and to combine quantitative and qualitative data in studying these arrangements.

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### **Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Hovi Jon, Sprinz Detlef F., Bang Guri

#### **Why the United States did not become a party to the Kyoto Protocol: German, Norwegian, and US perspectives**

**in *European Journal of International Relations*** , vol. 18, n. 2, june , 129-150

ABSTRACT: According to two-level game theory, negotiators tailor agreements at the international level to be ratifiable at the domestic level. This did not happen in the Kyoto negotiations, however, in the US case. We interviewed 26 German, Norwegian, and US participants in and observers of the climate negotiations concerning their views on three explanations for why the United States did not become a party to Kyoto. Explanation 1 argues that Kyoto delegations mistakenly thought the Senate was bluffing when adopting Byrd–Hagel. Explanation 2 contends that Europeans preferred a more ambitious agreement without US participation to a less ambitious agreement with US participation. Finally, explanation 3 suggests that in Kyoto the Clinton–Gore administration gave up on Senate ratification, and essentially pushed for an agreement that would provide them a climate-friendly face. While all explanations received some support from interviewees, explanation 1 and (particularly) explanation 3 received considerably more support than explanation 2.



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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Rajkovic Nikolas M.

**'Global law' and governmentality: Reconceptualizing the 'rule of law' as rule 'through' law**  
in *European Journal of International Relations* , vol. 18, n. 2, june , 29-52

ABSTRACT: This article challenges the optimism common to liberal IR and IL scholarship on the 'rule of law' in global governance. It argues that the concept of the 'rule of law' is often employed with sparse inquiry into the politics of its practical meaning. Specifically, the article focuses on liberal research that advocates the emergence of a 'global' judiciary, and the claim that judicial governance will marginalize state power and authority. Rather than employ a zero-sum conception of power, this article regards a prospective global legal system less as a constraint on state power and more as a rationale for rule 'through' law by vested actors. To make the argument, Michel Foucault's concept of 'governmentality' is combined with Barnett and Duvall's notion of 'productive power' to denote how legal techniques of power are integral to the construction of social 'truth' and consequently the governance of conduct. This is further associated with Koskeniemi's critical scholarship on the power of law's perceived objectivity and universality. In this vein, the article questions how liberal scholars use the American judicial model (the Marbury ideal) to claim that an institutionalization of 'global' judicial authority can deliver the rule of 'no one' in global governance. A governmentality perspective is then applied which suggests that the lack of supreme constitutional rules at the global level makes judicial governance less a check than a means to propagate normative standards conducive to dominant state power.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Martin Myant & Jan Drahokoupil

**International Integration, Varieties of Capitalism and Resilience to Crisis in Transition Economies**  
in *Europe-Asia Studies*, Volume 64, Issue 1 , 1-33

This article offers a comprehensive analysis of the different effects of the economic crisis from 2008, across all transition economies with a testable framework, that relates vulnerability to specific forms of development since 1989. The key to the framework is the identification of forms of integration into the international economy, with distinctions between different export structures and dependence on other sources of foreign-currency earnings. These created channels for transmission of the crisis which differed between countries. The analysis draws on a three-level research design, combining a variable-oriented regression analysis with case-oriented comparisons among similar cases, and within-case analysis of individual countries.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Gómez M. Isabel Garrido

**Niveles de juridicidad y modalidades del derecho en la era de la globalización**





in **Sociologia del diritto** , n. 3 , 45 ff.

In questo lavoro l'autrice parte da un concetto interdisciplinare e plurale di ciò che significa il termine globalizzazione. In particolare esso si riferisce a un processo sociale, economico, culturale e demografico dal quale il diritto non può sfuggire. In questa prospettiva, e partendo dal nuovo rapporto tra le sfera privata e pubblica, quello che emerge è la rilevanza della deregulation come una realtà, unitamente alla necessità per lo Stato di continuare a conservare le proprie funzioni, pur aggiornandole in modo tale da adattare alle esigenze del nuovo scenario in cui opera. La realtà del diritto manifesta numerosi problemi che devono essere superati attraverso un nuovo modo di concepire la globalizzazione e la implementazione di nuove tecniche e formulazioni.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

**Davis David R., Murdie Amanda, Steinmetz Coty Garnett**

**"Makers and Shapers": Human Rights INGOs and Public Opinion**

in **Human Rights Quarterly**, vol. 34, number 1, february , 199-224

ABSTRACT: Do human rights international nongovernmental organizations (HROs) impact public opinion? This article argues that HROs provide information to citizens in repressive regimes about their government's human rights practices. Without this information, worsening governmental abuse of human rights alone will not lead to fewer people believing their government respects human rights. With increased HRO shaming of the state, however, a smaller proportion of people come to believe that their government respects human rights. These hypotheses are tested using an updated dataset on shaming by over 400 HROs, together with never-before-examined data from the World Values Survey on the public's opinion of human rights within a state. The results largely support the article's contention: HROs are powerful conduits through which a population becomes informed of domestic human rights issues. Without HRO shaming, a bad or worsening human rights condition does not diminish the proportion of a population that believes their government respects human rights.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

**Robert Skidelsky**

**After the Crash: The Future of Globalisation**

in **Survival**, Volume 54, N. 3 , 7-28

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

**Artis Michael J., Okubo Toshiro**

**Business Cycle, Currency and Trade, revisited**

in **Pacific Economic Review**, Volume 17, Issue 1, February 2012 , 160-180

This paper provides long-run historical evidence for the link between business cycle synchronization, trade and the



exchange rate regime. Using data from a large number of industrialized countries and a group of Asian economies, we examine this link in three sub-periods: the first globalization period (1870–1913), the bloc economy period (1915–1959) and the second globalization period (1960–2004). The business cycle is identified as the series of deviates from a Hodrick–Prescott filtered trend. Cyclical turning points are located in the business cycles of our sample of 21 major countries, which enables us to comment on the characteristics of business cycles in the three periods.

Cross-correlations of the cyclical deviates are calculated for all the pairs of the 21 countries examined. It is apparent from casual inspection that the business cycle characteristics and the pattern of cross-correlations in the bloc economy period are different from those found for the two globalization periods, whereas there is less difference between the two globalization periods. Following the estimations by Frankel and Rose, we relate business cycle synchronization to trade patterns and currency unions. Consequently, we find that European integration was already discernible in terms of business cycle synchronization in the early 1900s and that a similar synchronization was not discernible for Asia.

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### **Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

#### *Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

**Barrett Scott**

#### **Climate Treaties and Backstop Technologies**

in **CESifo Economic Studies**, Volume 58 Issue 1 March 2012 , 31-48

In this article, I examine the design of climate treaties when there exist two kinds of technology, a conventional abatement technology with (linearly) increasing marginal costs and a backstop technology ('air capture') with high but constant marginal costs. I focus on situations in which countries can gain collectively by using both technologies. I show that, under some circumstances, countries will be better off negotiating treaties that are not cost-effective. When countries prefer to negotiate self-enforcing agreements that are cost-effective, the availability of the backstop technology causes cooperation in abatement to increase significantly.

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### **Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

#### *Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

**Machida Satoshi**

#### **Does Globalization Render People More Ethnocentric? Globalization and People's Views on Cultures**

in **American Journal of Economics and Sociology**, Volume 71, Issue 2, April 2012 , 436–469

In recent years, the world has gone through a number of drastic changes. As our lives go through significant transformation, the term "globalization" has become extremely popular as a concept describing various phenomena in the world. However, despite a large number of studies on globalization, no agreement exists regarding the real impacts of globalization (Guillen 2001). While some scholars emphasize positive impacts of globalization (Bhagwati 2004; Wolf 2004), others warn of its potential danger (Kim et al. 2000; Rodrik 1997).ajes\_835 436..469

Clearly, one of the most controversial issues regarding globalization is its impacts on cultures (see Holton 2000; Wimmer 2001). Some scholars claim that globalization tends to destroy the diversity of local cultures, emphasizing the strong forces of American and Western influences (Schiller 1976; Van Elteren 2003). Since globalization creates a similar culture around the world, this perspective is called the "homogenization" thesis (see Holton 2000). However, other scholars present different views on cultural globalization. They argue that cultural globalization can lead to "hybridization" (Hannerz 1992, 1996; Tomlinson 1999) or "polarization" (Barber 1995; Huntington 1993, 1996) among different cultures (see Holton 2000). These different perspectives predict divergent outlooks of cultures in the era of



globalization.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

**Mostafa Mohamed M.**

**Does globalisation affect consumers' pro-environmental intentions? A multilevel analysis across 25 countries in *International Journal of Sustainable Development and World Ecology*, Volume 19, Issue 3 , 229-237**

The aim of this paper is to empirically evaluate whether the process of globalisation, through which countries become increasingly interconnected, is related to pro-environmental intentions. Due to the hierarchical nature of the data, the study uses a multilevel modelling approach to cross-culturally test the impact of globalisation on pro-environmental intentions. Using an updated indicator of globalisation, the results from 25 nations show that economic, social and political openness are not related to pro-environmental intentions, as measured by willingness to sacrifice to protect the environment. This result implies that concern for the environment is a global phenomenon and not unique to the wealthy and more globalised nations. The findings of this paper highlight the importance of simultaneously assessing individual- and contextual-level variables in determining pro-environmental intentions across nations.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

**Tridico Pasquale**

**Financial crisis and global imbalances: its labour market origins and the aftermath in *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, Volume 36 Issue 1 January 2012 , 17-42**

The objective of this paper is to articulate how the 2007–09 economic crisis is rooted in the uneven income distribution and inequality caused by the current finance-led model of growth. The process of financialisation that took place in the 1980s in the USA and then in the European Union was coupled with labour flexibility, wage moderation and soaring profits. The flexibility agenda of the labour market and the end of wage increases, along with the contraction of indirect wages (i.e. public social expenditure), diminished workers' purchasing power. This was partly compensated with increased borrowing opportunities and the boom of credit consumption, all of which helped workers to maintain unstable consumption capacity. However, in the long term, unstable consumption patterns derived from precarious job creation, job instability and poor wages have weakened aggregate demand. Hence, labour market issues such as flexibility, uneven income distribution, poor wages and the financial crisis are two sides of the same coin. Both have a direct impact on the economic crisis and the current global imbalances.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

**Liang Yan**

**Global Imbalances as Root Cause of Global Financial Crisis? A Critical Analysis in *Journal of Economic Issues*, Volume 46, Number 1 / March 2012 , 101-118**

The mainstream blames the global savings glut for causing the 2008 global financial crisis and proposes currency



realignment to restore balance. However, this view fails to provide solid theoretical and empirical support to the claim that net inflows of foreign savings reduced U.S. long-term real interest rates and inflated asset prices. It also ignores the role of the global financial system in shaping the development strategy and macroeconomic imbalances in emerging Asian economies. Furthermore, forcing currency revaluation in China and other surplus countries may risk reducing global demand instead of shifting demand from the United States to surplus countries. The paper argues that an overhaul of the defunct global financial system lies at the root of global rebalancing; whereas in the short run, the United States should actively pursue demand-enhancing policies to strengthen global economic recovery.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

**Braasch Bernd**

**Global monitoring of international capital flows**

in *Intereconomics*, Volume 47, Number 2 / March 2012 , 129-136

Increasing global capital flows are principally beneficial for the improved international allocation of capital, credit and risks, but this process is not without risks for global financial stability. Expanded global monitoring of international capital flows should deepen our knowledge of the underlying reasons for increasing capital flow volatility. As part of a system of global monitoring, the portfolio and rebalancing strategies of globally active banks and institutional investors could contribute significantly to a better understanding of market dynamics, contagions, spillovers into the real economy and the vulnerabilities of countries.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

**M. A. G. van Meerhaeghe**

**Globalisation: concept, outcome, future—a continental view**

in *European Journal of Law and Economics*, volume 33 n.2 , 239-306

Tax policy takes place in times of globalisation', runs the invitation to the conference. This note focuses on the last notion. It examines the concept of globalisation, which is a major characteristic of capitalism, its free-trade aspect. A preliminary definition is required, since globalisation is often used without prior definition and even as a synonym of internationalisation. Thirty years ago it was not to be found in a dictionary. Another concept, the human rights is related to globalisation and is cherished by the globalisation's supporters. It is the subject of a separate section. The hypotheses underlying the free-trade doctrine and the extent to which the facts correspond to them are discussed after that. The next part deals with the globalisation's effects on the economic system, the culture and the social environment. The decline of capitalism since the eighties and still more its collapse in 2008 had heavy consequences for its essence and its outcome. This paper ends with some considerations on the future of globalisation, more particularly the American and European position in this respect. Nothing seems to stop its further triumphal procession.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

**Stürmer Michael**

**Globalisierung hat kein Mitleid**



in *Europäische Rundschau*, Heft 2, 2012

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Pulapre Balakrishna

**Globalization and Development: India Since 1991**

in *Journal of Economic Asymmetries*, volume 8 n.2 , 49-60

available at <http://www.apforum.org/JEA.htm>

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Mukherjee Nisha, Kriekhaus Jonathan

**Globalization and human well-being**

in *International Political Science Review* , vol. 33, n. 2, march , 150-170

ABSTRACT: Over the past half-century we have witnessed a gradual trend towards increased globalization. This phenomenon includes such diverse processes as the greater mobility of capital, goods, and services, as well as increasing diffusion of ideas, technology, and norms. Given the ubiquitous and multi-faceted nature of globalization, we evaluate the effect of economic, social, and political global integration on a particularly important outcome – human well-being. Theoretically, we argue that globalization has a large number of different effects on human well-being, including multiple positive effects and multiple negative effects. Empirically, we analyze the impact of globalization on well-being using a pooled data set, including 132 countries over the time period 1970–2007. We find that, on balance, all three forms of globalization positively affect well-being.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Marin Dalia, Verdier Thierry

**Globalization and the empowerment of talent**

in *Journal of International Economics*, Volume 86, Issue 2, March 2012 , Pages 209-223

Many experts have identified globalization as the new way in which firms organize their activities and the emergence of talent as the new stakeholder in the firm. This paper examines the role of trade integration in the changing nature of the corporation. International trade leads to a 'war for talent' which makes it more likely that an organizational equilibrium emerges in the integrated world economy in which control is delegated to lower levels of the firm's hierarchy empowering human capital. Furthermore, trade integration is shown to lead to waves of decentralization and to convergence in corporate cultures across countries.



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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Axel Dreher, Martin Gassebner, Lars-H. R. Siemers

**Globalization, Economic Freedom, and Human Rights**

in **Journal of Conflict Resolution**, June; 56 (3) , 516-546

Using the KOF Index of Globalization and two indices of economic freedom, the authors empirically analyze whether globalization and economic liberalization affect governments' respect for human rights in a panel of 106 countries over the 1981–2004 period. According to their results, physical integrity rights significantly and robustly increase with globalization and economic freedom, while empowerment rights are not robustly affected. Due to the lack of consensus about the appropriate level of empowerment rights as compared to the outright rejection of any violation of physical integrity rights, the global community is presumably less effective in promoting empowerment rights.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Myant Martin, Drahokoupil Jan

**International Integration, Varieties of Capitalism and Resilience to Crisis in Transition Economies**

in **Europe-Asia Studies**, vol. 64, n. 1 , 1-33

This article offers a comprehensive analysis of the different effects of the economic crisis from 2008, across all transition economies with a testable framework, that relates vulnerability to specific forms of development since 1989. The key to the framework is the identification of forms of integration into the international economy, with distinctions between different export structures and dependence on other sources of foreign-currency earnings. These created channels for transmission of the crisis which differed between countries. The analysis draws on a three-level research design, combining a variable-oriented regression analysis with case-oriented comparisons among similar cases, and within-case analysis of individual countries.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Xuetong Yan

**International Leadership and Norm Evolution**

in **Chinese Journal of International Politics (The)**, Volume 4 Issue 3 September , 233-264

Since the end of the Cold War, fast-paced globalization has increased interaction among states and promoted development of international norms in many fields. Constructivists argue that international interactions can only advance international norms towards a Kantian culture of friendly mutual help and could not propel any regression to a Hobbesian culture of hostile confrontation. <sup>1</sup> We can observe, however, that the reality of international politics does not support this argument. Although certain interactions have promoted international cooperation, others have intensified international conflicts. For instance, China, the United States, Russia, Japan, South Korea and North Korea held during the five years from August 2003 to December 2008 seven rounds of Six Party Talks on nuclear issues on the Korean Peninsula. The six nations' continuous interaction during this period, however, resulted not in North Korea's acceptance





of the norm of non-proliferation, but in its conducting on May 25 2009 its second nuclear test. 2 This example calls to question whether or not interaction among states drives international norms in one specific direction. Drawing on the Pre-Qin philosophers' idea that the type of monarch has different impacts on relations among states, this article analyses how the different types of leadership of a leading power influence the process and direction of evolution of international norms.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

**Cheng Wenli, Zhang Dingsheng**

**International Transmission of Monetary Shocks and the Non-neutrality of International Money**

**in Review of International Economics**, Volume 20, Issue 1, February 2012 , 134-149

Monetary shocks and how they are transmitted internationally are investigated in this paper. The paper shows that where a national currency is used as an international medium of exchange, the international money is non-neutral. In particular, an increase in the supply of the international money leads to a transfer of real resources to the international money-issuing country from its trading partner. It also induces an expansion of the nontradable sector in the international money-issuing country, and an expansion of the tradable sector in its trading partner. The real impact of a monetary shock is greater under a fixed exchange rate system than under a flexible exchange rate system.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

**Zürn Michael, Binder Martin, Ecker-Ehrhardt Matthias**

**International authority and its politicization**

**in International Theory**, Volume 4, Issue 01, March , 69-106

The article focuses on the politicization of international authority as a thus far little understood development in world politics. We first define the concept and show that there is an empirical trend towards politicization of international institutions. We then argue that the increasing authority of international institutions has led to their politicization and we relate this hypothesis to alternative explanations. The validity of the authority-politicization nexus is illustrated by the rise of international authority in parallel to politicization. We go on to distinguish different policy functions such as rule definition, monitoring, interpretation, and enforcement in order to show that especially those international institutions with a high level of authority meet with strong contestation of their competencies. We conclude the article by exploring various avenues for future politicization research.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

**Flood, Robert P Marion, Nancy P Matsumoto, Akito**

**International risk sharing during the globalization era**

**in Canadian Journal of Economics/Revue Canadienne d'Economique**, volume 45 n.2 , 394-416

Though financial globalization should improve international risk sharing, empirical support is lacking. We develop a



simple welfare-based measure that captures how far countries are from the ideal of perfect risk sharing. Applying it to data, we find some evidence that international risk sharing has improved during globalization. Improved risk sharing comes mostly from the convergence in rates of consumption growth among countries rather than from synchronization of consumption at the business cycle frequency.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

**Cerutti Furio**

**La filosofia politica e il mondo**

in *Iride*, numero 3, dicembre 2011 , 631-642

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

**Calmy-Rey Micheline**

**La globalisation et la démocratie**

in *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Internationales und Europäisches Recht*, 19. Jahrgang, Heft 4

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

**Leone Daniela**

**Le forme della globalizzazione: un'opzione politica**

in *Sociologia del diritto* , n. 3 , 96 ff.

Le forme in cui può evolvere la globalizzazione non sono già predeterminate secondo un paradigma indiscutibile. Il positivo avviamento allo sviluppo di tanta parte della popolazione mondiale comporta anche un costante deflusso di risorse dai paesi già industrializzati e ne comprime progressivamente gli standard di benessere e di tutela. Questa tendenza non è immune da rischi. Il peggioramento percepito delle condizioni di vita oltre un carico di rottura può sfociare in una convulsa reazione difficile da governare a posteriori. I sindacati, in tale contesto internazionale di crisi economica e di sfiducia generalizzata, sono chiamati a giocare un ruolo decisivo, prima nella cognizione delle complesse dinamiche socio-economiche e successivamente nella definizione di soluzioni praticabili.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

**Goeminne Gert**

**Lost in Translation: Climate Denial and the Return of the Political**

in *Global Environmental Politics*, Volume 12, Number 2, May , 1-8



In this deliberately provocative commentary, I interrogate the relationship between two critical perspectives on the one-sided scientific framing of the climate issue: a constructivist interpretation of climate modeling on the one hand and the debate in political theory on the depoliticization of the public sphere on the other. I argue how they could be tied together in order to provide an enriched understanding of climate denial as a symptom rather than a cause of dysfunctional climate politics. It is my claim that in attempting to translate the universal validity of scientific knowledge into the contours of an inclusive, consensual negotiation model, the constitutive role of exclusion in the emergence of scientific objectivity is overlooked.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

**Andrijasevic Rutvica, Walters William**

**L'Organisation internationale pour les migrations et le gouvernement international des frontières**

**in Cultures & Conflits**, n. 84, hiver , 13-43

The International Organization for Migration and the international government of borders. Early debates often read globalisation as a powerful tendency destined to make state borders less pertinent. Recent research has challenged this view by suggesting that globalisation and (re)bordering frequently advance hand-in-hand, culminating in a condition that might be described as "gated globalism". But somewhat neglected in this recent wave of research is the role that particular international agencies are playing in shaping the norms and forms that pertain to emergent regimes of border control: what we call the international government of borders. Focusing on the International Organization for Migration (IOM) and its involvement in the promotion of what it calls better "border management", this paper aims to partially redress this oversight. The IOM is interesting because it illustrates how the control of borders has become constituted as an object of technical expertise and intervention within programmes and schemes of international authority. Two themes are pursued. First, recent work on neoliberal governmentality is useful for illuminating the forms of power and subtle mechanisms of influence that characterise the IOM's attempt to managerialise border policies in countries as different as Armenia, Ethiopia, and Serbia. Second, the international government of borders comprises diverse and heterogeneous practices, ranging from the hosting of training seminars for local security and migration officials to the promotion of schemes to purchase and install cutting-edge surveillance equipment. In such different ways one can observe in very material terms how the project of making borders into a problem of "management" conflicts with a perception of borders as a site of social struggle and politics.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

**Ulrich Beck**

**Mondializzare i diritti umani**

**in MicroMega**, n.3

Se le disuguaglianze globali sono state finora sottovalutate è perché nelle scienze sociali vige ancora il 'nazionalismo metodologico', quella prospettiva che fa dello Stato-nazione l'unità analitica fondamentale. Ma i processi di globalizzazione promuovono la nascita di comunità cosmopolite del rischio ancorate a una nozione di diritti umani così forte da permettere la critica delle stesse disuguaglianze globali.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Roth Roland

**Occupy und Acampada: Vorboten einer neuen Protestgeneration?**

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 25-26, 2012

Die Proteste des Jahres 2011 haben verdeutlicht, dass die nationalen Grenzen von Bewegungspolitik offener geworden sind. Internationale Themen und Aktionsformen werden aufgegriffen, Ansätze einer gemeinsamen Agenda entstehen.

The full text is free:

<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/138272/protest-und-beteiligung>

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Telò Mario

**Politics and Markets**

in *Federalist Debate (The)*, Year XXV, n. 2, May , 15-17

<http://www.federalist-debate.org/index.php/current-issue/comments/item/769-politics-and-markets>

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Crépu Michel

**Réflexions sur une crise mondiale. Au-delà des boucs émissaires**

in *Revue des deux mondes*, Mars

Ce que des dizaines de colloques et de think tanks de toutes sortes ne sont pas parvenus à imposer, à savoir intéresser le « grand public » à la réalité économique, la crise s'en est chargée avec une efficacité redoutable : l'économie et la finance sont désormais au coeur du débat de société. Il n'y a pas un bistro, aujourd'hui, où il ne soit question, à l'heure du petit blanc, de notation, de titrisation et de dégradation. Et nous avons vu, spectacle inédit, des chaînes de télévision ne pas hésiter à faire du prime time avec le « triple A » comme pour la soirée des Césars...

<http://www.revuedesdeuxmondes.fr/user/details.php?code=72018&show=picture>

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Ladreit de Lacharrière Marc

**Réflexions sur une crise mondiale. Fitch pour un monde nouveau**

in *Revue des deux mondes*, Mars



L'analyse de la crise économique par Marc Ladreit de Lacharrière. Pour la première fois, le président de Fitch Ratings, l'une des trois agences de notation mondiale, s'exprime.

"Si j'écrivais que je dois quelque chose à François Mitterrand, personne ne me croirait – à juste titre. En revanche, les années Mitterrand, avec leur cortège d'erreurs et les volte-face acrobatiques qui ont secoué le monde économique, m'ont plongé dans d'intenses réflexions qui ont donné naissance à Fitch, la grande aventure de ma vie professionnelle. La création d'une agence de notation m'est apparue plus qu'utile, absolument nécessaire au monde nouveau qui s'ouvrait..."

<http://www.revuedesdeuxmondes.fr/user/details.php?code=72020&show=picture>

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Yi-chong Xu

**Sovereign wealth funds: the good, the bad or the ugly?**

in *Journal of the Asia Pacific Economy (The)*, Volume 17, Issue 2 , 193-207

Concerns about sovereign credits in 2007–08 were quickly replaced by concerns over sovereign debts in 2010–11. Sovereign creditor countries might have triggered political outcries in developed countries just before the global financial crisis broke out in 2008; sovereign debt problems in many developed countries placed the global economy in a vulnerable position. This paper examines what these developments tell us about the nature of sovereign wealth funds (SWFs), their performance and their impact on the changing global financial situation and, more importantly, international political economy.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

William H. Thornton

**The Contest of Rival Capitalisms Mandate for a Global Third Way**

in *Journal of Developing Societies*, volume 28 n.1 , 115-128

A new authoritarian order is taking shape, this time within rather than against the capitalist world order. Globalization, in short, is shedding its liberal cloak. Post–Cold War triumphalism was premature in the funeral it staged for the Second World, defined in terms of its autocracy rather than communism. The capitalist character of the new Second World lulls Western globalists into moral as well as geopolitical (hence moral realist) indifference. For many in high places, it is still inconceivable that global capitalism could be a house divided. "Globalization" turns out to be anything but the steadfast ally of democratization it purports to be. It is in fact the greatest gift to a new breed of authoritarian capitalists. The case of China alone is enough to dispel the notion that capitalism and democracy are two sides of the same globalist coin. But Sino-globalization is only unique in that it makes no pretense about its authoritarian ends and means. To revitalize democratization as a global force, a radically different mode of globalization will have to be fostered. We call this the Global Third Way, but what it amounts to is People Power without borders.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**



*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Chang Chun-Ping, Lee Chien-Chiang

**The Effect of Globalization and Political Party on Economic Growth: Panel Data Analysis of Former Communist Countries and European OECD Members**

*in Eastern European Economics*, Volume 49, Number 6 / November-December 2011 , 5 - 26

The aim of this paper is to explore the role of globalization (the overall level as well as its three dimensions of economic, social, and political integration) in promoting economic growth and examine if the incumbent political party influences the relation between the two variables. We attempt to investigate the evidence of long-run equilibrium in terms of the relationship between globalization and economic growth in the period 1990-2006 while also considering the influences of the incumbent political party. In this paper we thus divide Europe into two groups based on political regime characteristics, using ten former communist countries (FCCs) and eighteen Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) members as the study samples. The results of our empirical test confirm our expectations that globalization contributes to economic growth, but it is also sensitive to specific institutional factors, like an incumbent political party. Globalization has a larger impact on real gross domestic product per capita in FCCs than in OECD countries. Although the FCCs and OECD countries are in geographic proximity, the difference in their level of economic development is very large.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Dan Steinbock

**The Eurozone Debt Crisis: Prospects for Europe, China, and the United States**

*in American Foreign Policy Interests*, Volume 34, Issue 1 , 34-42

In the aftermath of fall 2008, the global financial crisis was often characterized as the most severe since the Great Depression. After hopes for a quick rebound proved futile, the consensus began to expect that the recovery might take longer than originally anticipated. The challenges of the Eurozone suggest that overcoming the global economic crisis is likely to take more than half a decade, with no return to “business as usual.” Europe suffers from a multitude of economic crises—caused, for the most part, by front-loaded austerity measures and inadequate fiscal support, exhausted traditional monetary instruments, toxic assets in the European Central Bank, insolvency and liquidity challenges, and lack of pro-growth policies. These are complicated, in turn, by fragmented political decision making and institutional flaws in the integration process. The deterioration of the Eurozone has often cast China as a potential savior. For its part, China, along with the other BRIC (Brazil, Russia, and India) nations, would like to support an important trade partner and source of technology and foreign direct investment, but conditionally. As a result, Europe—with the current or realigned Eurozone—is heading toward a reset, which will inevitably affect U.S. strategic interests. Throughout the postwar era, U.S. interests were coupled with those of Europe in the transatlantic economy. The severity of the current economic crises and the complexity of political decision making in the Eurozone make ruling out “catastrophic risk” impossible in strategic considerations.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Joshua Grundleger, Sean Creehan

**The Global Leadership Vacuum: An Interview with Ian Bremmer, President and Founder, Eurasia Group**





in **SAIS Review of International Affairs (The)**, Volume 32, Number 1, Winter-Spring , 5-17

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Gilles Van Hamme, Geoffrey Pion

**The Relevance of the World-system Approach in the Era of Globalisation of Economic Flows and Networks**  
in **Geografiska Annaler, Series B: Human Geography**, volume 94 n.1 , 65-82

Is world-systems analysis of any relevance to present-day economic flows? By using methods in line with the world-system and dependence theories, we show that economic flows – trade and foreign direct investment – still deeply separate core and peripheries. On the one hand, through the analysis of the trade by products, we show that core countries hold on to a higher position in the international division of labour. On the other hand, by using network method, we highlight that core countries are still characterized by the intensity of their reciprocal relations while peripheral countries have few economic relations with a limited number of core countries. Moreover, the article demonstrates that this core–periphery division of the world has not lost its pertinence; it is as relevant as at the end of the sixties. In the current era of globalization, economic flows are still deeply structured by basic power relations between core and peripheries. However, the article also develops a theoretical framework to understand dynamics of the world-system and insists on the emergence of Eastern Asia as a new core area, notably by showing the rising position of some East Asian countries in the international division of labour. We conclude by underlying the necessity to integrate world-system and global network theoretical frameworks.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Haase, Dwight

**The Wealth (and Want) of Nations: The Impact of Economic Globalization on the Developing World**  
in **Perspectives on Global Development and Technology** , Vol. 11, n°1 , 38-49

In this article I review the literature on four outcomes of economic globalization: growth, wages, poverty, and inequality. Special attention is given to the importance of these outcomes for people of developing nations. Findings in the literature show a correlation between economic globalization and economic growth, but the relationship is much stronger for some nations than for others. Evidence on wages also shows uneven benefits from economic globalization. The evidence on poverty is inconclusive, while several authors note growing inequality within nations. These studies highlight the need for more research that includes extraneous factors, such as foreign aid and remittances. Further research also should refine the unit of analysis and gather extensive data from the informal sector.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Harris, Jerry

**The World Economic Crisis and Transnational Corporations**  
in **Perspectives on Global Development and Technology** , Vol. 11, n°1 , 168-181



Although the world economic crisis has slowed the flow of global investments and production, transnational capitalism has become more centralized through greater monopolization. We can trace this development in the auto industry with an examination of state intervention, transnational alliances and global competition. Far from developing a nation-centric recovery plan, the Obama bail-out deepens the auto industry's global character. This example shows how the transnational capitalist class works through the State to strengthen its dominant position over national capital.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Kvaløy Berit, Finseraas Henning, Listhaug Ola

**The publics' concern for global warming: A cross-national study of 47 countries**

in **Journal of Peace Research**, Volume 49, Number 1, Special Issue: "Climate Change and Conflict", January , 11-22

This article relies on data from the 2005–09 World Values Survey to examine individual and cross-national variation in perception of the seriousness of global warming. The data show that a large majority of the public in all countries are concerned about the problem of global warming and that this assessment is part of a broader concern for global environmental issues. The widespread concern implies that global warming has the potential to generate mass political participation and demand for political action. Motivated by a value-based approach to the study of public opinion, the article shows that perception of the seriousness of the problem is positively correlated with high education, post-materialism, and a leftist position on the left–right scale. In addition, religious beliefs are important, suggesting that there is some diversity in the value basis for the issue and that it is not only linked to the 'new-politics' perspective. Variation across nations in wealth and CO2 emissions is not significantly related to the publics' assessments of the problem, and, somewhat counterintuitively, people from countries relatively more exposed to climate-related natural disasters are less concerned about global warming. We suggest possible explanations for the latter finding and discuss our results in relation to the broader literature on environmental change, insecurity, and the potential for conflict.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Richter Clemens

**Transcivilization Approach to Human Rights**

in **Jahrbuch des öffentlichen Rechts der Gegenwart**, Band 60, 2012

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Pries Ludger

**Transnationalisierungsforschung – Ein Programm für das 21. Jahrhundert**

in **Soziale Welt**, Jahrgang 62, Heft 4, 2011

Transnationalisierungsforschung – Ein Programm für das 21. Jahrhundert



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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Holzinger Katharina, Sommerer Thomas

**Was verursacht die Aufwärtsspirale in der Umweltpolitik? Der Einfluss internationaler Harmonisierung auf nationale Umweltstandards**

in *Oesterreichische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft*, 2012/1, 53-72

What Drives the Upward Spiral in Environmental Policy? The Impact of International Harmonisation on National Environmental Standards

The classical theory of regulatory competition in environmental policy predicts a race to the bottom of standards as a consequence of globalization. The empirical evidence is contradictory, which is partly due to the measurement of the regulatory level. Research using environmental quality data seems to show an upward movement. The literature provides us with some causal speculation as to the explanation of an upward dynamic, but so far lacks broadly based empirical proof. This article first complements the existing theory by introducing the factor of international environmental harmonisation. It is hypothesized that international harmonisation leads to an upward movement of the regulatory level. We then test the theory using environmental output data for 24 countries from 1970 to 2005. We find a clear race to the top, no impact of economic competition, and a clear effect of international harmonisation.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Daphi Priska

**Zur Identität transnationaler Bewegungen**

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 25-26, 2012

Was hält transnationale Bewegungen zusammen? Die Identität transnationaler Bewegungen basiert auf breiten Deutungsmustern, dem gemeinsamen Handeln in Protesten und Treffen sowie auf weitverzweigten, informellen Netzwerken.

The full text is free:

<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/138288/zur-identitaet-transnationaler-bewegungen>

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes*

Lorenzo Fioramonti

**Building Regions from Below: Has the Time Come for Regionalism 2.0?**

in *International Spectator (The)*, Vol. 47, No. 1, March

In a changing world ridden with crises and characterized by a general redistribution of power, regional organizations need to reinvent themselves. Equally, the study of regionalism has to reject its traditional Eurocentrism to embrace new conceptual categories in order to describe more effectively the variety of regional processes across the world. Against



this background, this article looks the European project and its current crisis before discussing other regional 'experiments' in Africa, Asia and Latin America, which rest on different principles but also manifest considerable shortcomings. The analysis points to need to look at regionalism with a critical eye, emphasizing the undeniably important achievements but also the hidden threats that a certain model of regional integration (for instance, the classical top-down elite-driven process adopted by the EU founding fathers) can pose to the sustainability of regional cohesion and the adaptability of this model to other areas of the world.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes*

**Amitav Acharya**

**Comparative Regionalism: A Field Whose Time has Come?  
in International Spectator (The), Vol. 47, No. 1, March**

Is comparative regionalism a field whose time has come? While the contemporary interest in comparing regions and regionalisms may be not completely new, it is different from older approaches. Our understanding of what makes regions has changed with social constructivist and critical theoretical approaches that have led to a less behavioural and more nuanced, complex, contested and fluid understanding of regions. Moreover, the globalisation phenomenon has deeply affected all social sciences and radically redefined the relative autonomy of regions. In keeping with the rapid growth and development of regionalism and institutions in the non-Western world, including in regions which were relatively late starters, such as Asia, there have emerged new ways of looking at regional cooperation, including claims about distinctive approaches and even 'models' that are not only different from those identified with the EU, but also supposedly more appropriate and thus 'workable' for non-Western regions than the EU straightjacket.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes*

**Murray Philomena, Orcalli Gabriele**

**Deepening regionalism in Europe and ASEAN – the role of an economic constitution  
in Journal of the Asia Pacific Economy (The), Volume 17, Issue 3 , 426-445**

The article examines the creation of an internal market in Europe and Southeast Asia from the perspective of constitutional economics. It assesses whether the success or failure of a regional integration process depends on the quality of the economic constitution that is chosen by participating countries, that is, on the set of rules and institutions, which bind the actions and transactions of operators within a jurisdiction and towards the operators of other jurisdictions. The article commences with an overview of the analytical instruments of constitutional economics in order to evaluate the success of a regional agreement on the basis of the 'quality' of its economic constitution. It then examines internal market creation in the EU and the Association of Southeast Asian Nation (ASEAN). The article concludes that it is the commitment to the implementation of a social contract that determines the successful establishment of a single market.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes*

**Knud Erik Jørgensen, Morten Valbjørn**

**Four dialogues and the funeral of a beautiful relationship: European studies and new regionalism**



in **Cooperation and Conflict**, March; 47 (1) , 3-27

This article engages in the debate on (the study of) regionalism in providing an overview of the nexus between European Studies (ES) and (New) Regionalism (NR). While the immediate purpose for doing so is to set the stage for the future debate on regional dynamics, this exploration can also be perceived as a case study into (the plurality of forms of) inter/intra-disciplinary dialogue demonstrating the necessity of engaging in 'dialogues about dialogues'. The article starts by developing a new typology of four different ideal-typical notions of dialogue: hierarchical, reflexive, transformative and eristic models of dialogue. Each of these models is then used to examine different ways of answering questions about why a dialogue between ES/NR should be of interest or not; what ES has to offer; what the coveted impact of such a dialogue is supposed to be; and, finally, which promises and pitfalls such a conversation holds. In this fashion, the stage for future debate addressing regional integration is outlined. It is concluded that these futures look bleak, however, especially because ES and NR no longer appear as each other's ideal partner-in-dialogue and the relationship is likely to come to an end and hence await its own funeral.

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### **Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes*

**Pardo Ramon Pacheco**

#### **Leadership, decision-making and governance in the EU and East Asia: crisis and post-crisis**

in **Asia Europe Journal**, Volume 9, Number 2-4 March , 77-90

The global financial crisis of the late 2000s has affected the EU and East Asia differently. The EU has seen its economic, political and social structures undermined by the problems derived from the global crisis and subsequent eurozone sovereign debt crisis. In contrast, East Asia has gone through the global crisis relatively unscathed and has seen its standing at the global level reinforced. As a result, there has been a reconfiguration of leadership, decision-making and governance structures in both regions. In the case of the EU, Germany has emerged as the clear leader of European efforts to solve regional economic problems. Meanwhile, intergovernmentalism has replaced supranationalism as the decision-making and even implementation procedure of choice. Differently, there is no single leader in East Asia. China has become one of the most important powers at the global level, but at the regional level, different countries have shaped East Asia's response to the crisis. Concurrently, there has been some move towards increasing integration, even though intergovernmentalism still defines governance structures in the region. Thus, the global financial crisis of the late 2000s has helped to shape new leadership, decision-making and governance structures in both regions.

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### **Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes*

**Paul De Grauwe**

#### **Lessons from the Eurocrisis for East Asian Monetary Relations**

in **World Economy**, volume 35 n.4 , 405-418

I analyse the sources of the Eurozone crisis. The major conclusion is that the Eurozone is insufficiently embedded in a monetary union, thereby making it fragile and prone to crises. The lesson I draw for East Asia is that despite the fact that this region appears to satisfy the traditional optimal currency area (OCA) criteria to form a monetary union, the complete absence of political unification makes the prospect of a monetary union in that region of the world both unrealistic and



undesirable.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes*

Meliadò Fabrizio

**Post-Cold war regionalism as explained in international relations: a critical essay**

in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Volume 78, n. 4, ottobre-dicembre , 579-589

The design and implementation of preferential trade reforms - i.e. the partial or total liberalization of a country's commercial regime at the bilateral or less-than-multilateral level - has undergone a significant increase since 1986. This phenomenon has been taken into account by leading schools of thought in the field of international relations, namely realism, liberalism and social constructivism, when investigating the strategic dynamics of economic integration. To a greater or lesser degree, scholars have conflicting explanations that add to the less disputed economic rationale for signing preferential trade agreements (PTAs). Nevertheless, scholars agree on the general proposition that the intensification of international commercial relations via PTAs is a dependent variable, as well as an important indicator, of a broader dramatic process of political, economic and social transformation that occurred throughout the world beginning the 1980s.

The aim of this essay is to illustrate the leading theoretical explanations for preferential trade reforms. The main findings show that the above-mentioned schools of thought provide good grounds for explaining the sequencing of bilateral trade agreements, but have to be read in the light which the political economy of PTAs sheds on the rationale for undertaking this type of reform. The essay provides a brief introduction to those theories in order to elicit further interest and research, as a fully comprehensive testing of the relevant insights would require an extensive empirical research.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes*

Jo Sam-Sang

**Region-building and critical juncture: Europe and Northeast Asia in comparative perspective**

in *Asia Europe Journal*, vol. 10, n. 1, May , 1-20

China, Japan, and Korea have begun to engage one another vigorously since the 1997 crisis. As intraregional economic ties have further deepened and broadened, interconnectedness in cultural and political aspects has risen rapidly in a variety of forms. Decision-makers and intellectuals in China, Japan, and Korea have been floating ideas and interests for establishing various types of Northeast Asian community formation. New security dialogues and co-operation frameworks also emerge. Accordingly, the rapidly growing Northeast Asia is likely to emerge as an identifiable regional community. With the incipient emergence of regional community in Northeast Asia, Northeast Asian region-building becomes a salient issue of major academic and policy debates. Yet, in spite of the recent mushrooming of research in and attention to the region-building, the questions regarding within what surrounding and under what situation regional community can be built, as well as what motivates people to choose region-building, and when and how state system can be transformed into a regional community remains only partly resolved. In order to solve this puzzle, this paper will compare the current Northeast Asian region-building with the early stage of European region-building, arguing that while there are important differences in evolution, format, and kind of region-building in Europe and Northeast Asia, critical juncture is influential in region-building.





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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes*

**Pant Manoj**

**Regional Trading Arrangements and Developing Countries: Understanding the Phenomena**  
in *International Studies*, vol. 47, n. 2-4, april-july , 187-203

ABSTRACT: One of the remarkable features of international trade has been the explosion of regional trading arrangements (RTAs) especially after 1990. In particular, developing countries have been in the forefront in contracting RTAs, especially among themselves. The period after 1995 is also characterized by the growth of trade among developing countries while their trade with developed countries has been on the decline. It seems that the latter phenomenon is driven by RTAs. India too has been very active in recent years in contracting RTAs. This article argues that the causality seems to be from trade to RTAs rather than the other way round. It is seen that conventional gains from RTAs via tariff reduction do not show up in empirical work. RTAs thus do not lead to increased trade among countries and are, in fact, a de facto rationalization of growing trade relations between countries. It is argued further that the growth in RTAs is explained more by developments in international politics and the emergence of a multi-polar world rather than by the conventional calculus of economic theory.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes*

**Fois Paolo**

**Sulle pretese novità del regionalismo internazionale contemporaneo**  
in *Rivista di diritto internazionale*, vol. XCV, fascicolo 1 , 5-28

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes*

**Blizkovsky Petr**

**Two crises, two responses: adjustment of economic governance in ASEAN and the European Union**  
in *Asia Europe Journal*, Volume 9, Number 2-4 March , 91-106

The financial crisis of 1997/1998 in Southeast Asia triggered institutional developments inside the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and beyond. They deepened intra-regional cooperation in the economic area and laid down the foundations for the ambition of creating an ASEAN Economic Community that would allow easier exchanges of productive factors. Concurrently, ASEAN also widened its response in the financial domain by initiating various "ASEAN plus" arrangements to pool risks and address volatility in financial markets. The European Union (EU) was hit by the global financial crisis in 2008 and subsequently by the sovereign debt crisis. The EU response to this has been a deepening of legally binding macroeconomic cooperation and the strengthening of the regulatory framework. On top of this, and contrary to the ASEAN case, the EU 27-Minus initiatives go further towards closer political coordination. In



parallel, the legally binding scheme has been adopted to strengthen the stability of the Euro Area. This paper analyses the policy responses in both regions to their respective crises. It aims at understanding the driving forces behind the different policy responses, looking at both the region-specific and the more generic institutional and regulatory responses to the crises.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes*

Luk van Langenhove

**Why We Need to 'Unpack' Regions to Compare Them More Effectively**  
in *International Spectator (The)*, Vol. 47, No. 1, March

States are finding it increasingly difficult to provide good governance in response to today's problems in a globalised world, as they are often either too small or too big to cope with current crises. One of the strategies of states to remedy this situation is to construct regional levels of governance at the supranational or national level. This has led to the creation of diverse forms of regional governance worldwide, thereby ushering in a neo-Westphalian world of states and regions. In order to advance the research agenda of comparative regionalism, scholars need to 'unpack' regions along several conceptual dimensions. This includes seeing regions as economic areas, public goods spaces as well as actors in the international arena. In addition, a distinction needs to be made in studying the projects, processes and products of region building. Moreover, studying regions needs to take into account the discursive context of 'regionalism speak'. Finally, more attention needs to be dedicated to the internal complexity of regionalisms. In sum, comparing regions is not a straightforward exercise, and in some case regions should not be compared with other regions, but with states.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East*

Mills Kurt

**"Bashir is Dividing Us": Africa and the International Criminal Court**  
in *Human Rights Quarterly*, vol. 34, number 2, may , 404-447

ABSTRACT: The African Union has become increasingly hostile towards the International Criminal Court, particularly in the wake of the ICC arrest warrant for Sudanese President Omar al-Bashir, although the public hostility masks deeper divisions among African countries. Indeed, evidence of arguments among African states and between Africa and Western countries over the proper functioning and scope of the ICC is indicative of a number of paradoxes and conflicts which have emerged as Africa reorients its identities and interests to embrace international human rights norms while also asserting itself on the global stage.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East*

Jacobs Inga M.

**A community in the Orange: the development of a multi-level water governance framework in the Orange-Senqu River basin in Southern Africa**



in **International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics**, Volume 12, Number 2, May , 187-210

An ensemble of normative codes of conduct in the form of global, regional and domestic norms, principles of best practice and laws have developed over time providing standards of appropriate behaviour in the governance of transboundary rivers in an attempt to eradicate or minimise real or perceived conflicts. Through a multi-levelled analysis of water governance in the Orange-Senqu River basin in Southern Africa, this paper investigates the relationships between co-operative management norms constructed at different levels of scale, and the ways in which both norm and context are transformed as a result of the other. At the basin level, legal and institutional processes symbolise a movement towards norm convergence in the basin. However, norm drivers (such as technical co-operation, personalised politics, trust and confidence building) and norm barriers (such as skills flight and the lack of trust) to the development of a 'community of interest' in the Orange-Senqu River basin have also been significant in shaping the legal and normative landscape. An analysis of global, regional, basin-wide and local norms is therefore useful because it illustrates the interconnectedness of their interactions as well as how their content is affected.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East*

Marco Massoni

**A lessen status of the AU risks to allow no ownership for African Affairs at continental and regional levels in CeMiSS - Osservatorio Strategico e Quarterly**, CeMiSS-Quarterly Year IX, Winter 2011 , 34-48

The beginning of 2012 in Africa was characterized by the troublesome and ineffective outcomes of the 18th Summit of the African Union, the election of the new Senegalese President, the re-hatting of AMISOM together with the new approach to Somalia, come out from the London Conference, and, at last, by the Tuareg rebellion's conquest of Northern Mali – the so-called Azawad – then followed by a military putsch, just one month ahead of the already scheduled Presidential elections.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East*

Peter Draper

**Breaking Free from Europe: Why Africa Needs Another Model of Regional Integration in International Security**, Volume 36, Issue 4 - Spring

Support for regional economic integration in Africa runs high amongst the continent's international development partners and African elites. However, its expression in European forms of economic integration is not appropriate to regional capacities and in some cases may do more harm than good. This lacuna is exacerbated by technical and theoretical analyses rooted either in economics or international relations literature. This article sets out to reconceptualise the foundations of African economic integration by reviewing key debates within each literature and comparing the results across disciplinary boundaries. Overall, it is concluded that a much more limited approach is required, one that prioritises trade facilitation and regulatory cooperation in areas related primarily to the conduct of business; underpinned by a security regime emphasizing the good governance agenda at the domestic level. Care should be taken to design the ensuing schemes in such a way as to avoid contributing to major implementation and capacity challenges in establishing viable and legitimate states. In doing so, the presence of regional leaders with relatively deep pockets - South Africa in the Southern African case - points to the imperative of building such limited regional economic



arrangements around key states.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East*

Alam Undala

**Cooperating internationally over water: explaining l'espace OMVS**

in *Journal of Modern African Studies* , Volume 50 - Issue 02 - June , 175-199

Since the early 1960s, Guinea, Mali, Mauritania and Senegal have cooperated over the Senegal river. Contrary to the norms of managing international rivers, the riparians have subjugated their sovereignty and incurred national debt to jointly develop the benefits from their shared river, despite intra-basin tensions and conflict. The Senegal experience highlights an alternative path to tackling the consequences of climate change, poor water management and increasing demand. In seeking to explain the intensity of international cooperation displayed in the basin, this article examines the characteristics of international rivers and the Senegal basin's history, and concludes that Pan-Africanism, francophonie, and the political leaders' attitudes to regional cooperation shaped l'espace OMVS.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East*

Soboka Bulto Takele

**Exception as norm: the local remedies rule in the context of socio-economic rights in the African human rights system**

in *International Journal of Human Rights (The)*, Vol. 16, issue 4 , 555-576

It is widely acknowledged that rights and freedoms guaranteed in the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights are justiciable. However, any complaints about violations of the Charter's guarantees are admissible before the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights only if they are lodged after local remedies available in the domestic legal system of the implicated state are exhausted. The local remedies rule can be bypassed, however, when such remedies are unavailable, inadequate, ineffective or unduly prolonged. This article argues that normative incompatibility between the charter's socio-economic rights undertakings and the status of the rights in domestic legal systems in numerous local jurisdictions in Africa makes it apparent that there is a clear lack of necessary preconditions for justiciability of and remedies to this category of rights. Local remedies to socio-economic rights in such jurisdictions could simply be lacking or are ineffective or inadequate. Thus, the application of the local remedies rule could well be less relevant to socio-economic rights complaints at the regional level and hence constitute an exception in relation to numerous African States. Consequently, direct invocation of charter-based remedies, supposedly an exception, may supplant the rule until and unless state parties to the charter ensure normative compatibility between their charter-based undertakings and domestic legislation and practices relative to socio-economic rights enshrined in the charter

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East*

Salami, Iwa

**Financial regulation in African frontier markets: can the EU approach work?**

in *Law and Financial Markets Review*, volume 5 n.5 , 380-387



For a long time sub-Saharan Africa (excluding South Africa) was marginalised from the international financial market. However, over the past two decades things have begun to take a positive turn. Even after the recent financial crisis, which stifled most parts of the world, Africa's recovery and growth has been phenomenal. Nonetheless, financial regulation in most states in Africa still remains a challenge and this has the potential to threaten the future growth prospects of African financial markets. As most African regional economic communities (RECs) have adopted the EU framework for trade integration, a common market and a monetary union, this article considers the structure of the newly instituted EU financial regulatory framework and assesses whether this model can be adopted in the African context. It focuses, in particular, on the regional framework for financial regulation within the RECs considered.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East*

**Forere Malebakeng**

**Is Discussion of the “United States of Africa” Premature? Analysis of ECOWAS and SADC Integration Efforts**  
in *Journal of African Law*, Vol. 56, issue 1 , 29-54

For integration to succeed, the intending bloc of nations must begin with integration efforts that are based on gradual, continuous and concrete achievements, to create de facto solidarity among community members. This is the theoretical premise on which this article is based. This perspective is also drawn from the normative framework of both the Constitutive Act of the African Union (AU) and the Treaty Establishing the African Economic Community. According to its objectives, the AU aims to form a union government, to be preceded by successful economic integration through regional economic communities (RECs). While there are several RECs in Africa, this article examines those in west and southern Africa, being among the more developed. The article discusses whether the RECs have achieved their objectives to the extent that would warrant discussion of, and efforts towards, the imminent formation of the “United States of Africa”.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East*

**Magnus Killander**

**Legal Harmonisation in Africa: Taking Stock and Moving Forward**

in *International Security*, Volume 36, Issue 4 - Spring

Despite the lofty objectives set out in the treaties of African intergovernmental organisations, such as the African Union, ECOWAS, SADC and the East African Community, legal harmonisation in Africa is still underdeveloped. Apart from a push towards harmonisation in the protection of human rights and the environment, mainly driven by a global agenda, some progress has been made with regard to legal harmonisation linked to economic integration at the sub-regional level. However, the process is slow and measures to ensure implementation of agreed norms at the national level and ensure consistent interpretation are still underdeveloped. This is illustrative of the lack of political will and the big gap between political rhetoric and reality on the African continent.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East*

**Badru Pade**



**Not Yet Uhuru: The Unfinished Revolution in Africa**

in *Journal of Asian and African Studies* , Vol. 47, No. 3 , 269-278

In Kwandiwe Kondlo's *In the Twilight of the Revolution* (2009), which examines the role of the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) of Azania in South Africa's anti-apartheid struggle as the backdrop, this article surveys the momentum of social revolution in Sub-Saharan Africa during the decolonization era that started in the mid-20th century and ended with South Africa's transition to a multi-racial democracy in 1994. It argues that the failure of the African elite to achieve a genuine independence from both colonial rule and South Africa's apartheid system is largely because of inconsistent nationalist ideologies and the detachment of the African elite from the popular struggles of the people, which could have resulted in the revolutionary overthrow of the colonial state and the dawn of more progressive and autonomous states all across Black Africa. It concludes that this failure led to the continuing instability of the post-colonial states across Africa and, in South Africa, to the achievement of a particular form of multi-racial democracy with very little or no change to the real politics of apartheid and Boer domination.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East*

Rosmy Jean Louis, Faruk Balli, Mohamed Osman

**On the choice of an anchor for the GCC currency: does the symmetry of shocks extend to both the oil and the non-oil sectors?**

in *International Economics and Economic Policy*, Volume 9, Number 1 / March 2012 , 83-110

This paper assesses the costs of forming a monetary union among the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries by looking at economic linkages within the GCC, and between the GCC and the potential anchors (the US, and major European countries such as France, Germany and Italy) for their proposed new currency. We investigate the importance of the US dollar compared to the Euro by focusing on aggregate demand (AD) and aggregate supply (AS) shock symmetry across these countries. We differentiated between oil and non-oil sector by estimating structural vector autoregression (SVAR) models with a combination of variables: oil output, non-oil output, total output, nominal/real price of oil and overall price level. One set of models was identified with the long-run restrictions of Blanchard and Quah (*Am Econ Rev* 79(4):655–673, 1989), whereas the set that assesses the robustness of the findings was estimated with the short-run restrictions of Sims (*Eur Econ Rev* 36(5):975–1000, 1992). We find overwhelming support for AD shock symmetry across the GCC countries and between the GCC and the US, but none for the major European countries with the GCC. Non-oil AS shocks are mostly asymmetric, but oil AS shocks are mostly symmetric when the real price of oil is included. This agrees with the view that GCC countries are subjected to common oil shocks. It also suggests that previous VAR models estimated to pass judgment on the feasibility of monetary union across GCC countries may have suffered from problems of mis-specification if the real price of oil was not considered. We surmise that the US dollar is a better anchor candidate for anchoring the new GCC currency than the Euro, since US monetary policy can at least help smooth demand shocks in these countries.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East*

Dupont Cédric, Passy Florence

**One year later, whither the Arab Spring? Domestic and regional challenges**

in *Swiss Political Science Review - Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft - Revue suisse de science*





*politique*, Volume 18, Issue 1, March 2012 , 101–104

The full text is free:

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1662-6370.2012.02062.x/full>

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East*

Saunders Chris

**Pan-Africanism: The Cape Town Case**

in *Journal of Asian and African Studies* , Vol. 47, No. 3 , 291-300

The author of this contribution examines the role that Cape Town played in the advent of Pan-Africanism in South Africa from abroad through the activist efforts of individuals from the West Indies, United States of America (USA) and West Africa in the early twentieth century. He traces how Pan-Africanism in Cape Town went through a number of different phases, the most important politically being that of the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) in 1959-60.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East*

Iheduru Okechukwu C.

**Regional Integration and the Private Authority of Banks in West Africa**

in *International Studies Review*, vol. 14, issue 2, june , 273-302

ABSTRACT: A lacuna in the networked global economy and private regulatory authority literatures—hence the main theoretical contribution of this article—involves situations where regulatory authority is ceded or outsourced to nonstate business actors that, in addition to their commercial mission, espouse and actually integrate their profit motive with political and economic missions that can enhance or undermine regional integration effectiveness. Such identity-based, dual-mission regional business actors are more likely to promote regional economic integration than their foreign counterparts because these firms often define the region as the centerpiece of their investment decisions. The melding of their “region-centricity” with the profit motive may suggest the capacity of states and nonstate actors to “tame” or “regionalize” globalization or even challenge the existing global order. The empirical evidence is drawn from an unlikely source, that is, cross-border, dual-mission regional banks in West Africa to whom governments and INGOs have ceded or “outsourced” critical central banking regulatory authority, empowering or enabling them to (i) act as regional development banks through public–private partnerships; (ii) create and regulate financial instruments as surrogate common currency and regional payments systems; and (iii) cross-border supervision of regional bank subsidiaries and branches. Expanded private authority of regional banks is creating putative region-wide norms of financial integration and behavioral changes among banks and other sectors and governments while amplifying the limits of private-sector-led financial integration. The study fills a gap in the comparative regionalism literature that continues to neglect, misidentify, or undervalue the African experience.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East*



Malley Robert , Sadjadpour Karim, Ta&#351;p&#305;nar Ömer  
**Symposium— Israel, Turkey and Iran in the Changing Arab World**  
in *Middle East Policy*, Volume 19, Issue 1, Spring , 1-24

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East*

Fagbayibo Babatunde

**The (Ir)relevance of the Office of the Chair of the African Union Commission: Analysing the Prospects for Change**

in *Journal of African Law*, Vol. 56, issue 1 , 15-28

Within the context of the current debate on the institutional transformation of the African Union (AU), this article examines the position of the chairperson of the AU Commission (Commission). The importance of the Commission chairperson cannot be over-emphasized. As the head of the “engine room” of the AU, it is pertinent that s/he is given the requisite powers to oversee the proper functioning of the secretariat, which would in turn propel the progressive development of African integration. This article argues that the current intergovernmental nature of the AU, where real decision making powers are held by member states, curtails the Commission chairperson from playing a meaningful role in the integration process. It highlights certain fundamental factors for ensuring the relevance of the chairperson. These include the institutional transformation of the AU, a review of the eligibility requirements for the Commission chairperson, a broad-based election process and hybridized functions

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East*

Puig, Gonzalo Villalta - Al-Khodiry, Amer

**The Economic and Monetary Union of the Gulf Cooperation Council**

in *Journal of World Trade*, volume 46 n.1 , 121-155

Since the establishment of the Cooperation Council for the Arab States of the Gulf (Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC)) in 1981, its Member States (the Kingdom of Bahrain, the State of Kuwait, the Sultanate of Oman, the State of Qatar, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates) have pursued economic and monetary integration further to the constituent aim of the Charter of the GCC for regional cooperation. With that aim, the Economic Agreement of 1981 established a Free Trade Area, operational since 1983, in the expectation that it would promote regional trade creation and, in turn, greater economic and monetary integration among the Member States. However, most of its provisions for an Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) never took effect. Thus, twenty years after its entry into force, the GCC Supreme Council agreed to revise the terms of the Economic Agreement. The Economic Agreement of 2001 now regulates the economic programme of the GCC. A timetable for the establishment of a Monetary Union was approved at the same time with a proposal to introduce a single currency by 1 January 2010. However, only four of the six Member States (Bahrain, Kuwait, Qatar, and Saudi Arabia) have concluded the Monetary Union Agreement of 2008 and, to date, the single currency remains a proposal only. The GCC has failed to achieve any significant level of economic and monetary integration: ultimately, the EMU and single currency are yet to materialize. On that premise, the article critiques the scope and effect of implementation of the Economic Agreements of 1981 and 2001 as it examines the



origins and development of economic and monetary integration in the GCC.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East*

**Kwesi Aning, Samuel Atuobi**

**The Neglected Economic Dimensions of ECOWAS's Negotiated Peace Accords in West Africa**  
in *Africa Spectrum*, Vol. 46, n°3

Since its first intervention in Liberia in December 1989, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) has, in conjunction with the African Union (AU) and the United Nations (UN), managed to resolve intrastate violence in Liberia, Sierra Leone and Côte d'Ivoire through its political and military interventions. One aspect of the work undertaken by the ECOWAS that has received little scholarly attention are the economic dimensions of the peace accords it has negotiated. To date, no scholarly work that we know of has focused on this aspect of ECOWAS peace initiatives. The same is true of other peace initiatives, such as those in Côte d'Ivoire, led by other actors. This paper seeks to bridge these scholarly lacunae by evaluating the economic dimensions of peace agreements in these three countries, and by examining how these agreements address the distribution and management of economic resources. We argue that because these conflicts were partially underpinned by the mismanagement of economic resources, the search for peace should necessarily include addressing economic issues at the negotiating table.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East*

**Terwase Sampson Isaac**

**The Responsibility to Protect and ECOWAS Mechanisms on Peace and Security: Assessing their Convergence and Divergence on Intervention**  
in *Journal of Conflict and Security Law*, Volume 16 Issue 3 Winter , 507-540

In 2008, the United Nations Secretary General appointed a Special Adviser on Responsibility to Protect (R2P), with a mandate to develop its conceptual and doctrinal framework. The normative direction so far outlined by the Special Adviser in this regard privileges the deployment of wide ranging preventive tools as alternative to intrusive military action, while recognizing the significant role of regional and sub-regional arrangements in the operationalization of the doctrine. This article, therefore, explores the convergence and divergence between R2P and West Africa's regional mechanisms on conflict prevention, management and resolution; in view of their envisaged role in the operationalization of R2P under this new normative regime. The article is specifically intent on resolving the following queries: can the Economic Community of West African States' (ECOWAS's) mechanisms on conflict prevention, management and resolution effectively co-exist with the doctrine of R2P? Are there areas of disagreement in the normative make-up of these two mechanisms that could inhibit cooperation on intervention for human protection? If such differences exist, what strategies would be required by the UN and ECOWAS to build normative harmony and operational coordination between the two mechanisms?

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**



*Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East*

Abdel Samad Ziad

**The Revolutions of the Arab Region**

in *Federalist Debate (The)*, Year XXV, n. 2, May , 60-63

<http://www.federalist-debate.org/index.php/current-issue/item/785-the-revolutions-of-the-arab-region>

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East*

Nkhata Mwiza Jo

**The Role of Regional Economic Communities in Protecting and Promoting Human Rights in Africa: Reflections on the Human Rights Mandate of the Tribunal of the Southern African Development Community**

in *African Journal of International and Comparative Law*, Volume 20, Number 1 , 87-109

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 3. Cooperations and integration in Central and North America*

Conroy Amanda

**Transnationalism in the Americas After NAFTA: Power, Knowledge and Resistance (Review Essay)**

in *Social Movement Studies*, Volume 11, Issue 1, 2012 , 113-117

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America*

MARIANO, Karina Pasquariello

**A eleição parlamentar no Mercosul**

in *Revista Brasileira de Política internacional* , vol.54 no.2 , 138-157

This article examines the parliamentary representation in Mercosur and the implications of the institutionalization of Parlasur, exposing how it was meant and the consequences of its institutionalization. Its aim is to identify changes and its relationship with policy-making bodies of Mercosur and National Congresses.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America*

SANTOS, Sergio Caballero

**Brazil and the region: an emergent power and the South-American regional integration**

in *Revista Brasileira de Política internacional* , vol.54 no.2 , 158-172



In recent years, Brazil is becoming a global power and, at the same time, it is often considered as the regional leader. In this paper, we tackle with the growing role of Brazil in the international arena while tensions among neighbors are also increasing. What are Brazilian foreign policy priorities: regional bonds or global affairs?

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America*

Guajardo Soto Guillermo

**Dal decennio perduto al continente perduto: riforme, paradossi e nuovi attori in America Latina dopo la fine della Guerra Fredda**

in *Ventunesimo Secolo. Rivista di Studi sulle Transizioni*, Anno XI, n. 27, "L'America Latina dopo la guerra fredda (1989-2009)", febbraio

This essay provides a broad examination of the tensions in Latin America during the last three decades over market reforms, the region's insertion into the world economy, the role of the state, and the appearance of new social actors. Particular emphasis is given to the contradictions of preexisting protectionist models and the uncertain results which have prevented the complete displacement of the State and limited the achievement of a dynamic market economy. The essay focuses on South America, but includes a macro-level approach which considers the cases of Mexico and Central America.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America*

Julieta Zelicovich

**El lugar del MERCOSUR en la Política Exterior Argentina durante los gobiernos de Néstor Kirchner y Cristina Fernández de Kirchner.**

in *Relaciones internacionales : revista publ. por el Instituto de Relaciones Internacionales* , n.41 , Julieta Zelicovich

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America*

Damián Paikin

**Federalismo e integración regional: Los vínculos de las provincias argentinas con el MERCOSUR.**

in *Relaciones internacionales : revista publ. por el Instituto de Relaciones Internacionales* , n.41

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America*

Has Regionalism Peaked? The Latin American Quagmire and its Lessons

**Has Regionalism Peaked? The Latin American Quagmire and its Lessons**

in *International Spectator (The)*, Vol. 47, No. 1, March



Since 1960, Latin American attempts at regionalism have undergone distinct phases. More notably, they have tended to diverge across space, gradually giving birth to separate blocs that seem to be tearing South, Central and North America apart. Additionally, within and across these regions several overlapping projects coexist. This article focuses on the dynamics of segmented and overlapping regionalism in order to describe what they look like, analyse how they articulate with one another, and explain why member states have pushed for such a messy outcome. This situation, linked to the evolution of the global context, might be indicating that regionalism in Latin America has reached its peak, beyond which it may be difficult to achieve further progress. Two conclusions are elicited: first, economic integration is becoming a geographically diffused phenomenon rather than a regional one; second, regionalism is still a compelling foreign policy but its causes, goals and outcomes are no longer what they used to be.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America*

**Cintra Rodrigo**

**Leadership brasiliana e integrazione economica in America Latina**

**in Ventunesimo Secolo. Rivista di Studi sulle Transizioni**, Anno XI, n. 27, "L'America Latina dopo la guerra fredda (1989-2009)", febbraio

Brazil has asserted itself within the international community as an emerging power. However, its internal structures and international operations do not clearly define the path the country should take in terms of its international development. The objective of this essay is to discuss Brazil's performance in Latin America, especially with regard to its economic activities. The essay discusses certain elements of foreign policy since the democratization of the country, on both an internal and external basis, seeking to identify patterns of activity in terms of external economic policy towards Latin America.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America*

**Jean Carlo**

**Mutamenti e prospettive dell'America del Sud**

**in Affari Esteri**, Anno XLIV, numero speciale, n. 166, 150-158

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America*

**Alejandro F. Mercado & Javier Aliaga Lordemann**

**Short - Run Oil Price Drivers: South America's Energy Integration**

**in Latin American Journal of Economic Development**, No. 12, Octubre 2009

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**





*Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America*

Mercedes Isabel Botto

**¿Qué nos enseñan los 20 años del Mercosur?**

in *Nueva Sociedad*, n. 232

Twenty years since the launch of Mercosur, not only has the number of members grown, but we have also witnessed political and ideological changes in member states. If the fundamental pillar of integration was laid in a hegemonic neoliberal context, today other paths have been explored, in which the State has been given the inevitable role of development. As a result, at the 2006 summit in Córdoba the «Social and Productive Mercosur» stage was launched, which endeavours to revert the disenchantment in a process with excessive emphasis in commercial policies and with a great deal of weakness in areas like education, productive integration and environmental policies.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

GILBERT ROZMAN

**East Asian Regionalism and Sinocentrism**

in *Japanese Journal of Political Science*, Volume 13- Issue 01 , 143 – 153

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

Nakasone Yasuhiro

**20th Annual Meeting of the Asia Pacific Parliamentary Forum Welcoming Remarks**

in *Asia Pacific Review*, Volume 19, Issue 1 , 1-4

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

Leu Guanyi

**ASEAN's Preferential Trade Agreements (PTA) Strategy**

in *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs*, Vol 30, No 2

This paper provides a diversification explanation in order understand the development of PTAs in Southeast Asia. I argue that an important reason why ASEAN states participate in PTAs has been to diversify existing trade ties and to reduce overdependence on a narrow range of export markets. Southeast Asian countries have formed PTAs with markets with which they had weak or unexplored economic relations, as demonstrated by three case analyses: the ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA), the ASEAN-China Free Trade Agreement (ACFTA) and the ASEAN-Japan Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement (AJCEP). To maximise the economic gains and the diversification effects of PTA participation, ASEAN countries have pursued a strategy of strengthening economic unity while keeping external economic linkages as diversified as possible. Although East Asia, and especially China, was an important



alternative market to reduce ASEAN's dependence on trade with America, ASEAN countries have also pursued PTAs with a number of other trading partners. This paper explains how PTAs have helped ASEAN states to develop more policy autonomy in their trading environment.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

Yun Yeongmi , Park Kicheol

**An Analysis of the Multilateral Cooperation and Competition between Russia and China in the Shanghai Cooperation Organization: Issues and Prospects**

in *Pacific Focus*, Volume 27, Issue 1, April , 62-85

This article is theoretically based on the theory of neoliberalism anchored on multilateral security cooperation presented by Robert O. Keohane, John Ruggie, and James Caporaso. In this regard, the main purpose of this article is to study the movements of nations trying to secure regional supremacy based on the concept of multinationalism in Central Asia, with a focus on the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO).

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

Manmohan Agarwal and Madanmohan Ghosh

**An India–China FTA: Potential Economic Implications for the Asian and the North American Economies**

in *South Asia Economic Journal*, Vol. 12, No. 2 , 185-220

In a recent visit to India the Chinese president, Hu Jintao, proposed closer economic relations between China and India, possibly a India–China free trade area (FTA). These two economies have been experiencing rapid growth during the last couple of decades and in recent years trade between these two nations has grown spectacularly. This article analyzes the implications of a possible India–China FTA on trade flows, real output and investment both at the aggregate and industry levels in India, China, the rest of Asia, the North American and European economies using a multi-sector, multi-region dynamic computable general equilibrium (CGE) model. Our simulation results suggest that the overall economic gains to India and China would be modest. The distribution of the economic gains, however, depends on the speed of elimination of the bilateral tariffs. China gains more if the tariffs are eliminated immediately, whereas India gains more from gradual liberalization. India's exports to China could expand by almost 57 per cent, while imports from China could increase by over 240 per cent implying an increased bilateral trade deficit. Output in each sector in India would increase. Sectors such as clothing, leather, textiles and motor vehicles and parts would gain the most in India.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

ROSEMARY FOOT

**Asia's Cooperation and Governance: The Role of East Asian Regional Organizations in Regional Governance: Constraints And Contributions**

in *Japanese Journal of Political Science*, Volume 13- Issue 01 , 133 – 142

No abstract available



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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

He Dong, Liao Wei

**Asian Business Cycle Synchronization**

in *Pacific Economic Review*, Volume 17, Issue 1, February 2012 , 106-135

This paper develops a multilevel structural factor model to study international output comovement and its underlying driving forces. Our method combines a structural vector autoregression with a multilevel factor model, which helps us understand the economic meaning of the estimated factors. Using quarterly data of real GDP growth covering 9 emerging Asian economies and G-7 countries, we estimate a global supply factor, a global demand factor, and group supply and demand factors for each group of the economies. We find that although the role of the global factors has intensified over the past 15 years for most of the economies, output fluctuations in Asia have remained less synchronized with the global factor than those in the industrial countries. The Asian regional factors have become increasingly important in tightening the interdependence within the region over time. Therefore, although emerging Asian economies cannot 'decouple' completely from the advanced economies, they have, nonetheless, sustained a strong independent cycle among themselves. We also find that synchronized supply shocks contributed more to the observed synchronization in output fluctuations among the Asian economies than demand shocks. This points to the role of productivity enhancement and transmission of other supply shocks through, for example, vertical trade integration, rather than dependence on external demand, as the primary source of business cycle synchronization in emerging Asia.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

Fujiwara Ippei, Takahashi Koji

**Asian Financial Linkage: Macro-finance Dissonance**

in *Pacific Economic Review*, Volume 17, Issue 1, February 2012 , 136-159

How are Asian financial markets interlinked and how are they linked to markets in developed countries? What is the main driver of fluctuations in Asian financial markets as well as real economic activity? To answer these questions, we estimate the spillover index proposed by Diebold and Yilmaz and gauge the degree of interaction in both financial markets and real economic activity among Asian economies. We first show that the degree of the international spillover in stock markets is uniform, irrespective of the groups of countries concerned, such as the G3 and ASEAN4. This suggests the importance of global common shocks in stock markets. We then discuss the macro-finance dissonance. In stock and bond markets, the United States has been the main driver of fluctuations. However, China has emerged as an important source of fluctuations in real economic activity.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

Lai Jikon, Ravenhill John

**Asia's multi-level response to the global financial crisis**

in *Asia Europe Journal*, Volume 9, Number 2-4 March , 141-157



No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

Quayle Linda

**Bridging the gap: an 'English School' perspective on ASEAN and regional civil society**  
in *Pacific Review (The)* , Volume 25, Issue 2 , 199-222

The objective of a 'people-oriented' Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) has not readily translated into easy relations between the Association and regional civil society. Discourse inspired by global civil society has found plenty to focus on in the gap between aspiration and practice. This article argues, however, that not enough attention has been directed to the bridges that are gradually forming across that gap, and suggests that an 'English School'-derived account can give a fuller picture of what is under way in this area. From this perspective, a process of institutionalization is observable among the different actors. By tackling – consciously or unconsciously – core problems such as recognition, location of common ground, confidence-building, and burden-sharing, this process is potentially transforming the relations of a state-imposed hierarchy into something more societal. The usefulness of such an approach lies in its ability to describe a process of slow change on its own terms, to normatively validate the fragile bridges under construction, and to stake out possibilities for progress on the basis of negotiation and accommodation.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

Stolte Carolien

**Bringing Asia to the world: Indian trade unionism and the long road towards the Asiatic Labour Congress, 1919–37**

in *Journal of Global History* , Volume 7 - Issue 02 - July , 257-278

This article considers Asianism in the Indian trade union movement, against the backdrop of increasing international cooperation between Asian trade union movements in the interwar period, which culminated in the short-lived Asiatic Labour Congress (1934–37). It demonstrates how Asianist enthusiasm both propelled and hampered Indian workers' representation at the International Labour Organization and other international bodies. Finally, it considers Asianism as a crucial characteristic of Indian trade unionism in the interwar period, by showing how the All-India Trade Union Congress, once the hope of Indian labour as an organized force, split into rival federations over the issue of its Asian affiliations.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

Tiewa Liu

**China and Responsibility to Protect: Maintenance and Change of Its Policy for Intervention**  
in *Pacific Review (The)* , Volume 25, Issue 1 , 153-173

This article tries to analyze Chinese policy stance on the Responsibility to Protect (RtoP) concept from two levels: its basic attitude towards the core principles of this concept and its specific attitudes towards the execution of this concept,



that is, the international intervention actions. Starting from the clarification of the RtoP concept, the article analyzes the maintenance and change of China's stance on state sovereign and non-interference principle. In the third part, four features of Chinese specific attitudes on intervention actions are abstracted, including cautiousness, aversion of military means, emphasis of UN authority and local support. Then the article further examines China's policy during the Libyan war, and finds that it basically follows the above framework.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

Naarajärvi Teemu

**China, Russia and the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation: blessing or curse for new regionalism in Central Asia?**

**in Asia Europe Journal**, Volume 10, Numbers 2-3 / July , 113-126

This paper discusses China and Russia and the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO), a Eurasian regional organisation established in 2001 and consisting of China, Russia and the four Central Asian republics of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan. I argue that while the two largest members of the SCO are essential to the organisation, they at the same time prevent the SCO from becoming a more comprehensive regional organisation. Moreover, the actions and presence of China and Russia in Central Asia, together with inherently inauspicious characteristics of the region when compared to the post-Cold War new regionalist thinking, hinder the overall regionalisation in the area. However, regionalisation, hopefully in time leading to greater regional cooperation in Central Asia, is very much in the interests of Europe and the European Union (EU) as a potential peaceful way forward in the development of the region.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

Chan Gerald

**China's response to the global financial crisis and its regional leadership in East Asia**

**in Asia Europe Journal**, Volume 9, Number 2-4 March , 197-209

This paper examines the role of China in the G20 and in East Asia in crafting appropriate responses and policies to the global financial crisis. Did China play an important part in the multilateralisation of the Chiang Mai Initiative, and how did China work with other players in East Asia to 'inoculate' East Asia against contagion and fallout from the crisis? The paper evaluates the type of leadership displayed by China and the decisions taken during the crisis. It assesses how the Chinese role in its own region and within global institutions such as the G20 would change in the aftermath of these crises.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

Wirajuda Hassan

**Democracy and diplomacy: Hassan Wirajuda comments on Indonesia's leadership in the promotion of democracy in ASEAN and the Asia-Pacific region**



in *New Zealand International Review*, March 2012

The New Order government of President Suharto achieved a high rate of economic growth, earning Indonesia respect as one of the Asian Tigers. But this result came at a price--restrictions on political freedom and the rights of people. When economic conditions plunged into recession in the late 1990s, a disillusioned and enraged population ousted Suharto. Since then Indonesia's governments have focused on democratisation, upholding the rule of law, decentralisation of the government structure and economic recovery. Indonesia has been successfully transformed from an authoritarian regime into a full-fledged democracy. It now takes the lead in promoting democracy in ASEAN and the wider region.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

Sen Amartya, Drèze Jean

**Der indische Wachstumsrausch**

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, Mai, 2012 , 76-89

Geht es Indien heute erstaunlich gut oder ist dieses Land dabei, auf der ganzen Linie zu scheitern? Welche Antwort man auf diese Frage bekommt, hängt ganz davon ab, mit wem man spricht. Bei einer – allerdings ziemlich großen – Minderheit, nämlich bei Indern, denen es sehr gut geht (und in den vor allem für diese Leute bestimmten Medien), ist eine Erzählung sehr beliebt, die ungefähr so klingt: „Nach jahrzehntelanger Mittelmäßigkeit und Stagnation unter dem ‚Nehru-Sozialismus‘ konnte die indische Wirtschaft in den letzten beiden Dekaden einen spektakulären Aufschwung nehmen.“

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

Inayatullah Sohail

**Global trends and Asia 2060**

in *Futures*, Volume 44, Issue 2, March , 189–191

Will Asia lead the world in green technologies and in the political–economic transition to sustainability? Can Asia bury past conflicts and create stronger regional institutions including perhaps, step by step, an Asian Union? In what ways could Asia's traditional cultures – Islamic, Tantric, Taoist, Confucian, Buddhist and Vedic – be resources in inventing an alternative more hybrid cultures?

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

Chandramoha Balaji

**India and New Zealand: strengthening ties: Balaji Chandramohan provides an Indian perspective on Indo-New Zealand relations in the 21st century**

in *New Zealand International Review*, January 2012

New Zealand Prime Minister John Key's three-day state visit to India in June 2011 sealed long-lasting relations between





two geographically separated countries that are finding their interests converging in the 21st century. The state visit accorded to New Zealand's prime minister underscores the importance of the relationship. The two countries have shared values in democracy and a vital interest in the continuance of an overall stable political and economic architecture of the Asia-Pacific region in the 21st century.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

Alexandra Lina

**Indonesia and the Responsibility to Protect**

*in Pacific Review (The)* , Volume 25, Issue 1 , 51-74

While governments in Southeast Asia, together with other countries in the world, have shown their unanimous support toward the RtoP, the implementation of such principle needs more than just states' commitment. Since state actor, in many cases, is the perpetrator of crimes included in RtoP, the role of civil society is indeed crucial to put pressure toward the government to fulfill its responsibility to protect its populations. This article aims to describe Indonesia's position so far in responding to this RtoP principle. It tries not to cover only the government's position, but instead to also delineate the civil society's standpoint, which is an important element particularly, to provide a more comprehensive overview. As based on the latest elaboration of RtoP within the UN Outcome Document (2005) into three strategic pillars, it is interesting to observe whether both sides, the government and civil society are comfortable to recognise all pillars altogether or rather incline to take one or two pillars only. Nevertheless, robust development of civil society in Indonesia, as one of positive implications from process toward democracy has opened ample opportunities for the application of RtoP principle. Local NGOs that particularly focus on human rights issue have demonstrated the ability to put pressure on the government to exercise its responsibility as reflected in the first and second pillars. Since the government has stressed upon the importance of prevention to implement RtoP principle, the involvement of civil society is a must, particularly to carry out the role of early-warning to prevent the outbreak of mass atrocities that fall within the scope of RtoP, which can become another worthy discussion to elaborate. Finally, RtoP is all about implementation. Genuine political will from the government would be needed while partnership with the civil society element is nothing but important.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

Muhibat Shafiah F.

**Indonesien - eine aufsteigende Regionalmacht?**

*in Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 11-12, 2012

Auf regionaler und globaler Ebene gewinnt Indonesien zunehmend an Einfluss. Trotz seiner internationalen Ambitionen und diplomatischen Erfolge stehen die Fortschritte des Landes jedoch innenpolitisch auf wackligen Füßen.

The full text is free:

<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/75762/indonesien-eine-aufsteigende-regionalmacht>

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**



*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

Pekkanen Saadia

**Investment regionalism in Asia: new directions in law and policy?**

in *World Trade Review*, Volume 11 - Issue 01 - gennaio 2012 , 119 - 154

Although Asian regionalism has commanded much attention from academics and policymakers, it has largely been restricted to the trade and financial realms. This paper focuses specifically on the scope and limits of 'investment regionalism' involving Asia. A combination of regional foreign direct investment (FDI) stakes and international socialization patterns has led Asian actors to mark investments as a key issue in their regionalism strategy overall. As elsewhere, they too have moved toward a mode of governance favoring the formal legalization of investments in terms of the precision, obligation, and delegation of rules. Already the endeavors of both the middle and dominant economies in the region have shifted from just concluding Bilateral Investment Treaties (BITs) and investment-related chapters in Free Trade Agreements (FTAs) to designing region-wide investment agreements and initiatives by-and-for Asian countries. Although the legal effectiveness of this rule-making change will play out in the long run in and across Asian societies, the more immediate policy implication relates to its potential impact on the evolution of Asian regionalism as a whole.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

Honna Jun

**Japan and the Responsibility to Protect: coping with human security diplomacy**

in *Pacific Review (The)* , Volume 25, Issue 1 , 95-112

As the second largest contributor to the UN budget, Japan is expected to play a role in implementing the Responsibility to Protect (R2P). Why has Japan been unenthusiastic about actively engaging in the R2P discourse? What is the impact, both domestic and international, of incorporating R2P in its diplomatic agenda? In examining these questions, we first identify different perceptions about R2P among policy-makers and civil society in Japan. We then analyze the post-Cold War politics of diplomatic initiatives concerning Japan's human security doctrine. Third, we assess opportunities (and limitations) of synchronizing R2P with Japanese diplomatic agendas. Throughout the article, we argue that rather than distancing itself from R2P, as typically seen in official statements, actively embracing R2P may provide greater benefits for Japan both in terms of enhancing its diplomatic influence and mobilizing domestic political support.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

Martínez Álvarez César B. ,Garza Elizondo Humberto

**La asociación estratégica entre Rusia y China de 2000 a 2011: afirmación de la multipolaridad, seguridad regional y cooperación económica**

in *Foro Internacional*, VOLUMEN LI - NÚMERO 4

Between 2000 and 2011, Russia and China bolstered their strategic partnership. Their principal motive is a shared lack



of trust in the United States, since Washington's global strategy has fostered a growing sense of being under threat from both countries. Political convergence (on a bilateral level and in international organizations, especially the UN) and military collaboration have been the two most important manifestations of this reinforcement of China-Russia links. To this may be added cooperation on regional security matters (in Central Asia and the Pacific Rim countries) and the notable increase in trade and financial transactions between the two nations.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

**Aleksandr G. Dugin**

**Nasce l'Unione Eurasiatica**

**in Eurasia Rivista di studi geopolitici** , XXV (1, 2012)

L'Unione Eurasiatica voluta da Vladimir Putin non è soltanto un'iniziativa economica, anche se il presidente insiste sull'economia. In realtà essa nasce da una visione che fa riferimento a tre principi fondamentali: il primo è quello della costruzione di un mondo multipolare, il secondo è quello dell'integrazione dello spazio postsovietico, il terzo è rappresentato da un modello ispirato nostra specifica via di sviluppo. L'adozione della prospettiva eurasiatista comporterà, in alternativa al modello liberale di modernizzazione, l'edificazione di una potenza eurasiatica fornita di sue peculiarità sociali e di suoi specifici principi e valori.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

**Wirth Christian**

**Ocean governance, maritime security and the consequences of modernity in Northeast Asia**

**in Pacific Review (The)** , Volume 25, Issue 2 , 223-245

High economic growth rates, the revolution in telecommunications and the end of the Cold War have brought about rapid and profound changes to the domestic as well as regional environments of Northeast Asian governments. The maritime sphere, where increasingly militarized state boundaries delineate political authority and economic activities link increasingly interdependent communities therein, bears high significance for the study of regional cooperation. This paper looks at how the maritime sphere of Northeast Asia is represented in common political and academic discourses of international relations. It finds that maritime affairs are firmly cast in the language of national security, and that empirical evidence against perceived threats and related security imperatives is often neglected if not completely ignored. The paper argues that the maritime space, due to its special character, has become the stage on which the consequences of modernity appear particularly strong. The relentless quest to develop and control the ocean clashes with the notion of the sea as a space of global trade and communication flow. At the same time, the ocean as an entity itself is excluded from the discourse because it is irreconcilable with the conception of the international system of sovereign territorial units. As a result, the maritime sphere is seen as a dividing element between nations rather than a connecting element, and salient environmental problems of the maritime space remain low on political and academic agendas. This is also a consequence of mainstream methods of political science that continue to reproduce discourses of territorial division and fail to offer alternative approaches suitable for the study of contemporary Northeast Asia.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

Tovar Jalles João

**Openness, Regional Trade Agreements and Growth: Evidence from Asia**

**in Asian Economic Journal**, Volume 26, Issue 1, March 2012 , 63-85

This paper assesses the relationship between regional trade agreements, trade integration and economic growth in 21 South and South-East Asian countries over the period from 1980 to 2004. We aim to answer the following questions. First, how does the trade policy of a given country (and countries within the same region) affect a nation's domestic growth? Second, should developing economies in South and South-East Asia engage in regional trade agreements (RTA) or move towards broad liberalization? Our results show that openness of either a single country or of its neighbors does not affect a nation's growth and that the impacts of RTA are unclear (if not detrimental to growth in some cases, once endogeneity is accounted for). Panel Granger-causality tests running from openness to growth yield mixed results and some conclusions depend on the particular subsample under scrutiny.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

Lorena Di Placido

**Organizzazioni post sovietiche e limiti della cooperazione regionale a guida russa**

**in CeMiSS - Osservatorio Strategico e Quarterly**, Anno XIV numero 4 aprile , 73-78

Il 6 aprile si sono svolti ad Astana i vertici della Comunità di Stati Indipendenti (CSI) e dell'Organizzazione del Trattato di Sicurezza Collettiva (CSTO), strutture sostanzialmente eredi degli sforzi unitari allora prodotti dall'URSS e ora raccolti dalla Russia, per tenere insieme quanto emerso dalla disgregazione dell'Unione Sovietica. Alla altalenante capacità di Mosca di mantenere buone relazioni con l'ex periferia dell'impero si associano tuttavia scelte di partenariato contrarie a tale aspirazione.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

Sung-Hoon Park

**Quest for a stronger regional leadership and an upgraded global profile**

**in Asia Europe Journal**, Volume 9, Number 2-4 March , 225-236

The Korean economy has suffered two major economic crises over the past 15 years — the 1997 Asian financial crisis and the 2008 global financial crisis. After analyzing both the changes in policy environments and Korea's policy responses, the article argues that the ongoing global financial crisis provided a welcomed opportunity for Korea to increase its regional and global influence. Korea's regional leadership has been strengthened especially in promoting



the “development” issue in a number of international forums and in establishing a more effective crisis-prevention framework in the Asian region. As the host country of the 5th G20 Summit Meeting in 2010, Korea initiated a number of global issues, such as “development”, “global financial safety net”, “green growth strategy”, and has been successful in fortifying its position in the global arena. As a result, the global profile of Korea appears to have been raised both substantially and substantively.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

**Kim Soyoung, Lee Jong-Wha**

**Real and Financial Integration in East Asia**

**in Review of International Economics**, Volume 20, Issue 2, May 2012 , 322-349

This paper examines the real and financial integration of East Asian economies, by comparing the degree of real vs financial and global vs regional integration, before vs after the Asian crisis. First, price and quantity measures such as the size of intra- and inter-regional trade, cross-border financial assets, stock return correlation, and interest rate differentials are investigated. Second, the structural panel vector autoregression (VAR) model is constructed to analyze macroeconomic consequences of real and financial integration such as cross-country output and consumption relation. The results suggest that (i) the degree of real integration significantly increased after the crisis, both regionally and globally; (iii) quantity and price measures showed an increased financial integration after the crisis, but the consumption relation did not; (iv) the degree of regional financial integration is smaller than that of global financial integration, based on the consumption relation; and (v) financial integration lags real integration, especially for regional integration.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

**Dosch Joern**

**Reconciling Trade and Environmental Protection in ASEAN-China Relations: More than Political Window Dressing?**

**in Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs**, Vol 30, No 2

Has the growing pro-environment rhetoric in ASEAN-China relations resulted in the effective mainstreaming of environmental issue into trade agreements and multilateral cooperation frameworks? The article discusses the cases of the ASEAN China Free Trade Area (ACFTA) and the Greater Mekong Subregion (GMS) and argues that there is no shortage of national and regional policy agendas that visibly link trade growth and environmental considerations. However, this nexus is still a weak one in terms of implementation and effectiveness. The most promising initiatives towards an effective reconciliation of trade growth and environmental sustainability are promoted and often driven by foreign donors, most prominently the European Union (EU).

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

**Jo Sam-Sang**



**Region-building and critical juncture: Europe and Northeast Asia in comparative perspective**

in *Asia Europe Journal*, Volume 10, Number 1 / May , 1-20

China, Japan, and Korea have begun to engage one another vigorously since the 1997 crisis. As intraregional economic ties have further deepened and broadened, interconnectedness in cultural and political aspects has risen rapidly in a variety of forms. Decision-makers and intellectuals in China, Japan, and Korea have been floating ideas and interests for establishing various types of Northeast Asian community formation. New security dialogues and co-operation frameworks also emerge. Accordingly, the rapidly growing Northeast Asia is likely to emerge as an identifiable regional community. With the incipient emergence of regional community in Northeast Asia, Northeast Asian region-building becomes a salient issue of major academic and policy debates. Yet, in spite of the recent mushrooming of research in and attention to the region-building, the questions regarding within what surrounding and under what situation regional community can be built, as well as what motivates people to choose region-building, and when and how state system can be transformed into a regional community remains only partly resolved. In order to solve this puzzle, this paper will compare the current Northeast Asian region-building with the early stage of European region-building, arguing that while there are important differences in evolution, format, and kind of region-building in Europe and Northeast Asia, critical juncture is influential in region-building.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

Ram Upendra Das, C.M. Vasudev, and Madhukar Gupta

**Regional Integration and Cooperation in Asia—An Indian Perspective**

in *Global Journal of Emerging Market Economies*, volume 4 n.1 , 373-394

Regional cooperation and regional integration are terms that are often used synonymously, although they differ in important respects. Regional cooperation most often encompasses policies and agreements relating to matters such as preferential or free trade agreements entailing the removal of trade barriers for trade in goods; Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs)/Comprehensive Economic Cooperation Agreements (CECAs) covering market access in trade and services besides trade in goods, as also cooperation for investment promotion and protection; among others. Regional integration on the other hand may mean deeper forms of cooperation that could include an alignment of customs regimes; the coordination in macroeconomic policies; a freer movement of factors of production like labor and capital; cross border connectivity, communications and energy related linkages; a common central bank. This article presents an overview of the Asian region and how some of the key features of Asia have influenced the Indian perspective on regional integration and cooperation. It elaborates upon some of the major drivers of current and future integration processes in Asia, as well as the dynamics and interplay of various factors and forces that may point towards the potential for Asian integration.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

Jaseem Ahmed, V. Sundararajan

**Regional Integration of Capital Markets in ASEAN Recent Developments, Issues, and Strategies (with Special Reference to Equity Markets)**

in *Global Journal of Emerging Market Economies*, volume 1 n.1 , 87-122





Efforts to promote regional economic cooperation and integration in South-East Asia and particularly in the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) countries, have received greatly increased emphasis in official circles since the Asian crisis of 1997–98. South-East Asian financial integration with the world is well advanced by various measures; but they appear to have become more integrated with countries outside the region than within the region. Regional integration of private capital markets have shown limited progress. This was caused by several factors, including: (i) the large differences in the levels of market development; (ii) the lack of convergence of regulations and rules governing markets; (iii) differences in the extent to which the measures, to enable and benefit from greater regional integration, are incorporated into their national development plans; (iv) prevalence of exchange restrictions and intra-regional exchange stability considerations that hinder integration; and finally (v) the missing markets, in derivatives or in key regionally-focused products, hinder both domestic market development and regional integration. These considerations call for a comprehensive strategy which includes liberalising capital account and portfolio restrictions, implementing a process of mutual recognition of various cross-border transactions in products and services, supported by harmonisation of relevant rules and regulations. This also includes strengthening and coordinating exchange governance and market surveillance arrangements, initiating work on an 'ASEAN Equity Network' to link equity markets. This facilitates implementation of the ongoing bond market integration initiatives, promoting new products and intermediaries to develop ASEAN as an asset class. It refines plans for domestic capital markets development to incorporate regional integration objectives and establishes stronger coordination arrangements at the ASEAN level to support the initiatives in the above areas.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

Hamilton-Hart Natasha

**Regional and multi-level governance: East Asian leadership after the global financial crisis**  
in *Asia Europe Journal*, Volume 9, Number 2-4 March , 237-254

Although the economies of East Asia emerged from the global financial crisis of 2008 in comparatively strong positions, they remain structurally embedded within global markets. The degree of regional integration that has occurred within East Asia is thus predicated on the on-going interdependence with the economies of Europe and North America. Moves to advance East Asian regional cooperation in the wake of the crisis reflect this global interdependence, as well as intra-regional differences in interests and a lack of strong leadership within the region. Modest cooperation on an East Asian basis has continued since 2008 but the region is very far from realising a substantive regional governance model on economic and financial issues and does not appear to be pursuing a distinctive governance agenda. This article examines recent developments in East Asian regional cooperation, with a view to assessing the significance of current achievements and explaining the mixed and sometimes contradictory nature of initiatives for regional governance in East Asia.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

Gilson Julie

**Regional leadership—Japanese style: Japan through the crisis**  
in *Asia Europe Journal*, Volume 9, Number 2-4 March , 211-223

The Japanese government faces many competing challenges as it seeks to balance its multilateral and bilateral



relationships within and beyond the region: whilst addressing its rapidly changing contentious domestic politics, there is pressure for it to realign relations with the USA, manage the rise of China, strengthen links with its region and continue to deal with its lingering historical legacy. All of these demands are now set against the backdrop of a so-called 'lost decade' of economic woes and global economic recession. This article demonstrates how the Japanese government is apparently adopting a de facto multilevel foreign policy, attempting to engage in a range of bilateral and collective initiatives simultaneously and to assume a regional leadership role whilst having to manage difficult bilateral relations, notably with the USA and China.

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### **Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

David Camroux

#### **Regionalism in Asia as Disguised Multilateralism: A Critical Analysis of the East Asia Summit and the Trans-Pacific Partnership**

*in International Spectator (The)*, Vol. 47, No. 1, March

Revolving around the concept of 'Community' or 'community', debate on an Asian region has ostensibly pitted those who proposed an entity limited to East Asia (China, Japan, South Korea and the ten countries of the Association of South East Asian Nations, ASEAN) against those who proposed a much wider region embracing India, North (and, perhaps, South) America, as well as Australasia. Previously these two conceptualisations possessed their eponymous translation in the East Asian Economic Caucus (reincarnated as ASEANþ3) and the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation forum. However, with the creation in 2005 of the East Asian Summit to include India, Australia and New Zealand and, above all, its 2011 enlargement to include the United States and Russia, the contrast between the two conceptualisations of an Asian region has become confused. In order to explain this development, this article suggests that the language of 'region' or 'community' is a discursive smokescreen disguising changes in approaches to multilateralism. An examination of the East Asia Summit, contrasting it with another recent regional project, the Trans Pacific Partnership, suggests that the actors involved are seeking to ensure the primacy of individual nation states in intergovernmental multilateral relations.

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### **Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

Krafta Herman

#### **RtoP by increments: the AICHR and localizing the Responsibility to Protect in Southeast Asia**

*in Pacific Review (The)*, Volume 25, Issue 1, 27-49

The inclusion of the three paragraphs in the Outcome Document of the 2005 World Summit that make reference to the obligations of the state and the international community under the principle of the Responsibility to Protect (RtoP) has effectively raised a challenge to the traditional understanding of the principle of sovereignty in international relations. More importantly, their inclusion in the Outcome Document has effectively committed its signatories to RtoP as briefly outlined in the Document. The question, however, is whether or not states will hold themselves to this commitment? Among the member-states of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), the commitment to RtoP under the Outcome Document is clearly at odds with the oft-emphasized commitment to the principle of non-interference that the members of the Association have long identified with. The establishment of new institutional forms, mechanisms, and



blueprints within ASEAN, however, create opportunities for introducing emergent norms into the region. The ASEAN Inter-governmental Commission on Human Rights (AICHR) is representative of these new institutional forms. It is the immediate manifestation of the ASEAN declaration of support for the promotion and protection of human rights in the region. Though criticized as “lacking in teeth” especially on the provisions that have to do with the protection of human rights, the AICHR's mandated functions are very generally ambiguous in the way they are presented in its Terms of Reference. These “ambiguities” arguably open up the interpretation of its functions to a more liberal perspective, more so in terms of opening the envelope on the protective functions of the AICHR. In the same context, the same ambiguities in the TOR of the AICHR may be utilized as entrypoints for introducing elements of RtoP into the region. It also illustrates the need to consider a strategy of incremental localization in pushing the normalization of RtoP in Southeast Asia.

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### **Section C) Regional integration processes**

#### *Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

Kraisoraphong Keokam

#### **Thailand and the Responsibility to Protect**

*in Pacific Review (The)* , Volume 25, Issue 1 , 1-25

The paper reviews Thailand's position on RtoP through in-depth interviews with those currently working most closely with RtoP-related issues within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the National Human Rights Commission, the Armed Forces and NGOs. The interview results reveal that Thailand's position on RtoP is mixed. While the country is willing to support the international community implementing RtoP through UN humanitarian operations, it is inclined not to define any of its own internal security problems as an RtoP-type situation. The paper highlights the challenges posed by separatist insurgents in Southern Thailand, and the recent violent political confrontation during April and May 2010, two internal security cases viewed by some observers as RtoP-type situations. But from Thailand's perspectives, almost all those interviewed insist that these situations are matters of internal security affairs. In addition, the preventive dimension of RtoP has not received much attention and has rather been challenged as to how such measures for the prevention of RtoP crimes differ from those more broadly undertaken to achieve the same goals as RtoP, but are not being called as such. Therefore, given the present context, Thailand's position on RtoP will unlikely change for the better if RtoP continues to be advocated as a concept in its current state.

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### **Section C) Regional integration processes**

#### *Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

Sukma Rizal

#### **The ASEAN political and security community (APSC): opportunities and constraints for the R2P in Southeast Asia**

*in Pacific Review (The)* , Volume 25, Issue 1 , 135-152

Members of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) took part in the World Summit 2005 and agreed to adopt the principle of Responsibility to Protect (R2P). However, there has not been any significant effort to discuss how the R2P might be applicable to the region and the issue remains a marginal one to ASEAN. However, the adoption of the ASEAN Political-Security Community (APSC) by ASEAN could provide a logical start for the maintraming of R2P in ASEAN's discourse and practice. Some elements of the APSC appear to have characteristics in common with the R2P principle. While the APSC may provide broad and indirect support for building the capacity of States to recognise,



prevent and respond to the situations of conflict, its immediate utility for preventing the four crimes of genocide, ethnic cleansing, war crimes and crimes against humanity nonetheless remains to be seen.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

Davies Mathew

**The Perils of Incoherence: ASEAN, Myanmar and the Avoidable Failures of Human Rights Socialization?**  
in *Contemporary Southeast Asia: A Journal of International and Strategic Affairs*, Volume 34, Number 1, April , 1-22

Explanations for ASEAN's inability to more successfully influence Myanmar over the last decade have shifted from accusations that the organization does nothing to live up to its on-paper commitments to the belief that what it does is wholly ineffective. The reasons for this ineffectiveness are found in the normative and institutional architecture of ASEAN, specifically its lack of punitive sanction-based compliance mechanisms. Through focusing on ASEAN's use of public pronouncements to express interests and desires, this article takes issue with such assertions. Specifically, ASEAN has been engaged in a strategy of rhetorical action to promote compliance with regional standards. To date it has been unsuccessful in that attempt not because of a lack of courts and commissions, but because it has been incoherent in its political strategy. At crucial moments ASEAN and its members remained more concerned with creating a unified position against external pressure than on developing a single policy towards Myanmar. This reaction fatally undermined the ability of ASEAN to influence Myanmar as it ensures the regime the continued external political cover from pressure that animated its desire to join ASEAN in 1997. This article suggests that correcting this shortcoming through the development of greater coherence is achievable within the existing ASEAN approach to managing regional affairs.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

Donghyun Park, Innwon Park, Gemma Esther B. Estrada

**The Prospects of ASEAN-Korea Free Trade Area (AKFTA): A Qualitative and Quantitative Analysis**  
in *ASEAN Economic Bulletin*, volume 29 n.1 , 29-45

The current global economic crisis has alerted East Asian countries to the risks of excessive dependence on exports to the United States and EU. This shared sense of vulnerability is likely to promote regional economic integration. In particular, intra-regional trade is now viewed as a new potential engine of growth. The ASEAN-Korea Free Trade Area (AKFTA) is a concrete example of this general trend. This paper qualitatively and quantitatively examines the economic feasibility and desirability of AKFTA — qualitatively using the theory of economic integration and quantitatively by applying a CGE model. Our analysis provides some grounds for optimism about AKFTA's prospects.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

Capie David

**The Responsibility to Protect Norm in Southeast Asia: Framing, Resistance and the Localization Myth**  
in *Pacific Review (The)* , Volume 25, Issue 1 , 75-93



There is growing interest among scholars and advocates in the way that the nascent norm of the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) is diffusing at the regional level. This article critically explores the spread of R2P in Southeast Asia against the backdrop of recent scholarship on norm localization. It argues that, contrary to some recent analyses, the R2P norm has not been localized in Southeast Asia. Constitutive localization requires the active borrowing of transnational norms by local or regional actors who build congruence with local practices. Although some regional states have used the language of 'sovereignty as responsibility' there are few signs that local actors are driving the reception of the norm in the region, nor have they institutionalized it. Rather, outsider proponents are the primary advocates and the norm lacks a champion or well-connected 'insider' proponent among regional governments or civil society groups. Second, despite an energetic campaign by advocates, emphasizing consensual and capacity-building activities, many governments are still wary of R2P as a potential threat to sovereignty and regime security. As a result, regional states have taken an 'à la carte' approach to R2P, accepting aspects of the R2P agenda that they find least threatening or that support their national interests, while ignoring or quietly resisting those they find challenging. Rather than localization, what we are seeing with respect to R2P in Southeast Asia is a dramatic change in the way outsiders are reframing the norm.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

**Caballero-Anthony Mely**

**The Responsibility to Protect in Southeast Asia: opening up spaces for advancing human security in *Pacific Review (The)* , Volume 25, Issue 1 , 113-134**

At the 2005 World Summit, ASEAN Member States contributed to an official global consensus that states do indeed have a responsibility to protect their populations from the four mass atrocity crimes of genocide, ethnic cleansing, war crimes, and crimes against humanity. As is the case in a number of regions, however, there is a strong sense of caution - if not hostility - in Southeast Asia (and East Asia more broadly) towards the Responsibility to Protect's provision for military interventions as a last resort, in order to protect populations from such harm. Furthermore, there is an accompanying, more general ambivalence towards the perceived relevance of the norm for Southeast Asia, due to the perceived nature and/or intensity of conflicts in the region. Against this backdrop, this article attempts to shed light on a sub-altern discourse in the region that argues that the RtoP is not only relevant, but that it is critical it be operationalised in light of the various manifestations of conflict that plague the region.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

**Chachavalpongpun Pavin**

**The Vexing Strategic Tug-of-War over Naypyidaw: ASEAN's View of the Sino-Burmese Ties in *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs*, Vol 31, No 1**

This article argues that ASEAN's policy toward Myanmar has been predominantly responsive, dictated by China's activism in the region. It posits three arguments: First, that the release of political prisoners, including Aung San Suu Kyi, may have been a tactical move to convince ASEAN to award it the 2014 chairmanship and thereby consolidate the legitimacy of the current regime; second, that Thein Sein's suspension of the Myitsone Dam was a strategic move intended to please both domestic and ASEAN constituencies; and third, that Myanmar's chairmanship of ASEAN in 2014 will help justify the organisation's past approach to Burma as well as accelerate the process of community-building. The paper argues that in spite of the growing interconnectedness between ASEAN and China, ASEAN is locked in a





strategic tug-of-war with China over Myanmar. Myanmar has, on multiple occasions, played upon ASEAN's suspicion of China by playing the "China card," as I term it, forcing ASEAN to continually legitimise it through public statements.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

Claudio Mutti

**Verso l'Unione Eurasiatica**

in *Eurasia Rivista di studi geopolitici* , XXV (1, 2012)

Il 1 gennaio 2012 è entrato ufficialmente in vigore l'accordo siglato da Russia, Bielorussia e Kazakhstan per l'istituzione di un'unione doganale preliminare all'unificazione dell'economia delle tre repubbliche. La neonata Unione Eurasiatica, finalizzata a restaurare gran parte dell'unità geopolitica disgregatasi col crollo dell'URSS, è destinata a svolgere un ruolo di efficace connessione tra l'Europa e l'Estremo Oriente. Questa rivista di studi geopolitici, che non intende esaurire la propria ragion d'essere in un ozioso esercizio di analisi ispirato ad un'equivoca neutralità, dedica perciò il primo numero della sua nuova serie ad un evento che ben corrisponde all'obiettivo ideale espresso dal titolo stesso di "Eurasia".

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

Stefan Rother

**Wendt meets East: ASEAN cultures of conflict and cooperation**

in *Cooperation and Conflict*, March; 47 (1) , 49-67

The major theories of International Relations (IRT) differ significantly as far as their concepts of conflict and cooperation are concerned. However, they share one common denominator: They are deeply rooted in Western experiences and intellectual history. Recently, a growing literature on the possibilities and benefits of a non-Western IRT has emerged. This article proposes a 'via media': a theoretical approach that can be applied to Western and non-Western IR alike, taking into consideration the specific historical, ideational and cultural contexts. Based on social constructivism as developed by Alexander Wendt, it is argued that the existence of a collective identity among states in a given region can manifest itself in distinctive logics or cultures of anarchy. These are based on norms of conflict or cooperation that can be established through interaction, can be proposed by outside agents and localized, or can be affected by the re-negotiation of state identity caused by domestic events. In addition, there are cultural path dependencies: norms rooted in the cultural memory or consciousness of a region which tend to be ignored by interpretations that merely focus on current events or established Western models of cooperation. Area studies can contribute to provide this context.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

Kim Min-hyung

**Why Does A Small Power Lead? ASEAN Leadership in Asia-Pacific Regionalism**

in *Pacific Focus*, Volume 27, Issue 1, April , 111-134

Asia-Pacific regionalism is quite different from its counterparts in other regions of the world. Most notably, it displays an extremely low level of institutionalization and is led by a small/weak power (i.e., ASEAN), rather than major powers in





the region. ASEAN leadership stressing dialogue and consensus without enforcement mechanisms inevitably produces weak regional institutions that are ineffective in resolving region-wide security and economic problems. Contending that the main source of the small power-driven (i.e., ASEAN-led) Asia–Pacific regionalism is the influence rivalry and leadership competition among the three major powers (the USA, China, and Japan) in the region, this article seeks to articulate the conditions under which the weak power of ASEAN takes the lead in the process of regional security and economic cooperation.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

**Bartłomiej Kaminski, Matin Kholmatov, Saumya Mitra, and Gaël Raballand**

**“Asiaregio” An Institutional Model to Deepen Integration in Central Asia’s Border Regions**  
in *Global Journal of Emerging Market Economies*, volume 2 n.3 , 347-360

Despite the high level of movement of people and goods among Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan, laws governing cross-border movements neither accord preferential treatment to residents of bordering regions nor provide institutional structures that would foster cross-border cooperation. Such laws constitute barriers to deepening cross-border cooperation. Moreover, decisions concerning cross-border movements of people, goods, and services are controlled by central governments: local governments cannot act on their own to cooperate with foreign entities. Consequently, and given the various degrees of decentralization in decision-making, local trans-border initiatives face serious administrative barriers. This article argues that there is the large potential for growth that lies untapped due to the obstacles to cross-border development activities and proposes adapting the institutional concept of regional cooperation between bordering regions in neighboring countries, modeled after Euroregions, to countries in Central Asian. Their advantage would lie in establishing structures for cooperation in areas ranging from commerce to culture, environment, tourism, and education.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

**Hachez Nicolas, Wouters Jan**

**responsible lender? The European Investment Bank’s environmental, social and human rights accountability**  
in *Common Market Law Review*, vol. 49, issue 1 , 47-95

**ABSTRACT:** This article examines the principles of accountability applied by the European Investment Bank in comparison with the practices of other Multilateral Lending Institutions. After a brief description of the EIB and its activities, the substantive and procedural principles governing the EIB's external accountability are reviewed. The substantive accountability principles considered are the applicable rules of the EU legal order and the voluntary human rights, social and environmental principles and standards which the EIB has identified for itself and committed to follow throughout its operations. The article evaluates the extent to which these norms form a credible normative framework against which the EIB's lending practices can be appraised. From a procedural accountability point of view, the article assesses the transparency and participation policies of the EIB, as well as the mechanisms offered to external stakeholders to seek redress from the EIB in case they are wronged by one of its decisions. The redress mechanisms analysed are the recent EIB's Complaints Office, the European Ombudsman and the Court of Justice. We conclude that the EIB should take more advantage of its being subjected to the EU human rights, social and environmental rules and of the EU judicial apparatus in order to upgrade its substantive and procedural accountability towards external



stakeholders.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

**Cooper Ian**

**'Virtual Third Chamber' for the European Union? National Parliaments after the Treaty of Lisbon in West European Politics**, vol. 35, n. 3 , 441-465

ABSTRACT: The Treaty of Lisbon introduces an early warning mechanism (EWM) which empowers national parliaments to intervene directly at the EU level; they may now raise objections to – and even play a role in blocking – EU legislation. The EWM represents a new model of parliamentary involvement in international relations: national parliaments now constitute a virtual third chamber for the EU. Though they do not meet together in the same physical space, national parliaments collectively form a body that can, at least to some degree, perform three key parliamentary functions – legislation, representation, and deliberation. First, it gives national parliaments the power to influence legislative outcomes at the EU level. Second, it provides a new channel of representation linking the citizen with the EU. Third, it creates a new forum for debating the substantive merits of proposed EU legislation, particularly regarding its compliance with the principle of subsidiarity.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

**Bailey David**

**'Restrictions of competition by object under Article 101 TFEU'**  
in **Common Market Law Review**, vol. 49, issue 2 , 559-599

ABSTRACT: This article discusses the concept of restriction of competition by object under Article 101(1) TFEU. It is argued that this concept is justified by a combination of economic consensus; practical experience; and policy judgment about the likelihood of harm to competition. The article discusses the criteria that are used by the EU Courts to identify object restrictions: the content of an agreement, its objectives and its surrounding context. The case law reveals a process of classification in which the EU Courts engage in a judgment as to how much the conduct deviates from the competitive norm. That judgment is frequently non-controversial, although the article discusses several recent cases in which the existence of an object restriction was strongly contested. The article analyses the relationship between object restrictions and respectively the analysis of effects on competition, the de minimis doctrine, and Article 101(3) TFEU. Classification as an object restriction entails a definitive finding as to a restriction of competition which, provided the other elements of Article 101(1) are met, can only escape prohibition by satisfying Article 101(3) TFEU.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

**Broeksteeg Hansko, de Waele Henri**

**'The semi-permanent European Council Presidency: Some reflections on the law and early practice'**  
in **Common Market Law Review**, vol. 49, issue 3 , 1039-1074

ABSTRACT: One of the most salient innovations provided for by the Treaty of Lisbon has been the creation of a



"semi-permanent" or "stable" Presidency of the European Council. This paper offers a legal appraisal of the Union's system of government in the post-Lisbon setting, focused on the role and powers of the refurbished European Council Presidency. It combines an unravelling of the black-letter competences with some extensive analysis of their exercise in practice, aiming to scrutinize the internal dynamics of the office, as well as its interaction with other actors and bodies. It begins by sketching the general background to the new office, taking a mildly unorthodox view of its origin, coming into being and popular terminology. This is followed by an analysis of the modalities for the President's election and dismissal, and an investigation of how the appointment procedure was put into operation for the first time. It then proceeds to gauge his competences, sketching their formal purview as well as (the limits to) their actual exercise. Finally, it subjects the inter-institutional linkages to review, in an attempt to assess how other actors measure up to the new office. In combination, these reflections provide the reader with a picture of the President's position within the wider constitutional framework.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Nykänen Johanna

**A Bakhtinian Approach to EU–Turkey Relations**

in *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, vol. 19, n. 4, december, 501-509

ABSTRACT: This article proposes that dialogue between the EU and its candidate countries should be institutionalised in the EU accession framework. Using Mikhail Bakhtin's concept of dialogism, it argues that the current deadlock in EU–Turkey accession negotiations is partly due to a lack of genuine dialogue between the parties. In the current structure, Turkey has been finalised, closed and determined in its image as the ultimate other vis-à-vis Europe. For the relations between the EU and Turkey to move forward, Turkey should be allowed to speak and answer back in the formal framework of the accession process.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Gfeller Aurélie Élisa

**A Committed European Parliamentarian: Simone Veil**

in *Journal of European Integration History*, vol. 17, n. 1, 61-72

This article probes the interconnections between the European Parliament (EP) and its members by analysing the trajectory of one of its key figures: Simone Veil, the first president of the directly elected EP from 1979 to 1982 and an EP member until 1993. Based on the political science framework of the role orientations of parliamentarians, this study argues that Veil took essentially two roles, namely those of the "European evangelist" and of the "policy advocate". Veil's understanding of her role explains her strong European activism although she had not publicly pleaded for European integration prior to the 1979 elections. It also shaped her EP's involvement in such issues as human rights and public health. Conversely, Veil contributed through her words and deeds to Europeanizing these topics and to enhancing the EP's stature.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Norbert Walter

**A European economic renaissance is still within reach  
in Europe's World**, Issue 21, Summer

A European renaissance is not only possible but is within reach, argues Norbert Walter. He analyses the different components that make up the eurozone crisis, and assesses the strengths that could overcome them.

[http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home\\_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/22002/language/en-US/Default.aspx](http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/22002/language/en-US/Default.aspx)

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Christoffer Green-Pedersen

**A Giant Fast Asleep? Party Incentives and the Politicisation of European Integration  
in Political Studies**, Volume 60, Issue 1 , 115–130

Hooghe and Marks recently introduced a new research agenda for the study of European integration focusing on politicisation, that is, the inclusion of mass public attitudes in the politics of European integration. The overall aim of this article is to respond to this new research agenda. Unlike the existing literature, which focuses on Euro-sceptical extreme left or right-wing parties, the article argues that the explanation for politicisation or the lack of it should be found in the incentives the issue offers for mainstream political parties. Denmark serves as a crucial case study to show the limitations of the existing literature and the need to focus on the incentives of mainstream political parties. Empirically, the article argues that expectations about the impending politicisation of European integration are misplaced. The giant is fast asleep because those who could wake it up generally have no incentive to do so and those who have an incentive cannot.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Argomaniz Javier

**A Rhetorical Spillover? Exploring the Link between the European Union Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) and the External Dimension in EU Counterterrorism  
in European Foreign Affairs Review**, vol. 17, issue 1 , 35-52

The European Union (EU) counterterrorism policies have often been viewed through the prism of the EU's Area of Freedom, Security and Justice (AFSJ). Yet although macro-strategic decision-making is mainly located within the Council's Secretariat and Council of Justice and Home Affairs (JHA) Ministers, its external dimension reserves a role for the EU's Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP). This rhetorical 'spill-over' of an internal security concern onto the CSDP is an interesting yet under-researched development. This is partially due to the fact that CSDP is far from being one of the most developed aspects of the European counterterror response. Yet this occurs in a context where the need for an active use of CSDP as a counterterrorist tool is emphasized in high-level political proclamations. This article



will, therefore, aim to explain this disparity between EU discourse and reality. In addition, and building on recent debates in the field of terrorism studies, it provides a critical assessment of the conceptual foundations that link CSDP and Counter-terrorism (C-T) in the EU's discourse while evaluating the short- and medium-term potential for a more vigorous evolution of these policies.

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Meredith Stephen C.

**A catalyst for secession? European divisions on the parliamentary right of the Labour party 1962–72 and the schism of British social democracy**

in *Historical Research*, Volume 85, Issue 228, May , 329-351

This article addresses the nature, intensity and impact of debates and divisions over British membership of the European Community on Labour party and social democratic politics, and their significance for understanding both the fragmentation of Labour's traditional 'dominant coalition' and the later social democratic split from the party and schism of British social democracy. The article suggests that arguments and tensions in the debate over Europe cut across traditional party political lines. Contrary to conventional accounts of the gradual demise of Labour's centre-right coalition and the formation of the Social Democratic party in 1981, which emphasize the importance of arguments over more immediate intra-party constitutional factors in the new party's evolution, dimensions of internal conflict rendered by Labour's European discourse had already raised awareness of the potential need for the creation of an alternative vehicle of social democracy.

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Robert Thomson, Javier Arregui, Dirk Leuffen, Rory Costello, James Cross, Robin Hertz & Thomas Jensen

**A new dataset on decision-making in the European Union before and after the 2004 and 2007 enlargements (DEUII)**

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 19, Issue 4 2012 , 604-622

We present a new dataset on decision-making in the European Union (DEUII) that revises and expands a previous dataset. Researchers are using this new dataset to address a range of research questions regarding the inputs, processes and outputs of the EU's legislative system. The dataset contains information on 331 controversial issues raised by 125 legislative proposals that were introduced between 1996 and 2008. For each of these controversial issues, the dataset identifies the policy alternative favoured most by each of the main political actors: the European Commission; the European Parliament; and each of the member states' representatives in the Council of Ministers. This information was assembled during 349 semi-structured interviews with key informants. This article describes the dataset and identifies its relevance to several research agendas in EU studies.

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Grasso Pietro Giuseppe

**A proposito di una carta costituzionale europea**



in *Diritto e società*, n. 2-3 , 449-470

No abstract available

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Lee Moosung

**A step as normative power: the EU's human rights policy towards North Korea**

in *Asia Europe Journal*, vol. 10, n. 1, May , 41-56

This paper examines the extent to which the European Union (EU) could be a normative power with the ability to define what passes for normal in a globalized world in its North Korean policy. In contrast with a rationalist view that limits the possibility of engagement and underestimates the implications of the EU's role in promoting North Korea's human rights conditions, constructivist-inspired approaches provide an alternative explanation by arguing that the pursuit of value-oriented policies is constitutive of actors' perceived normative identities. To this end, this paper investigates how humanitarian aid, institutionalized dialogues and multilateral approach are employed to endorse the EU's position as a normative power. In so doing, it also argues how and to what extent these normative operations are affected by its virtue, deontological and consequentialist ethics.

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Spinelli Barbara

**Abolishing Misery**

in *Federalist Debate (The)*, Year XXV, n. 2, May

<http://www.federalist-debate.org/index.php/current-issue/comments/item/768-abolishing-misery>

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Nazzini Renato

**Administrative enforcement, judicial review and fundamental rights in EU competition law: A comparative contextual-functionalist perspective**

in *Common Market Law Review*, vol. 49, issue 3 , 971-1005

ABSTRACT: This article examines whether the current institutional framework for the enforcement of EU competition law under Regulation 1/2003 is compatible with the principle of effective judicial protection. This question is answered by developing a test which takes into account, in a structured way, all the contextual factors of the case in the light of the objective pursued by the Legislature in enacting a given enforcement system. Comparative analysis of United States and Canadian constitutional law provides key insights for the development of such a test. This article concludes that the current system under Regulation 1/2003 is unconstitutional insofar as judicial review of Commission decisions by the EU





courts is deferential. However, while the current trend is to move to a correctness standard of review across the board, a system in which a competition authority with sufficient safeguards of independence and impartiality of the decision-maker is subject to deferential judicial review in appropriately defined matters is more in line with the institutional balance between the European Commission and the EU courts envisaged by the EU Treaties and Regulation 1/2003, has advantages as a matter of policy over a system in which a court has the duty to review the merits of a first instance administrative decision, and would be compatible with the constitutional standards in force in leading common law systems such as the United States and Canada.

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Julian Clarka, Alun Jones

**After 'the collapse': Strategic selectivity, Icelandic state elites and the management of European Union accession**

in *Political Geography*, volume 31 n.2 , 64-72

Iceland's 2008 financial crisis has received considerable scholarly attention from economics and business science perspectives. Far less consideration has been given to the political-administrative consequences of 'the collapse' in terms of its restructuring state-based projects and instituting new scalar strategies, and, specifically, the role played in this process by Icelandic political and policy elites. We focus on this issue by analyzing recent attempts to reconfigure Iceland's sceptical position towards the EU by promulgating state narratives of 'EUrope' as a 'safe haven' for the shattered national economy as part of the country's formal application for EU membership. We show within the Icelandic state there is, however, a highly fragmented and polarized position on EU accession. Drawing on Jessop's strategic relational approach, we demonstrate that this derives from the actions of different elite fractions seeking to establish parameters for strategic selectivity on EU accession in ways that support their own interests. 'EUrope' emerges as a complex institutional category which is both shaped by, and shapes, the rhetorical interventions and actions of Icelandic state elites in often contradictory ways, demonstrating the fundamental political dynamics of what is emerging as a fraught, fiercely contested EU accession process. We conclude that times of conflicting elite narratives are also moments of potentially significant state change.

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Wagner Loïc

**Aides d'État: l'art de la souplesse en temps de crise**

in *Les Cahiers de droit européen*, Vol. 47, n. 1 , 231-276

No abstract available

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Slominski Peter

**Ambiguities of Legalization and the EU's Strategy of Extraterritorial Border Control**

in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 17, issue 1 , 19-34



ABSTRACT: Despite an increased level of legalization of Justice and Home Affairs (JHA), academic literature has paid little attention to the role of law in this field. By drawing on two different strands of the literature, namely 'politics of law' and the 'autopoietic theory of law', this paper addresses the question on how legalization has affected the practice of extra-territorial border control by the EU and its Member States. Empirically, the article focuses on border control performed by Frontex' joint operations and by individual Member States. We observe that legalization affects the approach of 'remote control' in two different and competing ways. On the one hand, it enhances the autonomy of national and supranational executives, whereas on the other hand, legalization, in all its hybrid manifestations, stimulates a transnational legal discourse that policy-makers can neither oppress nor ignore.

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Centre For Studies on Federalism

**Appeal to European Leaders for the euro and the European stability and development  
in Perspectives on federalism**, Vol. 3, issue 3 , I-IV

Full text available at:

<http://www.on-federalism.eu/index.php/centre-for-studies-on-federalism/86-editorial/111-appeal-to-european-leaders-for-the-euro-and-the-european-stability-and-development>

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Adamski Dariusz

**Approximating a workable compromise on access to official documents: The 2011 developments in the  
European courts**

in **Common Market Law Review**, vol. 49, issue 2 , 521-588

ABSTRACT: Despite the fact that the European Union has had specific rules on access to official documents for more than ten years now, their boundaries are still unclear as to why and when the institutions may refuse access. In many respects the lingering doubts have been elicited by the ECJ itself, as the Court often hesitates whether to pursue a restrictive interpretation of the exceptions or whether to protect discretionary powers of the institutions.

This contribution describes how the most recent case law of the Luxembourg courts meanders between the two options. Furthermore, it critically analyses both the origins and the results of this process, by concentrating on paradoxes stemming from two radically different judicial approaches applied to the same area of law.

Inconsistencies as to review standards in respect of access cases are all the more puzzling considering that decisions of the ECJ ignore - and often contradict - the fundamental freedom of expression, as protected by the European Convention on Human Rights. After analysing the issue, the author proposes modifications to the judicial approach of the ECJ. They are aimed at enhancing congruity with the Strasbourg jurisprudence and at improving the balance between diverging interests involved.

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O'Leary Síofra

**Articles Applying Principles of EU Social and Employment Law in EU Staff Cases**  
in *European Law Review*, Vol. 36, issue 6 , 769 ff.

No abstract available

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Gillespie Paul

**At the receiving end—Irish perspectives and response to the banking and sovereign debt crises**  
in *Asia Europe Journal*, Volume 9, Number 2-4 March , 125-139

Having enjoyed nearly two decades of economic recovery and rapid development as one of the most successful member-states of the European Union, Ireland was shocked and chastened by the global financial crisis of 2007–2008 and its traumatic impact on the country. A threefold crisis assailed its economic and political elites and citizens when the property bubble built up since 2002 exploded 6 years later. Its banking system collapsed through over-exposure to loans built up from the cheap credit made available after the euro was introduced. There was an immediate impact on state revenues when property-related windfall taxes collapsed under this pressure, exposing a yawning gap between current expenditure and revenues. And the country's economic competitiveness suffered from a runaway cost base. The paper puts these events in the context of Ireland's overall experience of European integration and its economic development. It goes on to explain how Ireland got into trouble in 2008 and tracks the major events over the next 3 years and how they were handled. Three major axes of argument about the EU/IMF rescue packages are discussed, highlighting the views of political leaders and public opinion dealing with the intensified euro zone crisis in autumn 2011. The paper goes on to assess their attitudes to EU decision-making, the role of the European Central Bank, the prospects of treaty change and Ireland's emerging position in a reconfigured Europe coming to terms with a more multi-polar world.

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Boriaud Jean-Yves

**Au racines de l'Europe : civis romanus sum** Jean-Yves Boriaud  
in *Revue des deux mondes*, Avril

« Le mot "frontière" est un mot borgne ; l'homme a deux yeux pour voir le monde. » (Paul Eluard)

Nous autres, Gaulois, savons ce que nous devons à nos colonisateurs romains : notre langue, notre organisation territoriale, notre droit, et ce sens suraigu de la démocratie, dût-elle (chez nous tous les cinq ans) s'incarner dans un chef, comme le disait un connaisseur, le prince Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte. Lorsque, dans les années 1789, nous nous redécouvrimus ce goût pour les saines et vivifiantes joies de la politique, il fut d'ailleurs de bon ton d'aller rechercher des modèles parmi les plus nobles figures de notre civilisation de référence, la civilisation romaine, tels le républicain Brutus ou les premiers des partageux, les Gracques...



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Déren Jean-Arnault

**Balkans, la fin du rêve européen**

**in Monde Diplomatique (Le)**, mars

La Croatie deviendra, le 1er juillet 2013, le vingt-huitième Etat membre de l'Union européenne. Les électeurs ont approuvé le 22 janvier l'adhésion de leur pays. Si le « oui » a remporté près de 67 % des suffrages, la très faible participation (43 % des inscrits) limite la portée de ce vote. En réalité, c'est sans enthousiasme que les Croates s'appêtent à rejoindre l'Union. Laquelle a perdu beaucoup de son attrait dans tous les pays de la région.

« Nous allons entrer dans une Union européenne qui est en train de vivre la plus grave crise de son histoire, une Europe néolibérale et archibureaucratisée, malgré son vernis de démocratie », s'indigne M. Mate Kapovic. Ce jeune linguiste, qui achève sa thèse à l'université de Zagreb, était l'une des voix les plus influentes de l'opposition de gauche à l'intégration de la Croatie dans l'Union européenne.

Le pays s'est engagé il y a plus de dix ans dans le processus menant à l'adhésion. Longtemps, la plupart des critiques émanaient des milieux nationalistes. Ceux-ci dénonçaient les risques d'une perte de souveraineté et l'obligation de coopération avec la justice internationale, qui se solderait par l'arrestation et le jugement de « héros » de la guerre d'indépendance — sans oublier les secteurs les plus conservateurs de l'Eglise catholique, hostiles à une Europe voulant « imposer » le droit à l'avortement ou la légalisation du mariage homosexuel. Pour la droite nationaliste, la Croatie n'aurait rien à gagner à troquer ainsi l'ancienne « dépendance » envers Belgrade contre un nouvel « assujettissement » à Bruxelles. Ces courants demeurent influents ; ils l'ont encore rappelé lors de la condamnation à vingt-quatre années de prison de l'ancien général Ante Gotovina par le Tribunal pénal international pour l'ex-Yougoslavie (TPIY), en avril 2011. Toutefois, le développement d'une critique de gauche de l'intégration européenne a été la nouveauté politique de ces dernières années.

En Croatie, comme dans les autres pays des Balkans, l'opposition à l'Europe libérale est même le creuset d'une nouvelle gauche radicale, qui s'est illustrée durant les manifestations de l'hiver 2010-2011. Chaque soir, des milliers de personnes battaient alors le pavé des grandes villes croates en dénonçant aussi bien la corruption de la droite conservatrice, alors au pouvoir, que la « dictature du capital ». Les appels à manifester circulaient sur les réseaux sociaux comme Facebook ou Twitter, le mouvement refusant toute structuration et toute hiérarchie.

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Schoenmaker, Dirk

**Banking supervision and resolution: the European dimension**

**in Law and Financial Markets Review**, volume 6 n.1 , 52-60

Both theory (game theory) and practice (recent financial crisis) indicate that national interests prevail in cross-border resolution. National authorities aim for the least-cost solution for domestic taxpayers. This results in an undersupply of the public good of global financial stability. International banks are increasingly run on national lines, as national



supervisors force stand-alone subsidiaries to maintain separate liquidity and capital buffers in each jurisdiction. To preserve the internal market in banking, this paper proposes a supranational approach to banking supervision and resolution in Europe. The large cross-border banks would then be supervised directly by the European Banking Authority, and in case of liquidity and solvency problems, have access to the ECB and the newly proposed European Resolution Authority. The European Resolution Authority needs a fiscal backstop and a strong legal framework to be credible. The access to government funds could be based on ex ante burden sharing between participating countries. The legal regime could be provided by a new special resolution regime embedded in a EU Regulation giving powers to liquidate or resolve ailing banks in a timely and orderly manner on a EU-wide scale.

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Paolo Quercia

**Belgrado, la candidatura UE e la questione del Kosovo ancora aperta**

in *CeMiSS - Osservatorio Strategico e Quarterly*, Anno XIV numero 2 febbraio , 13-16

No abstract available

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Wagner-Von Papp Florian

**Best and even better practices in commitment procedures after Alrosa: The dangers of abandoning the “struggle for competition law”**

in *Common Market Law Review*, vol. 49, issue 3 , 929-970

ABSTRACT: In the Alrosa case, the ECJ adjudicated on the degree of protection to be afforded to undertakings against disproportionate commitments in the procedure under Article 9 of Regulation (EC) 1/2003. The General Court required a substantially full proportionality review, because commitments are made binding on the undertakings by a unilateral Commission decision. In contrast, the ECJ largely dispensed with the review for proportionality, because commitments are voluntarily offered by the undertakings. The article discusses the hybrid character of commitment decisions between a purely unilateral command and a freely negotiated contract. It argues that the ECJ's Alrosa decision has removed practically all constraints on the Commission in the commitment procedure. This lack of constraints may result in a vicious circle, leading to ever more commitment decisions and ever fewer infringement decisions. Undertakings start to extrapolate their obligations from commitment decisions and guidelines that do not authoritatively state the law. This reliance on "quasi case law" increases the Commission's discretion in future negotiations. The incentives for the Commission to resort to the commitment procedure are especially strong in cases involving novel legal issues, in which the benefit of legal certainty provided by an infringement decision would be particularly large. There is a danger that the struggle for law is abandoned in favour of discretionary case-to-case negotiations. In order to avoid this development, one could either subject the commitment procedure to more demanding constraints or one could make infringement decisions relatively more attractive by allowing the Commission increased discretion in devising proactive remedies.

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Bell Mark

**Between Flexicurity and Fundamental Social Rights: The EU Directives on Atypical Work**  
in *European Law Review*, Vol. 37, issue 1 , 31 ff.

No abstract available

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Brack Nathalie, Costa Olivier

**Beyond the Pro/Anti-Europe Divide: Diverging Views of Europe within EU Institutions**  
in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 34, Issue 2 , 101-111

This general introduction aims at explaining the rationale behind this special issue. EU institutions have long been seen as bastions for Europhile actors and they indeed seem to have, over time, promoted further European integration. This pro-integration bias is here examined through the analysis of three interrelated factors: ideas, interests and institutional logics. But this introduction also shows that there have been diverging views of Europe among EU elites and therefore we argue that it is necessary to explore these views and their impact on EU institutions but also to go beyond the binary pro/anti-Europe divide. It exposes the main research questions that structure the special issue and briefly presents the different articles.

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Wall Stephen

**Britain and Europe**

in *Political Quarterly* , Volume 83, Issue 2, April-June 2012 , 325-333

Britain decided to join the European Community because its postwar, postimperial policies had failed and successive Governments saw no viable alternative. After ten years of being denied entry by De Gaulle, Britain joined on disadvantageous terms and with the British political parties, and the British people, deeply divided. Accession did not resolve the underlying issues and Britain's first year of membership saw an unprecedented oil crisis, bad relations between Britain and the United States and the demise of the British government led by Edward Heath. The underlying issues which had not been resolved in the accession negotiations were reopened by Harold Wilson and later by Margaret Thatcher. Some of them remain unresolved in British politics to this day.

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Bieber Florian

**Building Impossible States? State-Building Strategies and EU Membership in the Western Balkans**

in *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 63, n. 10, Special Issue: Unconditional Conditionality? The Impact of EU Conditionality in the Western , 1783-1802

No abstract available





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Petit Pascal

**Building faith in a common currency: can the eurozone get beyond the Common Market logic?**

in *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, Volume 36 Issue 1 January 2012 , 271-281

Building faith in a common future, which is at the core of the making of a common currency, has been declining since the turn of the 1980s. The economic neoliberalism that diffused worldwide after the collapse of the Gold Exchange Standard and the economic crisis of the mid 1970s challenged the European project. Could a specific European model of social market economy help to forge the solidarity and discipline required to meet this challenge? It turned out that members had different understandings of the European model, especially regarding the role of central government. Meanwhile, in all forced adjustments of the European Union (EU) to a more open and competitive world, be it enlargements, new treaties or new institutions, the German conception of social market economy prevailed, mainly because Germany was in a better position than its partners in most cases. A rising discontent progressively eroded the faith in the EU project, even in Germany where a difficult reunification became a major national source of worries. By the end of the 1990s when the euro was finally created, the EU project had lost its momentum. The relative success of the euro in the early 2000s was much linked with the weakness of the dollar. Answers to the 2008 financial then economic crisis that rest on harsh austerity plans can only worsen the situation. A reconstruction of the EU project clearly needs a new pact of solidarity measures. Integration of the youths in all member countries stands as a good rallying common objective.

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Bertolami Filippo

**CEPOL, Accademia Europea di Polizia**

in *Cittadinanza europea (La)*, Fascicolo 1 - 2012

Not Available

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Danny Nicol

**Can Justice Dethrone Democracy in the European Union? A Reply to Jürgen Neyer**

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 50, Issue 3, May 2012 , 508-522

Jürgen Neyer has recently proposed replacing the European Union's 'democracy discourse' with a 'justice discourse'. This article challenges his arguments. It points out the difficulties associated with Neyer's assertion that EU democracy is not theoretically possible. It then goes on to argue against his proposition that it would be unfair to judge the EU against democracy criteria. Finally it questions Neyer's assumption that EU policy contains an incontestable justice, arguing that democracy remains essential as the means by which a political community differentiates between justice and injustice.



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P. de Wilde, Michael Zürn

**Can the Politicization of European Integration be Reversed?**

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 50, Issue s1, March 2012 , 137-153

Following the failure of the Constitutional Treaty, executives of European Union (EU) Member States and the European Commission tried to take European integration as a political issue as much off the agenda as possible and limit involvement of citizens in EU decision-making. This article assesses the viability of this attempt to combat politicization of European integration and comes to the conclusion that it is unlikely to succeed in the long run. Politicization, it is argued, is a direct consequence of the increasing authority of the EU. The executive response to reverse this trend, however, does not address its cause, but rather the intermediating factors in the form of political opportunity structure. Since the cause of politicization remains intact and intermediating factors are unlikely to be controlled by executives, this attempt to reverse politicization is not viable.

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Tanja A. Börzel, Tobias Hofmann & Diana Panke

**Caving in or sitting it out? Longitudinal patterns of non-compliance in the European Union**

in **Journal of European Public Policy** , Volume 19, Issue 4 2012 , 454-471

Member states of the European Union (EU) respond differently when they get caught for violations of European law and face prosecution. While Portugal tends to settle its non-compliance cases quickly and at an early stage of the EU's official infringement proceedings, Italy and Belgium like to sit them out and do not even comply with rulings of the European Court of Justice after being convicted twice – first for violating EU law and then for not acting upon the court's original judgment. This paper explores the explanatory power of prominent compliance theories to address these diverging patterns of persistent non-compliance across EU member states and tests a set of hypotheses that accounts for the non-compliance dynamics across the different stages of the EU's infringement proceedings and over time. We find that both differences in capacity and power explain the variation in longitudinal non-compliance patterns.

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Charles A. Kupchan

**Centrifugal Europe**

in **Survival**, Volume 54, N. 1 , 111-118

Unless the growing gap between governance and governed is resolved, the EU may be headed for fragmentation, if not outright dissolution.

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**Moravcsik Andrew**

**Charles de Gaulle and Europe: The New Revisionism**

in **Journal of Cold War Studies**, Volume 14, Issue 1 - Winter , 53-77

Four distinguished analysts of French foreign policy under Charles de Gaulle provide in-depth assessments of the new book edited by Christian Nuenlist, Anna Locher, and Garret Martin, *Globalizing de Gaulle: International Perspectives on French Foreign Policies, 1958–1969*, published by Lexington Books. The commentators praise the book's wide scope and many of its essays and broad themes, but they raise questions about Garret Martin's contention (shared by a few, though not all, of the other contributors to the volume) that de Gaulle had a coherent if ultimately unsuccessful strategy to overcome the Cold War and move toward the unification of Germany and Europe. In article-length commentaries, both Andrew Moravcsik and Marc Trachtenberg take issue with Martin's view, arguing that de Gaulle's foreign policy involved more bluff and bluster than any genuine attempt to bring about the reunification of Germany or to end the Cold War. Moravcsik also provides a spirited defense of the "revisionist" conception of de Gaulle's policy toward Europe, which sees the general as having been guided mostly by his domestic economic and political interests—a conception that Trachtenberg has also come to accept. The forum ends with a reply by Nuenlist, Locher, and Martin to the four commentaries.

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**Pitruzzella Giovanni**

**Chi governa la finanza pubblica in Europa?**

in **Quaderni Costituzionali**, numero : 1, marzo , 9-50

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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**Minkenberg Michael**

**Christian identity? European churches and the issue of Turkey's EU membership**

in **Comparative European Politics**, vol. 10, n. 2, april , 149-179

ABSTRACT: The article considers the position of churches regarding Turkish EU membership in a number of current member states with some variation across key religious characteristics (Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, and the United Kingdom). The focus is especially on the positions of Protestant and Catholic churches. Starting from the observation that the EU in its origins has been considered a Christian-Democratic project, inspired by ideas of Social Catholicism, and reflecting the historical legacies of centuries-long confrontation between Catholicism and the Ottoman Empire, the expectation is that Catholic churches may be less welcoming of including Turkey in the EU than Protestant churches. Moreover, theological traditions (Protestant individualism versus Catholic integralism) may result in different rationales (rights-based versus identity-based) in the churches' support for or rejection of Turkish accession. However, considering the role of national politics and the state-church regimes, inter-confessional differences may be less significant than inter-national differences on this issue. This will be discussed by analysing the development of official church position papers and



public statements of church leaders in these countries, along with trends in government policies.

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S.B. Hobolt

**Citizen Satisfaction with Democracy in the European Union**

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 50, Issue s1, March 2012 , 88-105

The debate about the democratic deficit of the European Union has preoccupied scholars for decades. This article examines democracy in the Union from the perspective of citizens by asking what determines satisfaction with EU democracy? Two key models of regime support are applied to the European Union: the output-oriented performance model and the input-oriented procedural model. Contrary to previous work, it is argued here that there is a positive spillover effect from confidence in national institutions to the European level. These propositions are tested using survey data from 27 EU Member States. Using multi-level modelling, it is found that both performance and procedural factors matter, and that confidence in EU institutions matters more to citizens who are knowledgeable about the EU.

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Adam Stanislas, Van Elsuwege Peter

**Citizenship Rights and the Federal Balance between the European Union and its Member States: Comment on Dereci**

in *European Law Review*, Vol. 37, issue 2

No abstract available

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Ruggiu Daniele

**Cittadinanza e processi formalizzati di costituzione dell'identità in Europa**

in *Ragion Pratica*, numero 1, giugno 2012 , 225-260

No abstract available

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de Jong Sijbren, Schunz Simon

**Coherence in European Union External Policy before and after the Lisbon Treaty: The Cases of Energy Security and Climate Change**

in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 17, issue 2 , 165-187



ABSTRACT: The creation of the Treaty of Lisbon sparked high hopes for a greater level of coherence within the application of European Union (EU) external policies. Now, more than two years after its entry into force, the question remains to what extent the Treaty actually succeeded in fostering greater external unity. Through a systematic analysis of EU and Member State actions in the areas of EU external energy and climate policies, both prior and immediately after the Treaty's arrival, this article aims to critically evaluate whether Lisbon is able to live up to the initial expectations.

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White Jonathan

**Community, transnationalism, and the Left-Right metaphor**

in *European Journal of Social Theory*, Volume 15, Number 2, May 2012 , 197-219

Abstract

The imagery of Left and Right has been a common way to conceive democratic politics in modern Europe, and commentators have suggested it be extended to the European Union. This article examines the normative implications and plausibility of European politics being cast in these terms. It focuses on the challenges of rendering political division recognizable and acceptable at a transnational level, of evoking its continuities of structure, and of symbolizing the ties of political community. The article probes the Left-Right dichotomy's potential in these regards, together with the conjunctural factors likely to raise or diminish its appeal.

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Yves Bourdet, Maria Persson

**Completing the European Union Customs Union: The Effects of Trade Procedure Harmonization**

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 50, Issue 2, March 2012 , 300-314

In this article, it is pointed out that the European Union does not have a harmonized practice when it comes to trade procedures, implying that countries in the rest of the world face different trade barriers depending on which EU country they ship their goods to. Estimating the impact of trade procedures on exports from non-EU countries, a highly statistically significant and negative effect is found. Simulating what the effects would be of harmonizing trade procedures to the level of the most efficient EU countries, it is found that aggregated exports to the EU would increase by 20 per cent for the average exporter.

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Bakker Ryan, Jolly Seth, Polk Jonathan

**Complexity in the European party space: Exploring dimensionality with experts**

in *European Union Politics* , Vol. 13, n. 2, June , 219-245

Does the n-issue space in domestic European polities reduce to one, two, or more dimensions? How do these



dimensions relate to each other? More broadly, how does dimensionality vary across countries? We attempt to advance our understanding of political contestation in Europe by mapping the dimensionality of the political space across 24 countries using Chapel Hill expert survey (CHES) data. We test how well different models of the European political space fit the CHES data and find that three-dimensional models best fit the data in all countries. However, there is considerable cross-national variation in how the three dimensions relate to one another. Given this, we present a new measure of dimensional complexity that captures the degree to which these three dimensions are related. In so doing, we improve our understanding of the complexity of the political space in European countries.

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Chowdhury Nupur , Wessel Ramses A.

**Conceptualising Multilevel Regulation in the EU: A Legal Translation of Multilevel Governance?**  
in *European law journal*, Vol 18 Issue 3 - May , 335–357

How should we conceive of regulation in the European context? This paper attempts to answer this by developing multilevel regulation as a theoretical concept. The basic aim of the paper is to explore the difference and convergence between regulation and governance and develop multilevel governance and multilevel regulation as two individual heuristic concepts. We suggest that it is useful to frame multilevel governance in the context of regulatory spaces. As an example, we undertake an exploratory investigation of multilevelness of the regulatory space of marketing authorisation of medical devices. This allows us to help focus on certain aspects of the regulatory process by acknowledging that it is no longer located in the hand of a single (governmental) actor and highlighting the necessity of considering interventions beyond the state in addressing regulatory effectiveness problems that may crop up in this context. Ultimately, we assess whether multilevel regulation is a legal translation of the concept of multilevel governance.

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Y. Mény

**Conclusion: A Voyage to the Unknown**

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 50, Issue s1, March 2012 , 154-164

Three types of internal tensions have characterized the process of European integration. They are not new, but are exacerbated by factors such as globalization, enlargement, increased diversity of views and interests. The first one is the tension between law and politics. Legal instruments have been the main tool of integration, but politics come back with a vengeance as democratic practices are challenged by regulatory regimes and institutions. The second one is the alternative between the persistence of an international organization regime or the creation of a federation. This unresolved and lasting issue takes dramatic tones with the euro crisis. The third one relates to the growing gap between elites and peoples.

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Simone Pierluigi

**Considerazioni sulla perdita dello status di cittadino dell'Unione alla luce del caso Rottmann  
in *Comunità Internazionale (La)*, vol. LXII, n. 1, primo trimestre , 99-114**

No abstract available

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John Garry

**Consociationalism, regional integration and vote choice: Northern Ireland and the 2009 European Parliament  
election – A research note**

in *Acta Politica*, Volume 47, Issue 2, (April 2012) , 113-127

Consociational institutional arrangements in deeply divided societies are often criticised for cementing the underlying conflict cleavage, encouraging the continued dominance of conflict-based party competition and voter behaviour and prohibiting the emergence of 'normal' (that is, non-conflict-based) dimensions of political competition. However, drawing on evidence from a post-election survey at the 2009 Northern Ireland election to the European Parliament, I find that EU issues determined intra-bloc vote choice (at least in the nationalist community). This suggests that there is potential for regional integration projects, such as the EU, to contribute to the 'normalisation' of politics in a consociational system by acting as the source of an externally generated dimension of political competition

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Loïc Azoulai

**Constitution économique et citoyenneté de l'Union européenne**

in *Revue internationale de droit économique* , Vol. 25, n°4 , 543-557

European Union Law is governed by the concept and the discourse on the Economic Constitution of Europe. A new reference has been introduced in the Lisbon Treaty to an area of Freedom, Security and Justice that the Union "shall offer to its citizens". What are we to make of this reference ? Is Union Law adapted to this objective ? And what, if any, may be the contribution of EU Citizenship law to the legal doctrines and the constitutional discourse of the European Union ?

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Goldoni Marco

**Constitutional Pluralism and the Question of the European Common Good**

in *European law journal*, Vol 18 Issue 3 - May , 385–406

Constitutional pluralism seems to be one of the most inspiring theories of European constitutionalism. It can account for the multilayered institutional framework of the Union. Therefore, it is a natural candidate for explaining how to track the



European public interest. Pluralism may serve as the best methodology for keeping into account and for respecting the multiple perspectives on the common good represented by every institutional layer of the Union. After having examined the theories of two of the most influential authors of constitutional pluralism, Mattias Kumm and Miguel Maduro, this essay tries to show how pluralism might improve its highly potential explanatory and normative force, that is, by including in the institutional picture not only courts but also political institutions. In this way, the constitutional dialogue between the European and the national layers would be enriched, and every European and national voice might have a say in the interactions between institutions, securing a fairer way of tracking the European common good.

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Tridimas Takis

**Constitutional review of member state action: The virtues and vices of an incomplete jurisdiction**  
in *International Journal of Constitutional Law*, Vol. 9, issue 3-4 , 737-756

In providing preliminary rulings on the interpretation of EU law, the European Court of Justice carries out essentially review of constitutionality of Member State action. The ECJ enjoys discretion in determining the specificity of its ruling. It may give an answer so specific that it leaves the referring court no margin for maneuver and provides it with a ready-made solution to the dispute (outcome cases); it may, alternatively, provide the referring court with guidelines as to how to resolve the dispute (guidance cases); finally, it may answer the question in such general terms that, in effect, it defers to the national judiciary (deference cases). The degree of specificity is not a random exercise but a conscious judicial choice. The ECJ's discretion in this respect operates as a constitutional valve and illustrates the direct use of judicial power. This article seeks to examine the varying degrees of specificity, the types of case where each is used, the reasons which determine variations, and whether any conclusions can be drawn as to the optimum approach that the Court should take

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Dastoli Pier Virgilio

**Contro le politiche rigoriste delle nazioni**  
in *Critica liberale*, volume XIX, n.195 - gennaio

No abstract available

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Maela Giofré

**Convergence of EMU Equity Portfolios**  
in *Open Economies Review*, volume 23 n.2 , 381-419

This paper demonstrates that, after integration, equity portfolios of countries that joined the European Monetary Union have converged at faster rate than those of NON EMU countries. This outcome can be interpreted as a combination of



the convergence of inflation rates and the convergence of investment barriers. On the one hand, the common monetary policy might have driven a stronger comovement in inflation rates, leading to increasingly similar hedging strategies among member countries. On the other hand, exposure to the common currency might have homogenized bilateral investment barriers, thus inducing increasingly similar portfolio allocations among member countries. We find that the comovement of inflation rates has not significantly increased after EMU inception, pointing toward an exclusive role for convergence in investment barriers.

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**Julia Langbein & Kataryna Wolczuk**

**Convergence without membership? The impact of the European Union in the neighbourhood: evidence from Ukraine**

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 19, Issue 6 2012 , 863-881

How does the European Union (EU) affect change in neighbouring countries? The article explores this question, using Ukraine as a case study. So far Ukraine has attracted contradictory assessments of the impact of the EU on the country's domestic transformation. To explain this puzzle, the process of Ukraine's convergence with EU rules is analysed in terms of rule selection, adoption and application. The article focuses on the mechanisms which the EU uses to shape domestic actors' incentives and capacities for taking on EU rules in each of the three dimensions. In the case of technical regulation, EU mechanisms affect domestic actors differently in the three dimensions, resulting in comprehensive rule selection but only selective rule adoption and application. The process of convergence occurs, but in a non-synchronized and highly idiosyncratic way, thereby indicating the patchy impact of the EU on its neighbours, even in the core economic field.

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**Buzek Jerzy**

**Crise actuelle et défis de l'Union européenne**

in *Revue du droit de l'Union Européenne*, n. 4 , 587-592

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**Rodríguez Ortiz Francisco**

**Crise de la dette: une gouvernance restrictive comme alternative au gouvernement économique européen**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 558, mai , 322-330

Period prior to 2007 downturn was characterized by growing weight of financial capital and a de-regulation process in the financial activity. When economies faced collapse, governments applied Keynesian measures to save capitalism from its own craziness. It seemed that a new equilibrium was arising between the Market and the States, paving the way



to a more sustainable growth. However, this sort of Public support, has ended in a material rise in Public Deficit. Paradoxically, Europe rather than US has approached this issue by applying restrictive expense rules, reducing national sovereignty. This economic federalism that is being imposed, is not resulting into a real progression in the terms of economic governance. Rather, it moves eurozone away from democracy and European Economic Government.

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Picaper Jean-Paul

**Crise: le credo allemand**

in *Politique internationale*, n. 133 - Automne, 2011

German Finance Minister Wolfgang Schäuble is a veteran of the political scene. For over 20 years he has held positions at the highest echelons of conservative governments in Berlin. Even an attack in 1990 that left him without the use of his legs has not restrained his determination. This exceptional man agreed to meet with *Politique Internationale* for an in-depth interview at a time when all of Europe hangs on his decisions. This renowned economics expert frankly discusses the euro crisis, Greece's virtual bankruptcy and the relaunch of German growth as well as many other issues of the day. The solutions he proposes to spur Europe's recovery are ultimately conventional ones, such as cutting budgets, targeted tax rises and improving competitiveness. But they reflect a very strong belief that, in the current situation, E.U. countries must work together to end the crisis. If each country goes its own way, all countries will suffer. When it is the Finance Minister of Germany that says this, Europe breathes easier...

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Christopher J. Bickerton

**Crisis in the Eurozone: Transnational governance and national power in European integration**

in *Political Geography*, volume 30 n.8 , 415-416

This editorial argues that a transnational space of economic governance in Europe is indeed in the making. Yet this has the effect of empowering national governments, not weakening them. It does this in twoways. Firstly, it empowers those governments most likely to shape the content of the new transnational governance institutions, namely France and Germany. Secondly, it empowers all Eurozone national governments – large and small – by insulating them from the challenges they face from their own domestic populations. These developments alert us to the limits of traditional theories of European integration that present trade-offs between transnational governance and national power. We should rather focus our attention on ways in which transnational governance can strengthen national power but at the expense of national democracy.

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Zdenek Kudrna

**Cross-Border Resolution of Failed Banks in the European Union after the Crisis: Business as Usual**



in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 50, Issue 2, March 2012 , 283-299

The post-2007 financial crisis created an opportunity for reforms that could close the regulatory gap between transnational banks and national bank resolution regimes. During the decade before the crisis, the European Union tried to develop a cross-border bank resolution regime relying on voluntary agreements and complex governance networks. However, these arrangements failed to commit national authorities to multilateral resolution as was exemplified by the case of Fortis. The crisis experience provided the Commission with an opportunity to propose legislation that would either deepen the pre-crisis co-ordinated regime, or replace it with an integrated resolution regime for systemically important cross-border banks. The Commission considered the more ambitious reforms, but after the experience with negotiations over the powers of European Supervisory Authorities, postponed the proposals for an integrated regime until after 2014. The initial round of post-crisis reforms thus remained limited to minimal improvements of the pre-crisis status quo.

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Gui Francesco

**Dalla Germania una proposta concreta**

in *Critica liberale*, volume XIX, n.195 - gennaio

No abstract available

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Cafiso Gianluca

**Debt developments and fiscal adjustment in the EU**

in *Intereconomics*, Volume 47, Number 1 / January 2012 , 61-72

Since the financial crisis in 2008–09, concern over the sustainability of some EU countries' sovereign debt has continued to mount higher and higher. This paper explores the ways in which the financial crisis caused the deterioration of European debt-to-GDP ratios, examines which countries are on sustainable debt paths and quantifies the fiscal adjustment required per country for debt sustainability.

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Cécile Hoareau

**Deliberative governance in the European Higher Education Area. The Bologna Process as a case of alternative governance architecture in Europe**

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 19, Issue 4 2012 , 530-548

Designing political institutions is a balancing act between upholding democratic ideals and accommodating constraints. Advocates of deliberative governance in the European Union live this tension in a particularly polarized manner, torn between the deliberative ideal of consensual decision-making and the reality of power politics. To which extent does



deliberative governance provide a suitable conceptual framework as well as a mode of governance in its own right for European policy-making? This paper applies five features of deliberative governance suggested by Teague (2001) in his study of European social policy to the genesis of the Bologna Process and subsequent domestic reforms. The Bologna Process has, since the Sorbonne declaration of 25 May 1998, aimed at creating a European Higher Education Area. This study concludes that deliberative governance has the potential to start a long-term process of progressive domestic policy change and therefore deserves further investigation.

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**Obydenkova Anastassia V.**

**Democratization at the grassroots: the European Union's external impact**

**in Democratization**, vol. 19, n. 2, March , 230-257

By the end of Russia's regime transition to democracy (1991–2001), Russia displayed a mosaic of different sub-national regimes. A number of economic, social, and cultural factors have been investigated to explain how the sub-national regime transitions produced such heterogeneous results. This article intends to contribute to the debate by focusing on the role of the European Union (EU) in the democratic regime transition in the regions of Russia and, in this context, explores the international dimension of sub-national regimes. The main question raised in this article is what was the role of the EU, if any, in the formation of different outcomes of sub-national regime transitions? The analysis is based on a quantitative study that is combined with a number of interviews assessing the EU's impact on sub-national regime formation in Russia during the period of regime transition. The article explores the international dimension in sub-national regime change in Russia while controlling for a number of social, economic, and cultural variables. It argues that the EU has indeed contributed to the process of democratization in the regions of Russia. The approach developed in this article arguably has implications for both area studies and studies of democratization.

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**Obvexer Walter**

**Der Beitritt der EU zur EMRK: Rechtsgrundlagen, Rechtsfragen und Rechtsfolgen**

**in Europarecht**, Heft 2, 2012

No abstract available

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**Weber Albrecht**

**Der Vertrag von Lissabon vor dem polnischen Verfassungsgericht**

**in Europäische Grundrechte zeitschrift**, vol. 39, issue 5-9, May , 139-140

No abstract available

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Lorenzo Mechi et Andrea Chiampan

**Des intérêts difficilement conciliables : l'Italie, l'Europe et la crise des Falkland (avril-juin 1982)**

in *Guerres mondiales et conflits contemporains*, n°245 , 115-132

At the outbreak of the Falklands War between the United Kingdom and Argentina, in the spring of 1982, the government led by Giovanni Spadolini supported the EEC embargo against the imports from the South American country that had provoked the crisis. Due to the strong economic interests and the important Italian presence in Argentina, however, the majority of Italy's political parties forced the government to abandon the embargo, resulting in a break with its European partners. The break was quickly repaired, thanks to the British victory and the goodwill of all the countries involved, but it highlighted the difficulties for the Italian political milieu in elaborating a coherent foreign policy on controversial questions involving interests that were hard to reconcile.

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Müller-Brandeck-Bocquet Gisela

**Deutschland - Europas einzige Führungsmacht?**

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 10, 2012

Hat sich Deutschland in der Euro- und Schuldenkrise zur alleinigen Führungsmacht aufgeschwungen, die ein "deutsches Europa" anstrebt? Strukturelle und situative Faktoren erklären eine dominante Rolle, die nicht von Dauer bleiben darf.

The full text is free:

[www.bpb.de/apuz/75788/deutschland-europas-einzige-fuehrungsmacht](http://www.bpb.de/apuz/75788/deutschland-europas-einzige-fuehrungsmacht)

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**Deux traités pour un coup d'Etat européen**

in *Monde Diplomatique (Le)*, juin

Le ministre de l'économie français, M. Pierre Moscovici, a annoncé que le traité budgétaire européen ne serait « pas ratifié en l'état » et qu'il faudrait le « compléter par un volet croissance ». Mais la renégociation promise suffira-t-elle à modifier la nature d'un texte qui annonce le démantèlement des systèmes sociaux et des mécanismes démocratiques européens ?

Le traité sur la stabilité, la coordination et la gouvernance (TSCG) dans l'Union économique et monétaire «rassure peut-être les amis politiques de la chancelière Angela Merkel, observait récemment Mme Bernadette Ségol, secrétaire générale de la Confédération européenne des syndicats (CES), mais sûrement pas les millions de chômeurs, travailleurs pauvres et précaires en Europe, qui attendent en vain un véritable soutien de la part des institutions européennes. C'est pourquoi nous y sommes opposés». La déclaration n'avait rien d'anecdotique de la part de la dirigeante d'une organisation qui ne s'était jusqu'ici opposée à aucun traité européen ; sa complaisance à l'égard de



Bruxelles avait même conduit l'un de ses fondateurs, le syndicaliste belge Georges Debunne, à déplorer que la CES soit devenue la «courroie de transmission du patronat européen».

Signé le 1er mars par vingt-cinq gouvernements de l'Union européenne, le TSCG — qui impose notamment la «règle d'or» en matière budgétaire — doit être ratifié au cours des prochains mois. Cadenas condamnant l'accès aux ressources publiques nationales, il s'accompagne d'un autre traité instaurant le mécanisme européen de stabilité (MES). Ratifié par le Parlement français le 21 février 2012 — avec l'abstention bienveillante de l'immense majorité des élus socialistes et écologistes —, le MES constitue une sorte de Fonds monétaire international (FMI). Il est destiné à prendre le relais, à partir de 2013, des instruments créés en 2010 pour faire face à la crise de la dette en Europe. Transfert de compétences

Ces deux textes marquent une étape importante dans le démantèlement des institutions démocratiques et le détricotage des modèles sociaux européens. Après une phase de relative discrétion, cette évolution ne peut plus être ignorée : le poids croissant de la Cour de justice de l'Union européenne (CJUE) et des jurisprudences qu'elle élabore...

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Smith Melanie

#### **Developing Administrative Principles in the EU: A Foundational Model of Legitimacy?**

in *European law journal*, Vol 18 Issue 2 - March , 269–288

This paper argues that administrative legitimacy has been neglected as having the potential to provide a foundation for the legitimacy of the EU institutions. The development of the administrative law-type mechanisms within the EU is almost exclusively focused on the activities of the Member States as the main implementers of Union law. This has left an administrative gap at the level of the EU institutions, with little evidence of determinative horizontal administrative principles to be found in either the Treaties or the case-law of two European courts. Where the courts have acted, they have adopted a sectoral and highly circumscribed approach to the development of administrative norms. The paper examines whether administrative principles can be harnessed as a mechanism for increasing the EU's legitimacy and, if so, how these principles fit with the institutions' approach to the legitimacy question. Post Lisbon, can evidence be found within the Treaties that the administrative route to legitimacy has not been entirely foreclosed? This paper proposes a model of administrative legitimacy for the EU level of administration that provides a foundation for the interconnected concepts of good governance and political legitimacy.

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Oprea Mirela

#### **Development Discourse in Romania: From Socialism to EU Membership**

in *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, vol. 13, n. 1, Special Issue: From Aid Recipients to Aid Donors?:

Development Policies of Central and Eastern European States , 66-82

In recent years, 12 European countries (re)entered the donors' community. They are said to be 'new', inexperienced donors that need to learn from the 'old' ones. Taking Romania's case, this paper argues that the equation, 'new EU member



state = new donor', is debatable. Before 1989, Romania had an extensive web of relations with the developing countries and was an active presence in the field of international development. The paper discusses Romania's pre-1989 programme for international development, some important elements of its development discourse and its current strategy for development cooperation. It shows that while encouraged to 'build its capacity' as a 'new' donor, Romania has also been encouraged to – and was willing to – 'unlearn' its previous practices. Romania and its fellow 'new' member states go through a process that sees their cooption to the dominant theory and practice of development cooperation. The above- mentioned equation seems to be only one of the many tools employed by the promoters of this cooption process. The paper is informed by discourse analysis methods and post-development thinking.

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Lenaerts Koen

**Die EU-Grundrechtecharta: Anwendbarkeit und Auslegung  
in Europarecht**, Heft 1, 2012

No abstract available

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Porras Ramírez José María

**Die Gedanken-, Gewissens- und Religionsfreiheit in der Charta der Grundrechte der Europäischen Union  
in Jahrbuch des öffentlichen Rechts der Gegenwart**, Band 60, 2012

No abstract available

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Klüver Heike

**Die Macht der Informationen: Eine empirische Analyse von Lobbyingenerfolg in der Europäischen Union  
in Politische Vierteljahresschrift**, Heft 2, 2012

No abstract available

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Schwarz Michael

**Die Menschenwürde als Ende der europäischen Wertegemeinschaft? Eine realistische Perspektive auf das  
Schutzdefizit nach Art. 1 der Grundrechtecharta  
in Staat**, vol. 50, issue 4 , 533-566

ABSTRACT: Der Vertrag von Lissabon verleiht der Charta der Grundrechte der Europäischen Union



Rechtsverbindlichkeit und rückt sie ins Zentrum der europäischen Werteordnung. Nach deren Präambel „gründet sich die Union auf die unteilbaren und universellen Werte der Würde des Menschen, der Freiheit, der Gleichheit und der Solidarität“. Gemäß Art. 1 der Charta ist die Würde des Menschen unantastbar. Während die Menschenwürde den axiologischen Gravitationspunkt des Grundgesetzes beschreibt und in über 60 Jahren eine verfassungsrechtliche Kerndogmatik hervorgebracht hat, die von Myriaden wissenschaftlicher Gegenentwürfe umrankt wird, fehlt auf europäischer Ebene bislang nicht nur ein umfassendes dogmatisches Konzept, sondern überhaupt ein materiell sonderter Grundkonsens. Ausgehend von Normtext und Systematik der Charta versucht der Beitrag eine normative Konkretisierung und nähert sich der Frage danach, ob und inwieweit der Vergleich der Grundrechtskataloge ein Schutzdefizit offenbart und wie ggf. mit dieser Spannungslage verfahren werden kann.

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Rosin Philip

**Die Reaktion der Schweiz auf den Vorschlag einer Europäischen Sicherheitskonferenz. Innerer Entscheidungsprozess und diplomatische Aktivitäten 1969–1972**

in *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Geschichte*, Band 62, Heft 1, 2012 , 115-135

In 1969 the Swiss Foreign Office reacted with reservation to the Eastern proposal for a European Security Conference. A possible participation of Switzerland was made dependent on the compatibility with the Swiss neutrality and the involvement of the United States. In Berne, the perspectives of the Détente were at first, after internal meetings and diplomatic discussions, regarded with scepticism. In December 1969 the Swiss Foreign Office established a study group, which presented a detailed report in July 1970. It supported the idea of participation at the conference and set the goals of recognizing the principle of neutrality and establishing a system for a peaceful settlement of international disputes. In the summer of 1970, in response to two initiatives from MPs, Foreign Minister Graber had to explain the government's position on the conference proposal to both chambers of the Parliament. In the run-up to the Multilateral Talks, Ambassador Thalmann visited six Eastern European countries. In the fall of 1972 the Foreign Office and the Department of Defense elaborated two reports on the security conference, in which the diplomats were less skeptical than the military. The decision of the Federal Council in favor of a Swiss participation at the Multilateral Talks was part of the larger strategy for a more active foreign policy. Furthermore it was in accordance with the "primacy of utility" (Hans Ulrich Jost), in the sense that the involvement within the CSCE enabled Switzerland to extend its contacts with the Eastern European countries and to find a "compensation" for the UNO and the EEC.

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Melin Patrick

**Die Rolle der deutschen Bundesländer im Europäischen Rechtsetzungsverfahren nach Lissabon**

in *Europarecht*, Heft 5, 2011

No abstract available

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Marsden Simon

**Direct Public Access to EU Courts: Upholding Public International Law via the Aarhus Convention Compliance Committee**

in *Nordic Journal of International Law*, vol. 81, issue 2 , 175-204

ABSTRACT: This article examines the opportunities for individuals and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) to obtain access to justice in the European Union (EU) via international law. In the context of the first part of a concluded case before the Aarhus Convention Compliance Committee (ACCC), it reviews the EU rules that restrict standing and examines whether the preliminary reference procedure from Member State courts provides an effective alternative to direct access to EU courts. Based on the general findings and recommendations, and analysis of the relationship between international and EU law, it is argued that there remains a need for greater EU compliance with the Convention, with the implication that EU primary as well as secondary law may need to be reformed if public international law obligations are to be fully met.

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De la Rosa Stephane

**Directive on cross-border healthcare or the art of codifying complex case law**

in *Common Market Law Review*, vol. 49, issue 1 , 15-46

ABSTRACT: The main objective of this article is to study the recent Directive on the application of patients' right in cross-border healthcare by putting it into perspective with the case law that initiated it, together with the trade-offs that had to be taken into account. The drafters of the Directive have dealt with a number of trade-offs among the requirements of the respect for the freedom to receive care (as part of the freedom to provide services), the recognition of rights for the patients, the respect for the historical competence of Member States and the diversity of different healthcare models, and the protection of national financial balances. As a result of these trade-offs, the Directive goes beyond a mere codification of the Kohll and Geraets-Smits case law. It displays an original combination of the codifying solutions derived from the free provision of services, the facilitation of the exercise of patient mobility by highlighting information in relation to such mobility, and a notable focus on several cooperating tools between States in connection with Article 168 TFEU. The article then raises some questions about the efficiency of this combination and its contribution to the realization of a genuine European Health policy.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Mastroianni Roberto

**Diritti dell'uomo e libertà economiche fondamentali nell'ordinamento dell'Unione europea: nuovi equilibri?**

in *Diritto dell'Unione europea*, n. 2 , 319-355

No abstract available



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Moccia Luigi

**Diritto europeo, ordinamento aperto e formazione giuridica**

in *Cittadinanza europea (La)*, Fascicolo 1 - 2012

L'articolo sottolinea l'importanza di definire la nozione di 'diritto europeo' nella prospettiva dell'ordinamento giuridico 'aperto', visto sia come esperienza storica, sia come esigenza teorica di un modo d'intendere l'ordinamento giuridico all'insegna della extrastatalità e del pluralismo, sulla base di un patrimonio di valori comuni e dei connessi diritti fondamentali espressione della centralità della persona, in quanto paradigma di una rule of law europea, alla cui costruzione è chiamata la comunità dei giuristi, in un contesto di integrazione e comunicazione, dove spicca il ruolo della comparazione come principale strumento di una autentica formazione giuridica europea.

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Barroche Julien

**Discours et pratique de la subsidiarité européenne depuis le traité de Maastricht jusqu'à nos jours**

in *Droit et société*, n. 80

No abstract available

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Wiesbrock Anja

**Disentangling the "Union Citizenship Puzzle"? The McCarthy Case**

in *European Law Review*, Vol. 36, issue 6, 861 ff.

No abstract available

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Bonino Emma, De Andreis Marco

**Divenire una grande potenza "leggera"**

in *ItalianiEuropei*, n. 2

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**





*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

MacRae Heather

**Double-Speak: The European Union and Gender Parity**  
in *West European Politics*, vol. 35, n. 2 , 301-318

ABSTRACT: Ideas about pursuing a more equal balance between men and women in decision-making bodies and 'parity democracy' have been promoted by both the Council of Europe and the institutions of the European Union for nearly 20 years. In the early 1990s, the institutions of the EU played an important role in providing a platform for discussion and debate and thus brought these notions into mainstream political discourse in some of the member states. In response, during the late 1990s and early 2000s, several member states implemented policy to encourage more balanced participation for men and women in national and sub-national decision-making bodies. However, despite its own policy statements to the contrary, the EU decision-making bodies themselves remain male-dominated. This article asks how the EU on the one hand provided an impetus for some of the member states to take action to increase gender balance in decision-making while, on the other hand, its own institutions have remained largely unchanged.

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Keller Helen, Kühne Daniela, Fischer Andreas

**Draft Statute for the European Court of Human Rights - A Contribution to Reforming the Convention System**  
in *Human Rights Law Journal*, vol. 30, n. 1-12 , 17-34

No abstract available

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Mattila Mikko, Raunio Tapio

**Drifting Further Apart: National Parties and their Electorates on the EU Dimension**  
in *West European Politics*, vol. 35, n. 3 , 589-606\

ABSTRACT: Whether parties are representative of their voters over the EU is a key concern in modern European governance. Using European Election Studies data, this article compares opinion congruence between parties and their electorates on the EU dimension in 2004 and 2009 and examines, at the levels of both member states and individual parties, which factors explain variation in opinion congruence between parties and their supporters over integration. The article shows that parties have become less representative of their voters and that they adopt more convergent positions on the EU dimension than their voters. Congruence is higher in smaller parties and in ideologically more extremist left-wing parties. Overall parties are thus drifting further apart from their voters on the EU dimension.

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Bodiguel Luc

**Droit des OGM : contestations ardentes, tiède réforme**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 554, janvier , 51-59



The law prepared to allow the growing of GMOs for food purposes is broadly criticised. Not only does the dispute cover all GMO-related rules, it is carried by all concerned players: citizens, member countries, European council. Only the European Commission is trying to face the criticism and anti-GMO actions. To succeed, it offers to revise part of the system by offering member countries a right to limit or prohibit GMO growing in their territory. Is the reform up to the dispute? That is what we try to find out by analysing firstly the extent of the criticisms and secondly the scope of the reform plan.

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Wettestad Jørgen, Eikeland Per Ove, Nilsson Måns

**EU Climate and Energy Policy: A Hesitant Supranational Turn?**

*in Global Environmental Politics*, Volume 12, Number 2, May , 67-86

This article examines the recent changes of three central EU climate and energy policies: the revised Emissions Trading Directive (ETS); the Renewables Directive (RES); and internal energy market (IEM) policy. An increasing transference of competence to EU level institutions, and hence “vertical integration,” has taken place, most clearly in the case of the ETS. The main reasons for the differing increase in vertical integration are, first, that more member states were dissatisfied with the pre-existing system in the case of the ETS than in the two other cases. Second, the European Commission and Parliament were comparatively more united in pushing for changes in the case of the ETS. And, third, although RES and IEM policies were influenced by regional energy security concerns, they were less structurally linked to and influenced by the global climate regime than the ETS.

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Fagan Adam

**EU Conditionality and Governance in Bosnia & Hercegovina: Environmental Regulation of the Trans-European Road Network**

*in Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 63, n. 10, Special Issue: Unconditional Conditionality? The Impact of EU Conditionality in the Western , 1889-1909

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Eckes Christina

**EU Counter-Terrorist Sanctions against Individuals: Problems and Perils**

*in European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 17, issue 1 , 113-132

ABSTRACT: This article gives a comprehensive account of the shortcomings of the European Union's (EU's) policy of sanctioning terrorist suspects and makes tentative suggestions on how to resolve them. While much has been written on the case law of the EU courts on counter-terrorist sanctions, the actual practice of adopting these measures has attracted much less attention. Imposing sanction on individuals remains qualitatively and quantitatively the most



important Common Foreign and Security Policy of the EU, and individuals continue to bring challenges against sanctions before the EU courts. At the same time, many issues surrounding the EU's sanctioning practice remain unresolved. This article addresses these issues. Individual sanctions are not only the cornerstone of EU counterterrorist policies but also an oddly harmonized form of EU criminal law. The EU institutions continue to adopt sanctions based on pre-Lisbon instruments, which fall outside the jurisdiction of the court. Uncertainty surrounds the choice of the correct legal basis under the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU). The composite adoption procedure of autonomous EU sanctions does not give those sanctioned the necessary opportunities to be heard. Finally, pre-emption sandwiches Member States between EU law and their obligations under the UN Charter.

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Barros Xiana

**EU Counterterrorism and Aviation Security: Supranational Rules but Intergovernmental Politics?**

in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 17, issue 1, 53-69

ABSTRACT: Even though it is far from institutionalized, the field of international aviation security is dominated by growing global trends such as the proliferation of the ban on liquids in hand luggage and of the installation of body scanners in airports. The initiators of these two trends are the US in coalition with specific European states. In these cases, the European Union (EU) varies from being an early adopter to a belated one, depending on its internal politics. By employing its veto powers in full, the European Parliament (EP) has achieved a relevant influence over the policy content. In turn, despite the supranational character of decision-making rules in the EU aviation security area, the European Commission has played a weak role as an agenda setter in the substantive choices and has concentrated on performing as a coordinator - thus playing a similar role to its involvement in a number of EU intergovernmental issues. In any event, the agenda of EU aviation security is firmly in the hand of the Member States. After adopting a standard, the EU has tried to export it; yet in that process, the Commission's role is also weakened vis-a-vis the Member States' capacities.

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Jacobs An D.

**EU Crisis Management in Berlin: The Fall of Ministerial Walls?**

in *West European Politics*, vol. 35, n. 3, 466-490

ABSTRACT: The EU's civilian and military crisis management operations have grown in number, complexity, and geographical outreach. In the absence of EU-level capabilities, the success of EU external crisis management is highly dependent on the timely delivery of national financial, human, and material resources. This has posed challenges to national administrations, not least for a big member state such as Germany. The article provides a theoretical tool to measure processes of administrative Europeanisation and applies it to the case of Germany. It assesses German administrative change, clarifies the depth and origin of adaptation and concludes on the general institutional impact of the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) during the first 10 years of its existence.



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Rödl Florian

**EU im Notstandsmodus**

in **Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik**, Mai, 2012 , 5-8

Der ehemalige Verfassungsrichter Ernst Wolfgang Böckenförde prägte jüngst das treffende Wort: „Die europäische Not kennt kein Gebot“. Und das ist kein trivialer Spruch. Gemeint ist, dass die Union bzw. die Regierungen ihrer Mitgliedstaaten im Angesicht der Krise offenbar bereit sind, sich freihändig über alle Grenzen hinwegzusetzen, die sich aus dem Primärrecht der Union oder dem nationalen Verfassungsrecht einschließlich der Grundrechte ergeben könnten.

Es herrscht in der Tat eine ausgesprochene Notstandsmentalität. Regierungen und Organe der Union agieren im Rahmen einer ungeschriebenen Notstandsverfassung. Dies muss, auch wenn natürlich jedem die Bewältigung der europäischen Finanzkrise in der Sache sehr am Herzen liegt, aus rechtsstaatlichem und demokratischem Blickwinkel zutiefst beunruhigen...

The full text is free:

<http://www.blaetter.de/archiv/jahrgaenge/2012/mai/eu-im-notstandsmodus>

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Nicole Bolleyer & Christine Reh

**EU legitimacy revisited: the normative foundations of a multilevel polity**

in **Journal of European Public Policy** , Volume 19, Issue 4 2012 , 472-490

This paper reconceptualizes the challenge of legitimate governance in the European Union (EU) as a multilevel polity. Legitimacy is defined as one possible motivation for accepting political rule; it roots in citizens' affiliation with a balanced set of core values and their structural realization. This article argues that any attempt to legitimize the EU faces two distinct challenges. First, owing to the co-existence of states and individuals as political subjects, national legitimacy standards – defined by their balance of negative freedom, political equality and welfare – cannot be reproduced. Second, the legitimacy of both the Union and its member states depends upon the compatibility of values across levels. Empirically, legitimacy is hard to disentangle from other motivations behind acceptance, such as self-interest or fear of sanctions. By analysing the EU's constitutional evolution as a 'structural proxy' for its underlying values, we capture shifts in the supranational value configuration and identify potential incompatibilities with established national balances. Such incompatibilities, we argue, are a hitherto neglected challenge to the normative justifiability of both the EU and its member states.

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Wyn Grant



### **Economic patriotism in European agriculture**

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 19, Issue 3 2012 , 420-434

In several sectors, national growth strategies have led governments to transfer economic patriotism to the European level to ensure continued control over these sectors. This contribution explores how European agriculture and the CAP constitute a policy regime which seeks to discriminate in favour of particular social groups, firms or sectors understood by policy-makers as 'insiders' because of their territorial status. The case of agriculture, where policy is made at the EU level, illustrates how supranational economic patriotism co-exists and complements national ambitions and explains why European integration is not necessarily synonymous with the liberalization of the sector in multilateral arenas. The contribution explores how CAP reform, the re-emergence of food security discourse and a complex interplay of productionist and consumptionist discourses present opportunities for discriminatory economic patriotic interventionism in favour of European agricultural producers.

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**Ben Clift & Cornelia Woll**

#### **Economic patriotism: reinventing control over open markets**

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 19, Issue 3 2012 , 307-323

We analyse how tensions between international market integration and spatially limited political mandates have led to the phenomenon of economic patriotism. As discrimination in favour of insiders, economic patriotism goes beyond economic nationalism and can include territorial allegiances at the supranational or the local level. We show how this prism helps to understand the evolution of political intervention in open economies and present the ambition of this collection.

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#### **Section C) Regional integration processes**

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**Hungary's new constitutional order and European unity**

#### **Editorial Comments**

in *Common Market Law Review*, vol. 49, issue 3 , 871-833

No abstract available

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**Öztürk Asiye**

#### **Editorial: Deutsche Außenpolitik**

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 10, 2012

In einer Grundsatzrede im Jahre 2010 beschrieb der Bundesaußenminister als Ziele der deutschen Außenpolitik, das "Kooperations- und Integrationsmodell Europa" zu stärken, sich "für Frieden und Abrüstung einzusetzen" sowie die "Chancen der Globalisierung zu Gunsten aller" zu nutzen. Vor diesem Hintergrund löste das auswärtige Handeln



Deutschlands der vergangenen Jahre manche Diskussionen aus.

The full text is free:

<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/75782/editorial>

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Golz Hans-Georg

**Editorial: Schuldenkrise und Demokratie**

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 13, 2012

Seit Beginn der Finanz- und Verschuldungskrise in der Europäischen Union werden demokratisch gewählte Parlamente und Regierungen von den privaten Akteuren der Kapitalmärkte in die Enge getrieben. Der "Fiskalpakt" verpflichtet langfristig zu strikter Haushaltsdisziplin durch "Schuldenbremsen". Unterdessen wächst das Unbehagen über demokratische Defizite beim parlamentarischen Umgang mit scheinbar alternativlosen, immer größeren "Rettungspaketen".

The full text is free:

<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/126010/editorial>

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Barón Crespo Enrique

**El desarrollo de la codecisión como procedimiento legislativo de la UE**

in *Cuadernos europeos de Deusto*, n. 46 , 19-47

No abstract available

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O'Boyle Michael

**Electoral disputes and the ECHR: an overview**

in *Human Rights Law Journal*, vol. 30, n. 1-12 , 1-11

No abstract available

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Sadeleer Nicolas de

**Enforcing EUCHR Principles and Fundamental Rights in Environmental Cases**





in *Nordic Journal of International Law*, vol. 81, issue 1 , 39-74

ABSTRACT: So far, EU treaty law does not encapsulate any individually justiciable rights to a clean environment or to health. The article explores whether individuals can rely on the environmental duties embodied in the European Union Charter of Human Rights (EUCHR), and the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) in cases falling within the scope of EU environmental law. Moreover, it takes a close examination of the case law of both the Court of Justice of the European Union and the European Court of Human Rights regarding the standing of individuals whose environment is impaired.

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Amato Giuliano

**Essere "Italianieuropei": il senso della partecipazione al progetto europeo**  
in *ItalianiEuropei*, n. 2

No abstract available

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Covolo Valentina

**Et la judiciarisation de l'espace pénal de l'union fut ... Mais où se cache le juge pénal européen?**  
in *Les Cahiers de droit europeen*, Vol. 47, n. 1 , 103-154

No abstract available

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Steta Annick

**Euro : la leçon de la théorie des zones monétaires optimales**  
in *Revue des deux mondes*, Avril

Les spasmes qui ont parcouru le système monétaire international entre la fin des années cinquante et l'abandon du Gold Exchange Standard agitérent violemment le monde universitaire. De part et d'autre de l'Atlantique, les économistes débattaient des avantages respectifs des systèmes de changes fixes et flottants. Alors que les tenants des changes flexibles formaient un petit groupe soudé dominé par les monétaristes, les partisans des changes fixes ne s'accordaient pas sur les fondements du système monétaire susceptible de remplacer le Gold Exchange Standard...

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R. Daniel Kelemen

**Eurolegalism and Democracy**

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 50, Issue s1, March 2012 , 55-71

European integration is encouraging the judicialization of politics and the spread of a distinctive, juridified mode of governance we can refer to as 'Eurolegalism'. The central argument of this article is that judicialization and the rise of Eurolegalism are not undermining democracy in Europe, as some critics would suggest, but are changing its character. These trends will change the types of policies that European democracies can effectively pursue and the processes through which they can pursue them.

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Busch Dierk Hirschel

**Europa en la encrucijada. Propuestas para salir de la crisis**

in *Nueva Sociedad*, n. 235

The neoliberal construction of the Maastricht Treaty (a monetary union without political union) has led the Euro zone to the brink of collapse. The anticrisis policy has been characterised by three errors: attributing the stratospheric national debts to a supposed lax spending policy, blaming the salary policy for the imbalances in the current account, and allowing the true culprits of the generalized debt (the banks and insurance companies) to establish rules of the economic and financial policy to discipline the indebted countries. To reestablish the process of European integration, a change of paradigm which involves four aspects is needed: Europe needs a new growth strategy, an economic government that is democratically controlled, a continental coordination of wage, social and tax policy, and rules for the financing of the debts.

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Schwarz-Schilling Christian

**Europa und die Krise im Kosovo und westlichen Balkan**

in *Zeitschrift für Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik* , vol. 5, n. 2, april , 177-178

ABSTRACT: Europe has to continue to pay attention to Kosovo, since the situation after independence remains that of a crisis. The need to find a solution to this crisis must not be forgotten in spite of the financial and currency crisis. It is the responsibility of the European Union to point to more effective problem-solving approaches in order to improve the relations of Serbia with its neighbours, especially Kosovo. Germany has a special role to play in these efforts.

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Passadakis Alexis

**Europa von unten**

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, Mai, 2012 , 13-15



Vor genau einem Jahr, am 15. Mai 2011, besetzte die spanische Bewegung Democracia Real Ya! den Platz Puerta del Sol in Madrid. Sie verlieh damit den Protesten gegen die Krisenpolitik der europäischen Regierungen eine neue Dynamik. Im Gefolge der Occupy-Wallstreet-Proteste in den USA und einem globalen Aktionstag Mitte Oktober häuften sich Demonstrationen, (Platz-)Besetzungen und Streiks, insbesondere in Spanien, Griechenland, Portugal und Großbritannien. Inzwischen erheben zunehmend auch namhafte Wissenschaftler und Intellektuelle ihre Stimme gegen die europäische Kürzungspolitik.[1] Zum Jahrestag der Platzbesetzung in Spanien sind nun – im Anschluss an einen neuerlichen weltweiten Aktionstag – auch in Deutschland Proteste geplant: Sie sollen vom 16. bis 19. Mai rund um das Frankfurter Bankenviertel stattfinden.

Seit Beginn der Finanz- und Wirtschaftskrise kam es in Europa insgesamt allein zwischen September 2008 bis September 2011 zu 24 politischen Generalstreiks.[2] Bisher allerdings waren die Abwehrkämpfe gegen die für das westliche Nachkriegseuropa beispiellosen Sozialabbauprogramme im Wesentlichen erfolglos. Diese Niederlagen wiegen umso schwerer, weil seit Beginn der Eurozonenkrise auf der europäischen Ebene fortlaufend neue Mechanismen geschaffen werden, die die Spielräume einer nationalen Haushalts- und Sozialpolitik weiter drastisch und dauerhaft einschränken. Dabei hatten viele Beobachter nach mehreren krachenden Regierungsniederlagen bei Volksabstimmungen über die Verträge von Lissabon eigentlich erwartet, nun stünde eine Pause von der europäischen Integration und eine Phase der Konsolidierung auf der Tagesordnung.[3] Doch im Zuge der Griechenlandkrise werden seit Frühjahr 2010 in rascher Abfolge neue Regelwerke beschlossen und Institutionen etabliert – der Umbau der Eurozone und der EU ist in vollem Gange...

The full text is free:

<http://www.blaetter.de/archiv/jahrgaenge/2012/mai/europa-von-unten>

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**Krätke Michael R.**

#### **Europa vor der Wende?**

in **Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik**, Juni, 2012 , 9-12

Geht der Winter unseres Missvergnügens nun endlich seinem Ende entgegen? Soviel ist jedenfalls klar: Mit dem Wahlsieg des Sozialisten François Hollande in Frankreich wie mit der Niederlage der den Sparkurs tragenden „Memorandumsparteien“ in Griechenland ist die Stimmung in Europa umgeschlagen. Im Mai hat die Revolte gegen die fatale Austeritätspolitik begonnen. Eine Regierung nach der anderen ist über die von Merkel und ihrem Gefolge verordnete Politik gestolpert, die Wahlbürger Europas sind bereits in Massen vom rechten Glauben abgefallen und rebellieren gegen das Regime der Austerität. Sie erdreisten sich, anders zu wählen, als es den „Märkten“ und Angela Merkel gefällt. Leider haben Merkozy versäumt, in ihrem angeblich „alternativlosen“ Fiskalpakt auch gleich den Verzicht auf freie Wahlen festzuschreiben. Fest steht dagegen: Die Griechen gehen am 17. Juni erneut zur Wahl und es ist absehbar, dass das linke Wahlbündnis Syriza diesmal den Sieg davon tragen wird.

The full text is free:

<http://www.blaetter.de/archiv/jahrgaenge/2012/juni/europa-vor-der-wende>

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De Giovanni Biagio

**Europa: due legittimazioni in contrasto**

in *ItalianiEuropei*, n. 4

No abstract available

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Münichsdorfer Olaf

**Europas Jugend: Generation der Verlierer**

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, Juni, 2012 , 17-20

Es ist paradox: Die Generation der „Babyboomer“ geht in Rente und die EU-Kommission prognostiziert eine deutlich sinkende Erwerbsbevölkerung und fehlende Arbeitskräfte[1] – hervorgerufen nicht zuletzt durch den „Pillenknick“ der 1960er Jahre. Rund 80 Millionen Arbeitsplätze sollen in den kommenden zehn Jahren in der EU deshalb freiwerden oder neu entstehen. Bis jetzt jedoch lässt das glorreiche Jahrzehnt auf sich warten. Stattdessen grassiert europaweit die Jugendarbeitslosigkeit.

The full text is free:

<http://www.blaetter.de/archiv/jahrgaenge/2012/juni/europas-jugend-generation-der-verlierer>

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Zeder Fritz

**Europastrafrecht, Vertrag von Lissabon und Stockholmer Programm: Mehr Grundrechtsschutz?**

in *Europarecht*, Heft 1, 2012

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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André Sapir

**Europe after the crisis: less or more role for nation states in money and finance?**

in *Oxford Review of Economic Policy*, volume 27 n.4 , 608-619

With the completion of the single European market and the full liberalization of capital markets two separate trilemmas emerged in the early 1990s: a monetary trilemma between free capital movements, fixed exchange rates, and national monetary autonomy; and a financial trilemma between free capital movements, financial stability, and national financial supervision autonomy. The paper argues that although these two trilemmas stem from the same root cause, financial integration, the financial trilemma is particularly acute for countries that have chosen to resolve the monetary trilemma



by entering into a monetary union. The lesson from the recent crisis is that eurozone countries need to replace their national financial supervision institutions by supranational institutions capable of managing and resolving financial crises. This will require pooling together some of their fiscal sovereignty.

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**Kallas Siim**

**Europe des transports : vers un espace unique**  
in *Politique internationale*, n. 133 - Automne, 2011

La Commission européenne a adopté le 28 mars 2011 un Livre blanc intitulé Feuille de route pour un espace européen unique des transports. Ce document stratégique évalue les politiques récentes en matière de transport, examine les défis à long terme et identifie les objectifs à atteindre au cours des quarante prochaines années, autrement dit d'ici à 2050, tout en fournissant un cadre détaillé pour l'action politique de la décennie à venir. Le développement futur du transport et des infrastructures ferroviaires joue un rôle de premier plan dans cette stratégie et place également la politique des transports dans une perspective élargie : comment promouvoir la croissance et l'emploi tout en utilisant les ressources de façon plus efficace et, surtout, comment améliorer les transports en réduisant massivement la dépendance au pétrole afin de répondre aux problématiques à la fois de sécurité énergétique et de changement climatique.

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**Anthony Giddens**

**Europe's Existential Crisis**  
in *New Perspectives Quarterly*, Vol. 29, Issue 2, Spring , 24-26

No abstract available

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**Toplak Cirila, Šumib Irena**

**Europe(an Union): Imagined Community in the Making?**  
in *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* , vol. 20, issue 1 , 7-28

ABSTRACT: To argue the impossibility of reinforcement of a European identity in the current political climate, the authors of this paper first analyze several examples of use of the concept of European identity in influential political speeches and crucial EU documents. Presentation of evidence follows on the failure of this discourse as reflected in public opinion polls pertaining to identity. After briefly reviewing the status of contemporary theory on European identity, the authors apply to the European Union policies one of major social theories on cohesive, artificially forged communities with a detectable common identity as a precondition and a side-effect—Benedict Anderson's 'imagined community'—to demonstrate that several current EU policies actually have a counter-productive impact on the identity-creation process. Finally, it is suggested what instead could be done—considering the contemporary contexts



and the evolution of identity theory—for the European integration project to produce the desired and quite likely necessary sense of belonging with the EU citizens and thus continue to subsist and possibly prosper.

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**Fox Ruth**

**Europe, Democracy and the Economic Crisis: Is It Time to Reconstitute the ‘Assises’?**

**in Parliamentary Affairs** , Volume 65 - Issue 2 - April , 463-469

The proposals for future economic governance of the European Union in response to the current economic crisis raise, once again, important questions about a ‘democratic deficit’ at the heart of the EU. This article explores how this affects national parliaments and suggests that perhaps the time is ripe for them to proactively assert their collective influence by reconstituting the ‘assises’ (or Conference of the Parliaments) to debate the future direction of democratic accountability in the EU.

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**Alexander Bürgin**

**European Commission's agency meets Ankara's agenda: why Turkey is ready for a readmission agreement**

**in Journal of European Public Policy** , Volume 19, Issue 6 2012 , 883-899

In January 2011, the European Commission and the Turkish government announced an agreement that obliges Turkey to take back illegal immigrants who have used Turkey as a transit country on their way to the European Union (EU). Thus, Turkey would fulfil a costly EU demand with no guarantee of the reward of EU membership. The key to understanding the new readiness of the AKP government for a readmission agreement after several years of unsuccessful negotiations is the agency of the European Commission. Its offer of a visa liberalization dialogue in exchange for a readmission agreement, despite the opposition of some member states to such an approach in the case of Turkey, has strongly influenced the cost–benefit calculation of the AKP government. In addition to this external incentive, the new salience of migration issues on the domestic agenda has facilitated the engagement of the Turkish government in readmission negotiations.

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**Münevver Cebeci**

**European Foreign Policy Research Reconsidered: Constructing an ‘Ideal Power Europe’ through Theory?**

**in Millennium: Journal of International Studies**, 40 (3) , 563-583

This article attempts to criticise European foreign policy research from within, portraying how some of its scripts are privileged and how they construct an ‘ideal power Europe’ meta-narrative. It argues that European foreign policy researchers engage in such construction through, firstly, assuming that the EU is post-sovereign/post-modern; secondly, naming the EU as a model; and, finally, conceptualising the Union as a normative power. The article scrutinises European foreign policy research through a deconstruction of its texts and displays how certain knowledge about the EU





and European foreign policy is produced and reproduced. It further reveals how the 'ideal power Europe' meta-narrative contributes to the dominative dimension of European foreign policy.

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Dandashly Assem

**European Integration Revisited—From the Founding Fathers to the Normative Power Europe**

in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 34, Issue 4 , 419-426

<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/07036337.2012.679835>

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Pastor José M., Serrano Lorenzo

**European Integration and Inequality among Countries: A Lifecycle Income Analysis**

in *Review of International Economics*, Volume 20, Issue 1, February 2012 , 186-199

This paper analyzes the effects of the enlargements of the European Union on inequality using an approach based on individuals' lifecycle incomes. This allows one to consider the effect of different rates of growth and survival rates. Inequality in terms of permanent income was substantially less than in current per capita income at the time of all the enlargements except those of the last 10 years. The results point to the key role of policies that stimulate growth in the less developed countries. With an annual convergence of 2% in current income, inequality in permanent income would be less than one third of what it is now.

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Bäck Hanna, Meier Henk Erik, Persson Thomas, Fischer Jörn

**European Integration and Prime Ministerial Power: A Differential Impact on Cabinet Reshuffles in Germany and Sweden**

in *German Politics*, Volume 21, Issue 2 , 184-208

It is commonly assumed that European integration empowers prime ministers at the expense of cabinet ministers and parliamentary actors. This article follows the suggestion that an increase in cabinet reshuffles indicates power shifts in favour of the PM, and studies reshuffles in two countries that have been involved very differently in the process of European integration, Germany and Sweden. It hypothesises that if European integration empowers the PM, the PM will employ cabinet reshuffles more often. By implication, as integration increases, (1) ministerial reshuffles should become more frequent, and (2) political insiders and ministers holding important portfolios should be more likely to be dismissed. The results found in an event history analysis show that EU integration leads to an increase of turnover when looking at Swedish post-war cabinets, whereas no such effect is found for German cabinets. These results are in line with the idea that a differential impact of Europe on intra-executive relations should be expected.

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Reh Christine

**European Integration as Compromise: Recognition, Concessions and the Limits of Cooperation in Government and Opposition**, Vol. 47, n. 3, July , 414-440

The role of compromise in EU politics has been widely recognized by scholars and practitioners alike. At the same time, the systematic conceptual, analytical and normative study of compromise has remained an exception. This is surprising, given that the study of compromise can be linked to three broader questions at the heart of integration: (1) How does the EU accommodate diversity? (2) What makes supranational rule normatively justifiable? (3) Who or what defines the limits of cooperation? Against this backdrop, this article sheds light on the concept of compromise, on the role of compromise in legitimizing supranational governance and on the limits to compromise in the European polity. I argue that the EU – a divided, multilevel and functionally restricted polity – is highly dependent on the legitimizing force of ‘inclusive compromise’, which is characterized by the recognition of difference. This is true for horizontal or micro-level relations between political actors (where compromise works through concessions as well as justification, perspective-taking and empathic concern in a process of ‘procedural accommodation’), and for vertical or macro-level relations between systems of governance (where compromise works through ‘constitutional compatibility’). Given the legitimizing force of inclusive compromise, I subsequently identify the limits to such agreements and, thus, to supranational cooperation; I argue that these limits are issue specific and depend on where the costs of cooperation are borne. The article concludes by outlining routes for follow-up empirical research.

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N. Fligstein, A. Polyakova and W. Sandholtz

**European Integration, Nationalism and European Identity**

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 50, Issue s1, March 2012 , 106-122

Early theorists of European integration speculated that economic integration would lead to political integration and a European identity. A European identity has not displaced national identities in the EU, but, for a significant share of EU citizens, a European identity exists alongside a national identity. At the same time, political parties asserting more traditional nationalist identities and policies have directed their dissatisfaction against immigrants, foreigners and, sometimes, the EU. Those who participate in ‘Europe’ are more likely to develop a European identity, while those whose economic and social horizons are essentially local are more likely to assert nationalist identities. It is argued in this article that the issue of European and national identity plays a heightened role in European politics, particularly in the economic crisis of 2007–11. The resolution of that crisis, which may result in increased European political co-operation, will have to take into account highly salient national identities that have so far resisted such co-operation.

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Schmidt Vivien A.

**European Member State Elites’ Diverging Visions of the European Union: Diverging Differently since the Economic Crisis and the Libyan Intervention?**

in **Journal of European Integration**, Volume 34, Issue 2 , 169-190



In the midst of the EU's economic crisis and in the heat of the Libyan intervention, immediate concerns have seemingly crowded out consideration of the long-term issues that have been at the center of the major debates, such as the constitutionalization of the EU, enlargement to the east, or the EU as a global actor. But although these issues appear to be forgotten, the underlying questions about what the EU should be and do that nourished the debates remain. Although each member state naturally has its own specific answer to these questions, the answers have more generally divided into four basic discourses about the EU as a free market, a values-based community, a rights-based union, and/or a strategic global actor. Leaders' visions of the EU have long appeared associated with particular discourses, with these continuing to inform and explain their actions. But their responses to the economic crisis of the EU as well as to the humanitarian crisis of Libya have thrown such discourses, whether understood in terms of path dependence or incremental development, into question, since some member state leaders' discourses and/or actions marked radical shifts, and others greater drifts, from the past, at least in the heat of the moment. The question this article therefore poses is whether EU visions are not simply continuing to diverge but also whether they are diverging differently in the aftermath of the EU's recent crises in economics and international action. It will assess this through the lens of European political elites' discourses of European integration and international relations, with special attention to the three biggest member states, Britain, France, and Germany.

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**B. Eichengreen**

**European Monetary Integration with Benefit of Hindsight**

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 50, Issue s1, March 2012 , 123-126

The year 2009 saw a series of events celebrating the first decade of Europe's monetary union. Within a year, however, the eurozone descended into the most serious crisis in its short history. The question posed in this article is whether scholarly analysis of European monetary integration was deficient in ways that led observers to miss impending problems. The answer given here is that the standard analysis was broadly on the mark, although it missed the need for effective oversight of banking and financial systems at the level of the monetary union and underemphasized political economy considerations.

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**Polakiewicz Jörg**

**European Union Action on Procedural Rights and the European Convention on Human Rights**

in **Human Rights Law Journal**, vol. 30, n. 1-12 , 12-16

No abstract available

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**Manfred Elsig, Cédric Dupont**

**European Union Meets South Korea: Bureaucratic Interests, Exporter Discrimination and the Negotiations of Trade Agreements**



in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 50, Issue 3, May 2012 , 492-507

Who in the European Union drives the process of pursuing bilateral trade negotiations? In contrast to societal explanations, this article develops a novel argument as to how the European Commission manages the process and uses its position in strategic ways to pursue its interests. Rooted in principal–agent theory, the article discusses agent preferences and theorizes the conditions under which the agent sets specific focal points and interacts strategically with principals and third parties. The argument is discussed with case study evidence drawn from the first trade agreement concluded and ratified since the EU Commission announced its new strategy in 2006: the EU–South Korea trade agreement.

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**Nivet Bastien**

**European Union: a depolitization facilitating populism**

in *Revue internationale et stratégique*, 2011/4 (n° 84) , 16-27

Often analyzed in a split way the development in several countries of the European Union (EU) of political movements qualified as populists begins to be more globally approached as the signal of joint political, economic and social discontent in several European States.

In this context, Europeanists having questioned the link between these populist dynamics and their object of study – the EU –, contented themselves for the moment with a relatively descriptive and victimhood posture, noticing the simultaneous development of the same pathology in several member states and an inclination of these political movements to take for target, along with elites and foreigners, the EU.

It is today necessary to think of the way the European space, by some of its defects and by drifts in the way the national governments practise and build it, regrettably provide a fertile ground to the expansion of populist political movements.

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**Madalina Busuioc**

**European agencies and their boards: promises and pitfalls of accountability beyond design**

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 19, Issue 5 2012 , 719-736

European agencies have become an established part of the European Union's architectural set up and are the most proliferating institutional entities at the EU level. However, as their relevance and prevalence in the EU institutional landscape has increased, so have concerns about the possibility for such bodies to escape scrutiny. This article investigates a central element of agency accountability: their accountability vis-à-vis the management boards. The main and most direct confines on the grant of authority to agencies and their directors are represented by the management boards. Given the formal powers exercised by European agencies, it is important to observe to what extent boards are successful in exercising their scrutinizing roles. Based on interviews with agency directors and board representatives, this contribution unravels how these accountability ties operate in practice and identifies recurring weaknesses that seriously impinge upon their effectiveness. The contribution offers a potential explanation for the observed failings and reflects on the repercussions of these findings for agency accountability.



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Catherine Hoeffler

**European armament co-operation and the renewal of industrial policy motives**  
in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 19, Issue 3 2012 , 435-451

This article explores economic patriotism within the evolution of European defence procurement policies. As European integration advances, the nature of the patrie underpinning interventions in defence industries evolves, and becomes partially post-national. That said, 'national' boundaries endure, and special relationship among national actors continue to exist. European co-operation in armaments production involves an ambiguous blend of partial liberalization and the implementation of industrial policy at a new level. Tensions among actors about both the nature of defence industrial policy (liberal vs protectionist) and its level of implementation (national/European/global) explain the evolution of the European prerogatives in this sector.

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Gargantini Giulia

**European cooperation in counter-terrorism and the case of individual sanctions**  
in *Perspectives on federalism*, Vol. 3, issue 3 , E- 155-179

This paper assesses European cooperation in counter-terrorism, which was prompted by the terrorist attacks at the beginning of this century. The first part of the paper will provide a description of the main features of the European counter-terrorism policy together with the most important achievements attained in this field. Attention is then focused on the combat against terrorist financing; in particular on the implementation within the European Union of the regime of targeted financial sanctions adopted by the United Nations Security Council. The transposition of these measures within the EU uncovered the shortcomings regarding the institutional structure of the European Union during the pre-Lisbon period and the problems ensuing from the UN regime of financial sanctions, most notably as regards fundamental rights. Finally, the article evaluates the enhancements introduced by the Treaty of Lisbon and the future challenges in this field.

Full text available at:

<http://www.on-federalism.eu/index.php/giulia-gargantini/87-essay/112-european-cooperation-in-counter-terrorism-and-the-case-of-individual-sanctions>

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Maria Spirova

**European integration and minority politics: ethnic parties at the EP elections**  
in *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, Volume 28, Issue 1 , 76-92



his article examines the behaviour of ethnic parties and their electorates in four new EU member states at the 2009 European Parliament (EP) elections. Building on earlier arguments from within the literature on Europeanisation, the propositions of this article are that the ethnic minority parties are more EU-enthusiastic than the mainstream political parties; that they treat the EP elections both as a more important arena of political contestation than do the mainstream political parties and as equally important to national elections; and that they will use the elections as an opportunity to further their minority-specific agendas. Using the EuroManifesto and the Voter Studies of the 2009 European Elections Study this article tests these propositions and finds support for the first two, but only limited support for the third one.

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**Sack Detlef**

**Europeanization Through Law, Compliance, and Party Differences – The ECJ’s ‘Rüffert’ Judgment (C-346/06) and Amendments to Public Procurement Laws in German Federal States**

in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 34, Issue 3 , 241-260

In comparing the amendments to public procurement laws after the ECJ’s ‘Rüffert’ judgment (European Court of Justice 2008, C-346/06) the paper explores the compliance to Europeanization through law in the 16 German federal states. Instead of unilinear convergence, three types of reactions were identified. First, conservative-liberal governments rescinded the respective regulation. Thus, they dismantled their policy. Second, conservative governments that were susceptible to the pressures from small- and medium-sized business associations absorbed the effects of the ECJ ruling by enacting quick and minor amendments. Third, social democrat led governments tended to seek out policy alternatives that were consistent with European law. These governments engaged in EU-induced policy expansion, eventually setting up new procurement laws that included a number of social and environmental standards. Therefore, the case study at hand confirms studies of Europeanization that highlight the re-assertion of party differences which depends on both fundamental programmatic differences as well as plurality of European law.

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**Buhari-Gulmez Didem**

**Europeanization of foreign policy and world culture: Turkey’s Cyprus policy**

in *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, vol. 12, n. 1 , 81-95

The re/definition of national interests is a dialectical process that involves not only internal dynamics and domestic interests but also explanatory factors transcending national level, such as the European-level and global-level stimuli. Accordingly, the study offers four alternative explanantia for Turkey’s preferences on the Cyprus question: European Union’s (EU) constraining stimuli, EU’s constitutive stimuli, global-level constraining stimuli, global-level constitutive stimuli. The original empirical data support that it is the in/congruence between the ‘EU-level constraining stimuli’ and the ‘global-level constitutive stimuli’ that predicts Turkish perceptions on national interests and thus, Turkish attitudes towards the EU-led reform on Cyprus policy.

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Tanasoiu Cosmina

**Europeanization post-accession: rule adoption and national political elites in Romania and Bulgaria**  
in *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, vol. 12, n. 1, 173-193

Romania and Bulgaria's inability to fully meet membership criteria has questioned the European Union's ability to influence domestic reform post-accession. This article investigates stalled Europeanization post-accession due to the dilution of the external incentive model, and the reassertion of domestic structures, through an interplay between formal, behavioural and discursive adoption. The findings show that the implementation of post-accession Europeanization was delayed by Brussels's reluctance to substantiate their threats and the national political elites' ability to stifle implementation by relying on techniques of 'smoking-mirrors'. The article applies discourse and historical analysis. By focusing upon the period 2007–2011, it considers the efficiency of post-conditionality mechanisms of compliance.

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Fuchs Claudia

**Europäische Verfahrensgrundsätze und mitgliedstaatliches Verwaltungshandeln**  
in *Zeitschrift für Öffentliches Recht*, vol. 67, issue 1, 47-59

ABSTRACT: Despite all crises, the progress of European integration leads to an ever increasing interest in European administrative law. This comprises the execution of EU law by the member states as well as the administration by EU institutions and bodies themselves, and composite decision-making procedures. This contribution focuses on EU principles of administrative procedure. It is taken for granted that there are very different modes of European integration to influence the administrative procedural law of the member states. The paper argues for a deeper and fundamental reflection on European administrative (procedural) law on the member state level.

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Erbguth Wilfried, Schubert Mathias

**Europäisches Raumordnungsrecht: Neue Regelungskompetenzen der EU im Gefolge des Vertrages von Lissabon?**

in *Archiv des öffentlichen Rechts*, Volume 137, Number 1, January 2012, 72-91

Abstract:

The limits of EU competences are governed by the principle of conferral. Under this principle, the Union shall act only within the limits of the competences conferred upon it by the Member States in the Treaties to attain the objectives set out therein (Art. 5 para. 1 TEU). That means legislative competence in the field of spatial planning can only be based upon an accordant provision in the Treaties allowing binding regulations for Spatial Planning in the Member States. The European Treaties do not provide any Union competence that would empower the EU to release binding acts addressed to the Member States: Neither Art. 192 para. 1 TFEU nor Art. 192 para. 2 no. b first indent TFEU would allow for secondary legislation in the field of spatial planning. Art. 192 Para. 2 no. b first indent TFEU, authorising the adoption of measures affecting town and country planning in accordance with a special legislative procedure, refers to the Union policy on the environment but not to specific measures directly targeting spatial planning. The Lisbon Treaty did not



expand the Union competences in the field of spatial planning, particularly not with regard to the explicit incorporation of “territorial cohesion” as an objective and area of shared competence. In consideration of the genesis of the objective “territorial cohesion” and its meaning within European Structural Policy, it cannot be approved that territorial cohesion and spatial planning are partially congruent. The concept of spatial planning differs from the perception of spatial resp. territorial development but conforms to the definition of spatial planning as defined by the German Raumordnungsgesetz. According to Art. 4 para. 1 and Art. 5 para. 2 TEU, the competence for both legislation on and implementation of spatial planning remains with the Member States.

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**Brack Nathalie**

**Eurosceptics in the European Parliament: Exit or Voice?**

in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 34, Issue 2 , 151-168

Euroscepticism at the supranational level has remained largely overlooked by scholars. In an attempt to fill in this gap, this article focuses on the persistent minority of hard Eurosceptic MEPs. The objective is twofold. First, it aims to determine how Eurosceptic MEPs conceive and carry out their representative mandate. Second, it analyzes the impact of the institutional framework and of the visions of Europe on the strategies of these MEPs. Drawing on the insights of role theory and the dichotomy of A. Hirschman and using a qualitative methodology, the article proposes a typology of three main parliamentary roles (the absentee, the pragmatist and the public orator), corresponding to a continuum between exit and voice. It also shows that both the visions of Europe as well as the institutional context affect the parliamentary roles of MEPs.

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**Leconte Cécile**

**Eurosceptics in the Rotating Presidency’s Chair: Too Much Ado About Nothing?**

in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 34, Issue 2 , 133-149

With the mainstreaming of Euroscepticism within established parties, the EU is facing a new challenge: that of soft Eurosceptic governments landing in the rotating presidency’s seat. Albeit not opposing the EU as such, these governments wish to put a brake on developments in further integration and challenge the EU informal norms of legitimacy and expected behaviour. On the basis of four case studies, this article illustrates the ability of the EU to adapt to this new situation — especially in the post-Lisbon era, where presidencies’ ability to influence the EU agenda and direction is increasingly limited. Indeed, on the whole, Eurosceptic governments live up to the role of the presidency as manager of the EU day-to-day business. However, in this context, there is a risk that EU partners might neglect potentially authoritarian developments in the country holding the chair, as the Hungarian presidency illustrated. Consequently, while the rotating presidency becomes less permeable to the turmoil of domestic politics, its role as a ‘magnifying glass’ of domestic democratic shortcomings becomes less relevant.

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Wolf Holger

**Eurozone entry criteria after the crisis**

in *International Economics and Economic Policy*, Volume 9, Number 1 / March 2012 , 1-6

No abstract available

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Marion Salines, Gabriel Glöckler & Zbigniew Truchlewski

**Existential crisis, incremental response: the eurozone's dual institutional evolution 2007–2011**

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 19, Issue 5 2012 , 665-681

We use an institutionalist approach to understand how the governance of the eurozone has evolved in the wake of the multiple crises that erupted since 2007. We assess the impact of the crisis on the institutional development of EMU in light of three case studies: the role of the ECB during the crisis; the reform of the economic governance framework; the set-up of euro area financial assistance arrangements. Paradoxically, even when faced with an existential crisis, EMU continues to evolve through gradual change. Empirical evidence points to the existence of a dual process of change – layering and redirection.

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Morten Egeberg

**Experiments in supranational institution-building: the European Commission as a laboratory**

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 19, Issue 6 2012 , 939-950

Classical international organizations are formally governed by ministers who have their primary institutional affiliation at the national level. The European Commission, on the other hand, represents a notable organizational innovation in the way that executive politicians at the top, i.e., the commissioners, have their primary institutional affiliation at the international level. Thus, the Commission constitutes a 'laboratory' for experiments in supranational institution-building: what is the relative importance of nationality and organizational position with regard to explaining actual decision behaviour? This article takes stock of the existing literature in the field, and also launches a future research agenda. Concerning Commission officials, nationality seems to play a minor role. Nationality matters somewhat more regarding commissioners' behaviour, but makes up only one of several components of their highly compound role, thus making behaviour at the top of the Commission qualitatively different from behaviour in, for example, the European Council.

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Rangeon Florence

**Fair-play financier: le prochain défi de la régulation financière européenne?**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 555, février , 130-135

Whereas the European Union (EU) has been conducting an ambitious financial regulation programme since 2009,



European sport remains market by a strong disparity in terms of financial framework. Whilst the European sport federations are slowly moving towards a harmonisation of prudential rules, the EU has, up until now, been happy to encourage them weakly. And yet, fairness, as well as the requirement to preserve the uncertainty of sports results, both protected by the new article 165 of the treaty on the functioning of the EU, call for a more ambitious European intervention. We will discuss both the legal and political legitimacy of it.

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stefan collignon

**Fiscal Policy rules and the Sustainability of Public Debt in Europe**

in *International Economic Review*, volume 53 n.2 , 539-567

The sustainability of public debt is interpreted as the result of the interaction of fiscal policy with the economic environment, and not as a statistical concept as in most of the recent literature. If debt is not to explode over time, policymakers have to respond to the changing conditions in the macroeconomic environment. This article defines the conditions that will ensure compliance of fiscal policy with the intertemporal budget constraint in the context of Europe's fiscal policy rules. The empirical part of the article reveals that European public debt is sustainable in this respect, but questions regarding long-run liquidity requirements remain unresolved.

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Andrew Hughes Hallett & Svend E. Hougaard Jensen

**Fiscal governance in the euro area: institutions vs. rules**

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 19, Issue 5 2012 , 646-664

This contribution considers mechanisms for rule-based fiscal policy co-ordination to replace the failed Stability and Growth Pact in the euro area. It argues in favour of soft debt targets as a means of addressing problems caused by excessive debt. It is shown how such targets can be safely operated, supported by an effective excess debt protocol. A division of labour between fiscal and monetary policy is proposed, whereby fiscal policy is used for long-term targets and monetary policy for short-term stabilization. We then design a monitoring agency, in the form of a fiscal policy commission for Europe, to make the excess debt protocol operational. The contribution also addresses the issue of moral hazard, by proposing that governments be abandoned to financial markets at the upper debt limit, a commitment to be spelled out in advance. Finally, this framework is set within the idea of fiscal space. We show how structural reforms can expand that fiscal space.

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lozzo Alfonso

**For a European Sustainable Development Plan**

in *Federalist Debate (The)*, Year XXV, n. 1, March

<http://www.federalist-debate.org/index.php/current/item/743-for-a-european-sustainable-development-plan>



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Paul W. Thurner & Martin Binder

**Formal and real authority of ministerial jurisdictions in semi-open states: the comparative value of administrative inside and outside networking**

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 19, Issue 6 2012 , 817-843

How successful are ministries in achieving their jurisdictional goals in intergovernmental negotiations? And is it more valuable for them to network domestically as compared with transgovernmental networking? For the first time, we provide a quantitative assessment of the relative impact of inside versus outside networking efforts of ministerial bureaucracies – simultaneously controlling for their formal organizational rights. The evaluative benchmark will be their returns from intergovernmental negotiations. Our application case is an European Union intergovernmental conference. In order to separate the respective effects of outside against inside networking, we propose to disaggregate the nation-state into its ministerial jurisdictions. For the estimation of the value of networking, we measure 'negotiation returns' by comparing the ideal points of 140 governmental subunits with regard to 46 negotiation issues with the final treaty stipulations. Owing to the complex cross-classified order of the data, we use a specific type of multi-level analysis, i.e. the so-called two-way error-components models.

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Hojnik Janja

**Free movement of goods in a labyrinth: Can Buy Irish survive the crises?**

in *Common Market Law Review*, vol. 49, issue 1 , 291-326

ABSTRACT: The article explores the legal status of consumer ethnocentrism in the EU and how the three simultaneous crises of the present time (economic, food and climate change) challenge the EU Court's judgment in Buy Irish, which presents the foundation for uprooting negative consumer stereotypes towards products from other Member States and protectionism. Various national campaigns of EU Member States that try to raise consumer ethnocentrism are discussed in light of the established case law of the EU Court, thereby highlighting new circumstances, in which the principle of free movement of goods, particularly of food, is currently situated. In this respect, in a recent Green Paper on promotion of the tastes of Europe (COM (2011) 436) the Commission adopted an apparently new approach towards local and regional food markets, by expressly recognizing the importance of short distribution channels for national traditions, food security (and self-sufficiency) and combating climate change. This "new approach" could have considerable consequences for the legitimacy of national initiatives to promote domestic purchase, thereby compromising a thirty year old judgment - Buy Irish and free movement of goods in general.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Witt Anne C.

**From Airtours to Ryanair: Is the more economic approach to EU merger law really about more economics?**

in *Common Market Law Review*, vol. 49, issue 1 , 217-246



ABSTRACT: In 2002, the General Court famously annulled three merger prohibitions under the EC Merger Regulation because of serious errors of assessment. Amongst other things, it held that the Commission had ignored economic theory. Consequently, the Commission announced radical changes to its approach to ensure that future assessments would be based on rigorous economic and econometric analysis. This contribution examines the changes introduced by the Commission's "more economic approach" to EU merger review. An analysis of the Commission's merger guidelines and decisions reveals that the core of the new approach by no means lies in the use of econometric analyses and complex theories of microeconomics. Its essence rather lies in aligning the purpose of EU merger law with the consumer welfare aim of modern industrial economics. On the basis of this new legal objective, the Commission reinterpreted the substantive test of EU merger law as containing an unwritten consumer harm requirement and reconsidered the role of efficiency effects. The Commission's new concept of harm is not entirely compatible with the case law of the Court of Justice, which continues to adhere to its "less economic" concepts of the 1970s. Moreover, the Commission's attempts to reconcile the two worlds have resulted in theories of harm that are ambiguous and therefore detrimental to legal certainty.

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Rossi Lucia Serena

**From EU Pillar to Area: the impact of the Lisbon treaty on the External Dimension of Freedom, Security and Justice.**

in *Diritto dell'Unione europea*, n. 4 , 999-1014

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Thomas Fetzer

**From nationalism to European patriotism? Trade unions and the European works council at General Motors**

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 19, Issue 3 2012 , 342-357

Research on economic patriotism has so far focused on public policy and only marginally addressed the role of non-state actors. This contribution seeks to fill this gap. It examines the emergence of a European economic patriotism discourse among trade union representatives at General Motors since the late 1990s, which underpinned the operation of the company's 'European works council', a statutory body of employee representation mandated by a 1994 European Union directive. It argues that the new trade union emphasis on 'European interests' vis-à-vis subsidiaries in other world regions, and vis-à-vis GM's global headquarter in Detroit, reflected a (partial) 'upward shift' of patriotism from the national to the European level in response to corporate globalization. It also highlights the limited and fragile nature of European patriotism, which was severely challenged during the recent global economic crisis

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Mads Dagnis Jensen & Peter Nedergaard

**From 'Frankenstein' to 'toothless vampire'? Explaining the watering down of the Services Directive**





in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 19, Issue 6 2012 , 844-862

The Services Directive is one of the most significant and controversial legislative proposals ever negotiated in the European Union (EU). This article fills a gap in our knowledge by addressing the key questions as to why and how this prestigious proposal was watered down during the negotiation process. By applying the framework of rational choice institutionalism, the analysis pinpoints the positions of the key players and estimates their relative importance in shaping the final outcome. Prima facie, the European Parliament seemed to be the decisive actor developing the text which was adopted in the end. However, a closer inspection reveals that the text was influenced by the newly elected conservative–socialist coalition government in Germany and reflected a relatively low common denominator which secured acceptance from not only the vast majority of Members of the European Parliament, but also avoided any explicit opposition in the adoption by the Council of Ministers.

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Editorial Comments

**Fundamental rights and EU membership: Do as I say, not as I do!**

in *Common Market Law Review*, vol. 49, issue 2 , 481-488

No abstract available

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Theophylactou Demetrios A.

**Geopolitics, Turkey's EU accession course and Cyprus: power balances and 'Soft Power' calculations**

in *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, vol. 12, n. 1 , 97-114

Turkey seems to have injected sufficient 'soft power' calculations in its foreign policy, presumably aiming at attraction and persuasion rather than coercion. Yet military power combined with a sustained economic growth are arguably the main drivers of its newly assertive foreign policy. This analysis explores Turkey's regional ambitions, including its potential leverage on conflict resolution, notably in Cyprus, that may conceivably assume significant geopolitical implications on power balances in the region. It is posited that to be successful, Ankara's new posture necessitates a priori the resolution of several bilateral disputes, ranging from Armenia to the Aegean and troop withdrawal from Cyprus. These steps could be taken irrespective of Ankara's European Union accession process, assuming that the new policy is designed to project a credible image of a rising regional power.

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Hübner Kurt

**German crisis management and leadership—from ignorance to procrastination to action**

in *Asia Europe Journal*, Volume 9, Number 2-4 March , 159-177

The financial crisis of 2008 and even more so the crisis of the Eurozone drastically increased the demand for decisive



leadership and public crisis management. Due to the size of its economy and its position in the global as well as in the European economy, Germany should take the lead in this crisis management. Germany's management of the two crises differs but also shows strong similarities. A "center-left Grand Coalition" managed the global financial crisis; a global crisis in which Germany was one among several relevant global players. A center-right government under the leadership of the same chancellor then during the sovereign debt crisis manages the Eurozone crisis. This is a regional crisis but with global implications. German government was slow in responding to both crises but acted eventually after some procrastination. Both cases, however, differ with regards to Germany's actual role in crisis management. During the global financial crisis, other global actors pushed Germany to the forefront. The Eurozone crisis, a regional crisis, demands a leading role of Germany, the largest economy and member state of the EU. The paper, however, argued that the German crisis management with regards to the Eurozone is very much driven by ideas that preserve German norms but do not live up to the challenges of the crisis. Germany's insistence in its own interests and norms hinders the delivery of a comprehensive crisis management of the Eurozone crisis within the European Union.

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**Bill Lucarelli**

**German neomercantilism and the European sovereign debt crisis**  
in *Journal of Post Keynesian Economics*, volume 34 n.2 , 205-224

The causes of the recent sovereign debt crisis within the eurozone are examined from the perspective of the peculiar institutional framework inherited from the Maastricht Treaty of 1992. The article argues that German neomercantilism is at the very core of Europe's descent into a seemingly irreversible phase of stagnation. In the absence of fiscal federalism, the sovereign debt crisis will only worsen, pushing the eurozone into a possible phase of debt-deflation.

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**Nicolaïdis Kalypso**

**Germany as Europe: How the Constitutional Court unwittingly embraced EU demoi-crazy: A Comment on Franz Mayer**

in *International Journal of Constitutional Law*, Vol. 9, issue 3-4 , 786-792

No abstract available

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**Schelkle Waltraud**

**Good governance in crisis or a good crisis for governance? A comparison of the EU and the US**  
in *Review of International Political Economy*, Volume 19, Issue 1, 2012 , pages 34-58

No abstract available

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Meyer Jan-Henrik

**Green Activism. The European Parliament's Environmental Committee promoting a European Environmental Policy in the 1970s**

in *Journal of European Integration History*, vol. 17, n. 1 , 73-86

This article challenges the standard assumption in the academic literature on the European Parliament (EP) that the EP only became a more assertive and activist institution after the first direct elections of 1979. Instead, I argue that already in the 1970s the EP was asserting its role as a representative assembly, for example, by trying to promote and shape the emerging environmental policy. The article focuses on the responsible parliamentary Committee on Public Health and the Environment, whose members devoted much skill and energy trying to place the environment on the EC agenda, to influence the new policy, to insert citizens' views into the policy process, thus linking the EC to its constituency, and contributing to the legitimacy of EC policy-making. Clearly, the EP began to assert its role in (environmental) policymaking already well before direct elections, even though it would require further research to verify whether this claim holds more generally.

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Warleigh-Lack Alex

**Greening EU Studies: An Academic Manifesto**

in *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* , vol. 20, issue 1 , 77-89

ABSTRACT: This article responds to Ian Manners' challenge to scholars of EU studies to engage with a broader range of theoretical perspectives and projects than is conventional. Specifically, it investigates the benefits of such an epistemological shift as that called for by Manners, critiquing the condition of the mainstream in EU studies—which is still somewhat unreflexively defined by dominant norms of IR scholarship despite the development of the field into a multi-disciplinary form of area studies—and arguing for an engagement with ecological thought and theory. To do this, the article proceeds in three stages. First, I set out why I think the call for a greater range of critical perspectives in EU studies is useful, focusing on the epistemological challenges and benefits involved in taking such a step. Second, I set out the core ideas of political theories of ecology. Finally, I suggest specific benefits for EU studies of incorporating such an ecological approach.

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Catsiapis Jean

**Grèce: le «plan B»**

in *Politique internationale*, n. 133 - Automne, 2011

Despite the two austerity plans implemented by George Papandreou's socialist government, coupled with massive aid from the IMF and the European Union, Greece remains mired in crisis and is struggling to put its finances in order. In this interview with Jean Catsiapis, opposition leader Antonis Samaras blames the party in power for the current situation.



His own New Democracy party refuses to support the government's austerity measures, arguing that they are makeshift and destined to failure. Greece's tragedy, explains Antonis Samaras, is that the socialist party Pasok must now correct all the errors that it has committed over the past thirty years. But the necessary reforms can only be implemented by a political party that sees them as compatible with its ideology and that has an electoral base ready to support them. This party, he claims, is New Democracy—a party that is both free-market and socially oriented, which believes in a more competitive Greece that is less state-controlled and bureaucratic.

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**Laar Mart**

**How austerity is deepening Europe's defence crisis**

in *Europe's World*, Issue 21, Summer

Europe's fundamental belief has been that power shouldn't come out of the barrel of a gun, says Estonia's defence minister, Mart Laar. But he warns that soft power doesn't replace the military capabilities now being gravely threatened by past neglect and future cutbacks.

[http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home\\_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21999/language/en-US/Default.aspx](http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21999/language/en-US/Default.aspx)

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**Calamia Pietro**

**Il Patto di bilancio e le prospettive dell'Unione Europea**

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLIV, numero speciale, n. 166, 73-78

No abstract available

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**Romito Angela Maria**

**Il difficile dialogo tra Corte di giustizia dell'Unione europea e giudice interno in tema di decorrenza del termine di prescrizione**

in *Studi sull'integrazione europea*, Anno VII, n. 1, gennaio-aprile, 59-84

This article aims to underline the uncertainties and ambiguities surrounding the application of European Court's case law principles into the national legal system.

More specifically, the issue of the time-limits for bringing an action based on EC/EU law in a domestic court is an emblematic example of how different could be the judicial protection of individual rights in the Member States, and how difficult could be "to transfer" the addresses marked by the Court of Justice in national codes.

In its first part the article points out the efforts of the ECJ in balancing the rules of national procedural laws (the so called principle of procedural autonomy of Member States) with the effectiveness of European Union law. Therefore it



illustrates the origin and evolution of case law on time limit prescription starting from the Emmott case up to Danske Slagterier.

In the second part the article deals with the national limitation periods applicable to claims based on Directives not fully implemented before the Italian courts: the case that led to a paradigm of uncertainty of interpretations (on the issue of the limitation period) of EU law is related to the Italian medical trainees. The main problem has been the exact classification of the legal basis of the State's responsibility for late or non-faithful transposition of the Directive referred to medical trainees: at the beginning the Italian Supreme Court 7630/2003 addressed the responsibility under Article 2043 of the Italian civil code (with the consequent application of the limitation period of five years for claims). Then starting from the judgment of Cassazione 9147/2009, up to the most recent decisions Cassazione 17350/2011, and Cassazione 10813/2011 the State's responsibility (for late or non-faithful transposition of the Directive) has been described as contractual liability (with the consequent application for claims of the limitation period of ten years).

Finally it is remarked that all the efforts of the Italian courts to achieve a reasonable balance with the rulings of ECJ have been wiped out by law no. 183/2011 (the so-called Law of Stability, of November 12, 2011): under Article 43 it is stated that "the prescription of the right to compensation for damage caused by failure to transpose into the State the Directives or other binding European measures follows the rules laid down in Article 2947 of the Civil Code" (it means the application for claims of a limitation period of five years).

All the reasons that make the provision atypical are illustrated in the article.

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**Mangiameli, Stelio**

**Il disegno istituzionale dell'Unione Europea dopo il trattato di Lisbona**  
in *Diritto dell'Unione europea*, n. 2 , 377-406

No abstract available

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**De Vido Sara**

**Il finanziamento al terrorismo internazionale nella decisione quadro sul mandato d'arresto europeo.**  
in *Diritto dell'Unione europea*, n. 2 , 357-375

No abstract available

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**Strozzi Girolamo**

**Il sistema integrato di tutela dei diritti fondamentali dopo Lisbona: attualità e prospettive**  
in *Diritto dell'Unione europea*, n. 4 , 837-866

No abstract available



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Peroni, Giulio

**Il trattato di Lisbona e la crisi dell'euro: considerazioni critiche**

in *Diritto dell'Unione europea*, n. 4 , 971-998

No abstract available

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Paul J. Stephenson

**Image and venue as factors mediating latent spillover pressure for agenda-setting change**

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 19, Issue 6 2012 , 796-816

Agenda-setting in the EU has been largely approached using literature from US scholars that emerged over the last 35 years. Surprisingly perhaps, grand theory in European integration has been ignored, even though it might offer valuable insights for longitudinal studies, particularly where issues have had difficulty making it onto the policy agenda. This article seeks to reconcile neofunctionalist and agenda-setting literature, to trace the journey towards agenda-setting, a process through which venues and images play a crucial role over time in framing competing issues. It puts forward a combined framework for analysing agenda-setting dynamics, before applying it to examine a policy case over five decades. Tracing the 'issue career' of Community rail infrastructure upwards onto the EU's policy agenda, it shows how strategies to gain attention and build credibility mediate latent spillover pressures in order to secure agenda-setting change.

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Bsiri Mourad

**Impacts de la crise économique sur les pays d'Europe du Sud**

in *Confluences Méditerranée*, n. 80 , 47-55

Cet article dresse un tableau synthétique de la crise économique et financière qui secoue la Grèce, l'Italie, l'Espagne et le Portugal. S'ils ont en commun de traverser une période très difficile de leur histoire, ces pays se distinguent parfois assez nettement en termes de causalités à la crise économique qu'ils traversent.

PLAN DE L'ARTICLE

L'origine de la crise

Les points communs entre les pays d'Europe du Sud

Le profil économique des pays d'Europe du Sud

La Grèce





Le Portugal  
L'Espagne  
L'Italie  
Sortie de crise  
Grèce et Portugal  
Espagne et Italie

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**Fabrizio De Francesco, Claudio M. Radaelli & Vera E. Troeger**

**Implementing regulatory innovations in Europe: the case of impact assessment**  
in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 19, Issue 4 2012 , 491-511

Regulatory Impact Assessment (RIA) has become a major tool on the agenda of regulatory reform across Europe. Although the literature on RIA is burgeoning, the comparative analysis of implementation has been neglected. This article draws on implementation theory to formulate expectations about the political costs and benefits of different degrees of implementation. Implementation ranges from political endorsement to the creation of central units in charge of regulatory quality and the production and publication of RIA results and methods. Our findings show that economic integration, the characteristics of the political system, economic resources, bureaucratic efficiency and pressure group activities play different roles in the various stages of implementation. We discuss the policy implications of these findings in terms of priorities given to different processes of regulatory reform and the demands that innovations like RIA pose on administrative capacity and stakeholders' participation.

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**Džihić, Vedran, Wieser Angela**

**Incentives for Democratisation? Effects of EU Conditionality on Democracy in Bosnia & Hercegovina**  
in *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 63, n. 10, Special Issue: Unconditional Conditionality? The Impact of EU Conditionality in the Western , 1803-1825

No abstract available

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**Herzog Colette, Ünal Deniz**

**Industry or Services: The European Specialization Dilemma**  
in *Lettre du CEPII*, n. 317, December 2011 , 1-4

Since 2000; international trade has been characterized by a strong demand for primary products; an acceleration of exports from large emerging countries and a rise in trade in services under the leadership of developed countries. How did European specialization evolve in such environment? Europe turns out to have strengthened its tertiary specialization while keeping a strong industrial positioning; in this respect; it stands between the United States and



Japan. Further analysis of European countries' comparative advantages shows a great diversity and significant recomposition over the past decade. While most; countries within the European Union maintain a solid industrial specialization and/or have reinforced their specialization in new services; the comparative advantages of some member States are still concentrated in traditional services with a weak growth potential.

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Martins Ana Isabel, Lecheler Sophie, De vrees Claes H.

**Information Flow and Communication Deficit: Perceptions of Brussels-Based Correspondents and EU Officials**  
in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 34, Issue 4 , 305-322

This study contributes to the debate on the European Union (EU) 'communication deficit' by assessing EU-media relations. Previous literature has examined the way EU institutions interface with journalists, but tells us little about potential differences between these institutions' communication performance. Moreover, research tends to address the main actors of this process, Brussels-based correspondents and EU officials, separately. Drawing on interviews with both groups, we established a direct comparison of their perceptions on (1) the press work of each EU institution; (2) the interaction between EU institutions; and (3) their own informal contacts. Results show that specific communicative patterns are aroused from the various institutions, the EU inter-institutional cooperation is negatively evaluated, and non-official information channels are a key asset for communicating in Brussels. Adopting a broader standpoint, our findings reveal that long-standing EU structural and organisational deficiencies might be enduring the 'communication deficit'.

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Klüver Heike

**Informational Lobbying in the European Union: The Effect of Organisational Characteristics**  
in *West European Politics*, vol. 35, n. 3 , 491-510

ABSTRACT: Information supply is an important instrument through which interest groups can exert influence on political decisions. However, information supply to decision-makers varies extensively across interest groups despite the common objective to influence policy-making. Drawing on resource mobilisation and organisational theory, a new theoretical framework is developed that identifies organisational characteristics, more specifically the resources, the functional differentiation, the professionalisation and the decentralisation of interest groups as determinants of information supply. These theoretical expectations are tested based on a large new dataset. Using multilevel modelling, this article examines information supply to the European Commission across a large number of policy issues and interest groups by combining an analysis of consultation submissions with a survey conducted among interest groups. The findings confirm the theoretical expectations suggesting that interest groups cannot equally exploit their access to decision-makers, but that resource endowment and organisational structures play a crucial role for effective informational lobbying.

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A. Héritier

**Institutional Change in Europe: Co-decision and Comitology Transformed**

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 50, Issue s1, March 2012 , 38-54

This article explains how institutional rules change after they have been established in two important areas of European decision-making: co-decision and comitology. It shows how legislation under co-decision was transformed into fast-track legislation and why the Parliament gradually – between treaty reforms – gained more institutional power in comitology. The rational choice institutionalist explanation applied here focuses on the efficiency increasing/transaction cost saving aspects of interstitial institutional change, but also on the question of who gains and who loses in power under specific rules and how power may subsequently be shifted. The hypotheses derived from the theoretical considerations are subject to empirical (dis)confirmation on the basis of quantitative and qualitative empirical data collected on co-decision and delegation over time. The conclusion summarizes the argument and explores the applicability of the explanations to two other polities of regional integration: North Atlantic Free Trade Association (Nafta) and Mercosur (the Common Southern Market).

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Christian B. Jensen & Jonathan B. Slapin

**Institutional hokey-pokey: the politics of multispeed integration in the European Union**

in **Journal of European Public Policy** , Volume 19, Issue 6 2012 , 779-795

EU member states desiring deeper integration often call for a multispeed approach to pursue ambitious projects without the hinderance of laggards. At other times, laggards have desired a multispeed approach to avoid policies they find objectionable. Under what circumstances do laggards (integrationists) propose (object) to a multispeed Europe? We investigate the institutions and member state preferences that lead these camps to accept or resist multispeed proposals, paying particular attention to how a multispeed approach affects member state bargaining power. We present a series of case studies to demonstrate that the preference configurations we examine do, in fact, lead states to pursue the policies with regard to a multispeed Europe that we expect.

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B. Rittberger

**Institutionalizing Representative Democracy in the European Union: The Case of the European Parliament**

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 50, Issue s1, March 2012 , 18-37

Representative democracy has been accorded constitutional status with the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty. The European Parliament (EP) and the history of its empowerment embody this constitutional principle and its gradual institutionalization. To shed light on the EP's empowerment and the institutionalization of the principle of representative democracy in the EU, this article adopts a 'domain of application' approach. Instead of presenting rival theoretical approaches competing for explanatory superiority, the article shows that a more comprehensive picture of the EP's empowerment can be obtained by distinguishing between three types of institutional choice and associated



explanations. Institutional creation, institutional change and institutional use are introduced as different types of institutional choice, and it is argued that each type gives primacy to particular explanatory mechanisms and dynamics to analyze the EP's empowerment.

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Piedrafita Sonia

**Instrumental Action and Norm Compliance in EU Enlargement Negotiations**  
in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 34, Issue 3 , 277-295

To which extent and through which mechanisms might EU institutions shape the policies of member governments in interstate negotiations? This article examines the process through which legitimate actions and responsibilities for member governments were defined during the negotiations of Eastern enlargement and its impact on the policies of reluctant member states. Spanish governments from 1989 to 2004 dropped the initial intention to control the timing and gradually increased support for the process as the result of not only side-payments and trade-offs, but also the development of norms and rules defining appropriate action in the successive steps of the process and the existence of social mechanisms that elicited pro-norm behaviour.

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Bukowski Slawomir I.

**Integration of the Treasury Bond Market in Poland and the Eurozone**  
in *Eastern European Economics*, Volume 49, Number 6 / November-December 2011 , 27 - 37

International integration of financial markets is one of the important conditions for favorable monetary integration. The treasury bond market is one of the financial market segments. Polish membership in the European Union and liberalization of capital movement were important factors in the development of the Polish Treasury bond market. General government deficits and public debt in the EU countries and in Poland have made this market develop. The aim of this paper is to examine the degree of Polish treasury bond market integration with that in the eurozone. An analysis of integration of these two Treasury bond markets based on the beta-convergence model and sigma-convergence model showed a decrease in the degree of integration in the period 2004-7 and an increase in the said degree in the period 2008-9. The analysis dealing with the evolution of the  $\beta$  coefficient, the  $\alpha$  intercept, and the variance ratio ( $VR_{i,t}$ ), as well as the mean distance ( $d_{i,t}$ ) of the  $\beta$  coefficient from the value of 1, meaning full integration, confirmed these tendencies. It must be emphasized that there is a substantial difference between the degree of integration of Treasury bond markets in the eurozone and the degree of integration of the Polish Treasury bond market with that in the eurozone.

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Fraussen Bert

**Interest Group Politics: Change and Continuity**  
in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 34, Issue 5 , 523-529



<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/07036337.2012.690236>

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Dehousse Renaud, Thompson Andrew

**Intergovernmentalists in the Commission: Foxes in the Henhouse?**

in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 34, Issue 2 , 113-132

Contrary to the dominant view in the scholarly literature on European institutions, where the European Commission is generally described as a unitary actor whose acts are primarily influenced by a political agenda and/or considerations of self-interest, this article argues that a variety of opinions coexist within the Commission staff. Based on the largest attitudinal survey ever conducted on Commission officials, it documents the existence of a sizeable minority of intergovernmentalists and analyzes their attitude towards the institution they serve and their views on its place in the integration process.

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Parish Matthew

**International Courts and the European Legal Order**

in *European Journal of International Law*, Vol. 23, issue 1 , 141-153.

The growth of a range of different areas of international law gives rise to the possibility of conflict between them. International courts and tribunals created by one branch of international law may be called upon to adjudicate in other areas of the discipline. The risk of conflict presents a particularly acute problem to the EU legal order, because the Court of Justice of the European Union sees itself as the final, and exclusive, authority on questions of interpretation of EU law. On two occasions the Court has issued opinions prohibiting EU Member States from signing agreements creating international courts, because those courts' roles would necessitate construing EU law and their composition would mean they could not guarantee the 'homogeneity' necessary to EU law. The more recent of these opinions, concerning the European and Community Patents Court, sets an unusual legal test for the consistency of international tribunals with the EU legal order that, taken to its logical conclusion, would preclude several well-established international courts and tribunals to which EU Member States are parties. Ultimately this standard may fetter development of EU law, and the ECJ would do well to adopt a more flexible approach

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Luther Jörg

**Interpretare Karlsruhe: semaforo giallo o rosso per gli Eurobond?**

in *Quaderni Costituzionali*, numero : 1, marzo , 131-133



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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Dani Marco

**Intersectional litigation and the structuring of a European interpretive community**

in *International Journal of Constitutional Law*, Vol. 9, issue 3-4 , 714-736

In intersectional litigation European courts face conflicts between rival claims of legal authority that, in the absence of a unified European constitutional framework, may receive only context-dependent solutions. This poses critical challenges for judicial bodies: not only are they expected to make up for the absence of an overarching constitutional structure and ensure legal coherence, but they are also put at the forefront of articulating and accommodating the conflict between the largely regulatory framework of the EU and states' republican constitutionalism. The actual interpretive strategies employed in intersectional disputes, nevertheless, do not appear entirely up to that task. Most of the time, litigation gives rise to a series of judgments on the same or similar issues that, although procedurally connected, are conceived of more as segmented and isolated episodes than coordinated judicial efforts. To cope with these shortcomings, the essay calls for the structuring of a European interpretive community and proposes 'contextual deference' as an interpretive strategy promoting external coherence between judicial rulings crafted in distinct legal orders. Accordingly, courts are required to frame cases through their native legal languages and defer to the interpretive and normative claims of related legal systems. Although 'contextual deference' establishes a presumption in favor of outside claims and standards of adjudication, it also admits its rebuttal if courts were to decide that the normative claims of their native legal order should prevail.

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Chaltiel Florence

**Interview d'Alain Lamassoure**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 544, janvier , 7-8

No abstract available

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Praud Jocelyne

**Introduction: Gender Parity and Quotas in European Politics**

in *West European Politics*, vol. 35, n. 2 , 286-300

ABSTRACT: Since the 1995 Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, which clearly endorsed measures to ensure the equal participation of women in decision-making, many nations across the globe have adopted and implemented laws requiring political parties to nominate gender-balanced slates of candidates. This symposium brings together new research on the fairly recent gender quota and parity reforms in Portugal, France, Belgium, Italy, and Spain and the efforts of the European Union to promote them. In keeping with the single-case, comparative, and international gender quota literature, the articles stress the role of domestic and international actors/factors (political parties and elites,





women's groups active inside and/or outside political parties, and international and European organizations) in the adoption of reforms as well as the reforms' specific provisions (placement rules and sanctions for non-compliance) and how well they fit in with the electoral system when assessing their impact. At the same time, the articles also offer intriguing insights related to the labelling of reforms as either 'parity' or 'quota' or both in different contexts, the involvement of different political parties in their adoption, and, finally, their qualitative upshots and, more specifically, their impact on citizens and elites' attitudes towards women in politics and measures to enhance it.

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**Baratta Roberto**

**Introduzione alle nuove regole per l'adozione degli atti esecutivi dell'Unione**  
in *Diritto dell'Unione europea*, n. 3 , 565-583

No abstract available

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**Jan Kleinheisterkamp**

**Investment Protection and EU Law: The Intra- and Extra-EU Dimension of the Energy Charter Treaty**  
in *Journal of International Economic Law*, volume 15 n.1 , 85-109

The interaction of investment treaty law with European Union (EU) law is a growing concern not only for policy makers but also for investors and arbitral tribunals, especially in the energy sector. This article sketches the existing and potential legal problems between the regimes with the aim of drawing conclusions on the impact of those tensions on the future of the Energy Charter Treaty (ECT). In the first part, the article discusses the problem of the compatibility of investment treaty law with EU law in general that may require EU member states to renegotiate their existing agreements. The second part is dedicated to the more controversial issues of the continuing applicability of intra-EU investment treaties, discussing their far-reaching overlap with the protection afforded by EU law and the resulting complications. Most of these problems also arise under the ECT, in addition to the specific complications that are analysed in the third part. The article also outlines the consequences of the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty and finishes with a summary and outlook of the general importance of these European developments for the future of the ECT.

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**Jan Kleinheisterkamp**

**Investment Protection and EU Law: The Intra- and Extra-EU Dimension of the Energy Charter Treaty**  
in *Journal of International Economic Law*, Vol. 14, Num. 2 , 85-109

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the future of the Energy Charter Treaty (ECT). In the first part, the article discusses the problem of the compatibility of investment treaty law with EU law in general that may require EU member states to renegotiate their existing agreements. The second part is dedicated to the more controversial issues of the continuing applicability of intra-EU investment treaties, discussing their far-reaching overlap with the protection afforded by EU law and the resulting complications. Most of these problems also arise under the ECT, in addition to the specific complications that are analysed in the third part. The article also outlines the consequences of the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty and finishes with a summary and outlook of the general importance of these European developments for the future of the ECT.

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Bucar Maja

### **Involving Civil Society in the International Development Cooperation of 'New' EU Member States: The Case of Slovenia**

in **Perspectives on European Politics and Society**, vol. 13, n. 1, Special Issue: From Aid Recipients to Aid Donors?: Development Policies of Central and Eastern European States , 83-99

Accession to the European Union (EU) also meant (re)entry into the donor community for the new member states from Central and Eastern Europe. Human resource constraints seem to be one of the important drawbacks in the government-led cooperation programmes of many of the new member states. This is where, civil society, in particular the national civil society, can play an important role. It can help in the design and implementation of the programmes, in overall awareness raising as well as in keeping 'watch' on government policies. This paper examines the role of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in development cooperation, focusing on the case of Slovenia: how they have integrated themselves into the development cooperation programmes of Slovenia, what the good practices are and where the difficulties that inhibit cooperation with the government lie. Special attention has been paid to stakeholders' participation in policy design and priority selection as well as to the organizational framework put in place. In Slovenia, the Presidency of the Council of the EU increased the level of the government's cooperation with the non-governmental development organizations (NGDOs) significantly. The 'Europeanization' process has been significant in shaping development cooperation content and delivery in Slovenia, including the participation of NGDOs.

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Aneta Spendzharova

### **Is More 'Brussels' the Solution? New European Union Member States' Preferences about the European Financial Architecture**

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 50, Issue 2, March 2012 , 315-334

The changes in the European financial architecture in the aftermath of the 2008 global financial crisis have highlighted the tension between the need for greater centralization of financial regulation at the EU level and the reluctance of some Member States to give up national regulatory autonomy. This article analyses the attitudes of new EU Member States toward the EU financial regulatory reforms. It investigates whether the extent of foreign ownership in the domestic financial sector, Euroscepticism, government support for deregulation and recent experiences of a severe financial crisis have an impact on countries' reservations. According to the results of the analysis, the higher the foreign ownership of a



country's financial sector, the more reservations it expresses. The Eurosceptic attitude of the political parties in government matters as well. The more the governing political parties are opposed to EU integration in general, the more reservations one finds in a country's official position on the new EU financial architecture.

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Mousseau Demet Yalcin

**Is Turkey democratizing with EU reforms?: an assessment of human rights, corruption and socio-economic conditions**

in *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, vol. 12, n. 1 , 63-80

This study draws attention to corruption, human rights violations and economic instability as impeding factors of democratization in Turkey until the late 1990s. It is investigated if these conditions have been changing with reforms during Turkey's candidacy to the European Union since 1999. The analysis indicates that the level of politicians' accountability is still low and corruption still continues to be a significant problem. Regarding human rights, whereas physical integrity rights such as protection from torture and political imprisonment have been slightly progressing, political, civil and social rights, such as freedom of expression and association, seem unchanged from the pre-candidacy period. However, economic reforms appear to be effective as income levels have been improving.

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Thies Wallace J.

**Is the EU Collapsing?**

in *International Studies Review*, vol. 14, issue 2, june , 225-239

ABSTRACT: This paper argues that the conventional wisdom about the European Union (EU) is wrong. It questions whether the EU is now or ever has been on the brink of collapse. And it offers reasons for believing that an international organization made up entirely of liberal democratic states will exhibit great resilience and impressive staying power. We can never say never when discussing the prospect of an EU collapse, but we can make a strong case that the democracies that comprise the EU will continue to find ways to muddle through.

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Braghiroli Stefano

**Je t'aime ... moi non plus! An empirical assessment of Euro-parliamentarians' voting behaviour on Turkey and Turkish membership**

in *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, vol. 12, n. 1 , 1-24

The article looks at the way the debate on Turkish membership has developed in the Sixth European Parliament (EP). First, it analyses the impact of the debate on Turkey on the voting dynamics in the assembly. Second, it assesses how and to what extent Euro-parliamentarians' individual view of Turkey and Turkish membership influence their actual



voting behaviour. The analysis suggests that the issue of Turkish membership has a very divisive impact on the voting dynamics and voting alignments in the EP. Given its national and political significance, the issue seems to determine ad hoc voting blocs only imperfectly matching Members of the European Parliament (MEPs) individual party affiliation.

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Van Cleynenbreugel Pieter

**Judge-Made Standards of National Procedure in the Post-Lisbon Constitutional Framework**  
in *European Law Review*, Vol. 37, issue 1 , 90 ff.

No abstract available

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Ingelram Jan F.H.

**Judicial review of investigative acts of the European anti-fraud office (OLAF): A search for a balance**  
in *Common Market Law Review*, vol. 49, issue 2 , 601-627

ABSTRACT: Considering OLAF's far-reaching investigation powers, the article deals with the question what role judicial review can or should play in effectively protecting the fundamental rights of persons under investigation by OLAF. The article gives an overview of the different kinds of judicial review which are relevant in this respect, including interim relief. It also includes considerations on the possible contribution of the fundamental right to an effective remedy (Art. 47 of the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the EU) to the debate on judicial review of OLAF investigative acts.

The article focuses in particular on the case law on the inadmissibility of actions for annulment against OLAF investigative acts. This case law is based on the view that such acts do not to bring about a distinct change in the legal position of the applicant. In the article, it is proposed that an action for annulment could be considered admissible against an OLAF investigative act if such an act is shown to have deprived the applicant of the effective exercise, or of the benefit, of a fundamental right, thus opening a review limited to examining the compatibility of that specific act with fundamental rights.

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Anna Herranz-Surrallés

**Justifying Enlargement in a Multi-level Polity: A Discursive Institutional Analysis of the Elites–Public Gap over European Union Enlargement**

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 50, Issue 3, May 2012 , 385-402

In view of the decreasing levels of public support for successive European Union enlargements, this article examines how political elites attempt to bridge this growing gap. Drawing insights from discursive institutionalism, the article undertakes a systematic analysis of an aspect that has been widely neglected in the existing literature on enlargement: the relation between the discursive interaction among policy-makers at the EU level (co-ordinative discourse) and direct



political communication at the national level (communicative discourse). Focusing on the case of Germany, the article argues that debates on enlargement at the EU and national levels have been growing apart since the 1970s, and discusses the implications of this discursive gap for the public legitimization of past and future enlargements.

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Brunkhorst Hauke

**Kollektiver Bonapartismus? Demokratie in der europäischen Krise**  
in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, April, 2012, 83-93

Wer angesichts der gegenwärtigen Krise Europas und der deutschen Dominanz von einem Wiedererstarken der Nationalstaaten redet oder gar den Mythos des Nationalcharakters wieder aufleben lässt, weiß nicht, wovon er spricht. Die europäische Realität sieht anders aus, in rechtlicher wie in politischer Hinsicht.

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Ayata Bilgin

**Kurdish Transnational Politics and Turkey's Changing Kurdish Policy: The Journey of Kurdish Broadcasting from Europe to Turkey**  
in *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, vol. 19, n. 4, december, 523-533

ABSTRACT: The bulk of scholarship on EU–Turkey relations has focused mainly on intergovernmental or state–society relations, while the larger literature on enlargement and Europeanization has hardly paid any attention to the role of diasporas and immigrant communities as relevant political entrepreneurs in Europeanization processes. In this article, I examine the role and impact of the Kurdish diaspora and the transnational politics of Kurds on recent policy changes in Turkey, with respect to Kurdish broadcasting. Until 1990, the Turkish state officially denied the very existence of Kurds, today Turkish state television broadcasts programs in the Kurdish language. Other reforms have taken place as well. This has often been explained as a result of EU conditionality, yet, no studies have explored the fact that all of these different aspects of Kurdish cultural and educational activities that have begun to take shape in Turkey were actually first developed and implemented in Europe, by Kurdish organizations themselves. The analysis of ROJ-TV in Europe shows that this Kurdish satellite channel is a paradigmatic example of how ‘the diaspora strikes back’. I argue that the emergence of a state-sponsored Kurdish channel in Turkey is a further reaction by the Government to the existence of ROJ-TV in Europe, after initial efforts to shut down the station failed. I conclude that for a comprehensive understanding of Turkey's reform process the transnational activism of the Kurdish diaspora has to be taken into account.

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Schmidt Helmut

**L'Allemagne dans et avec l'Europe**  
in *Economie politique (L')*, n° 53, 2012/1, 85-98



En tant que personne âgée, l'on pense naturellement le " temps long " - que ce soit le passé et l'histoire ou les espérances et aspirations futures . Néanmoins, je n'ai, il y a quelques jours, pas pu répondre clairement à une question particulièrement simple. Wolfgang Thierse m'avait demandé : " Quand l'Allemagne deviendra-t-elle enfin un pays comme les autres ?... "

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Santulli Carlo

**L'Euro : analyse juridique de la « crise de la dette »**

in *Revue générale de droit international publique*, Vol. 115, n. 4 , 833-851

No abstract available

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De Giovanni Biagio

**L'Europa, oggi**

in *Studi sull'integrazione europea*, Anno VII, n. 1, gennaio-aprile , 9-22

The European crisis, which in recent months occurred as the crisis of the Monetary Union, has deep political and constitutional implications. The present article offers an analysis focused mainly on these aspects, highlighting both the contrast emerging between the legitimization of nation States and supranational legitimacy of the Union, and the issues related to the hegemony that are drawn into it with a predominance of Germany that has already caused a lot of tensions. The construction of democracy beyond the States is an issue which has an increasing need for appropriate responses.

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Clément Jean-Paul

**L'Europe a-t-elle des frontières ?**

in *Revue des deux mondes*, Avril

L'Europe demeure en proie aux problèmes des confins – à l'est et au sud – de ces frontières qui ont si longtemps occupé son histoire à l'ouest ; il s'en faut que tout soit achevé (Islande, Groënland, Nord et Nord-Ouest, etc.). Partout dans le monde, les questions et les crises de frontières ont scandé l'histoire des États, des nations et des peuples. Mais l'histoire frontalière de l'Europe est sans doute la plus riche et la plus intense. Cela tient à l'exiguïté de l'espace que se partagent ou se disputent les nations d'Europe depuis qu'elles ont commencé à se dessiner, à tracer leurs contours, tandis que s'effaçaient les limes de l'imperium romanum. En fait, c'est à partir de là que l'Europe commence à se définir comme telle, comme distincte du monde méditerranéen de l'Antiquité...

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Crepu Michel

**L'Europe avec ou sans frontières**

in *Revue des deux mondes*, Avril

Dans son *Journal d'un optimiste* qui vient de paraître chez Fayard (1), Guy Sorman se réjouit que nos hauts responsables européens, une Catherine Ashton, un Herman Van Rompuy soient aussi discrets, aussi peu messianiques que possible. Il y voit, avec raison, la volonté européenne par excellence de ne pas marcher au « guide », au « chef ». Ce n'est pourtant pas faute d'avoir essayé, mais il n'y a rien à faire : l'Europe se plaît à la nuance, au coupage de cheveux en six, à l'anti-slogan administratif préférable aux envolées lyriques, à la pulsion dictatoriale. Il faut se réjouir avec Guy Sorman d'une telle inaptitude, signe de bonne santé mentale. Faut-il en déduire pour autant la nocivité radicale du principe lyrique ? On a le droit, esthétique et politique, de ne pas le penser. L'Europe, par son histoire, son histoire artistique notamment, s'est révélée une telle matrice à produire des formes inédites qu'il faut faire preuve d'un singulier puritanisme pour s'interdire d'y penser seulement. Quand on a Bach et Rubens, Cervantes et Shakespeare dans son panier, on ne vient pas se plaindre du peu de charisme de M. Van Rompuy.

C'est tout le sens de ce dossier des Deux Mondes spécialement consacré à la question européenne : non un numéro masochiste, non plus un numéro au forceps, comme s'il fallait absolument se convaincre des qualités intrinsèques du Vieux Continent. On dit toujours : « L'Europe est la grande absente des débats. » Et il est vrai que les candidats à la présidentielle, qui ne craignent rien tant que d'ennuyer le public avec des histoires de traités renégociables à l'infini, se gardent bien d'entrer dans cette région si peu « vendable » à l'applaudimètre. Il n'empêche que la problématique européenne est derrière les discours de tribune : rien de ce qui est promis, jusqu'à l'excès hypocrite comme d'habitude, ne pourra se faire en dehors d'une logique européenne. Un certain souverainisme capable de regarder les choses en face peut comprendre cela sans avoir l'impression de trahir le général de Gaulle, commandeur invisible de cette campagne.

Encore faut-il savoir parler la langue du Vieux Continent, plutôt que de la noyer dans un sabir indigne des plus hautes traditions du discours diplomatique. Pour l'heure, on dirait qu'entre la faconde populiste et l'ennui bruxellois, il n'y a qu'un désert. Or ce désert est habitable pourvu qu'on se donne la peine d'y entrer. Cela veut dire que les Européens ont à se réapproprier leur propre corps, historique, politique, religieux, esthétique : Érasme ou Thomas d'Aquin, c'est tout de même autre chose que la moraline à l'américaine version « Tea Party ». M. Mitt Romney, le républicain en vogue, a conté récemment ses souvenirs de Paris au temps de Mai 68, un cauchemar pour le jeune mormon qu'il était : dommage que la tradition mormone ne sache pas goûter aux douceurs du printemps parisien ! Si M. Romney revient par ici, nous lui offrirons une séance de rattrapage.

On s'est effrayé naguère de ce que l'on puisse évoquer une supériorité de la civilisation européenne sur les autres. On a eu tort de courber la tête devant ce qui doit être au contraire un motif de fierté. Les Européens peuvent être fiers de cette supériorité-là qui oblige plus qu'aucune autre à ne pas se prendre pour le roi de l'univers. Comme le pape est le serviteur des serviteurs (les lecteurs non papistes nous excuseront de cette audacieuse comparaison), l'Europe peut tirer gloire et force de cette posture, aux antipodes du repli frileux. Puisse ce numéro des Deux Mondes en tirer lui-même un enseignement.

Bonne lecture,



Michel Crépu

1. Guy Sorman, *Journal d'un optimiste*, Fayard, 544 pages, 23,66 euros.

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Lima Pedro

**L'Europe de la culture est née il y a trente-six mille ans**

in *Revue des deux mondes*, Avril

En octobre 2011, une équipe de préhistoriens français et roumains annonce la datation, par la méthode du carbone 14, des peintures rupestres de la grotte roumaine de Coliboaia, située dans l'ouest du massif des Carpates. On découvre alors que ces dessins, une vingtaine au total, figurant des rhinocéros et des ours, ont été réalisés il y a trente-six mille ans, c'est-à-dire au même moment que ceux de la grotte Chauvet, en Ardèche, située à deux mille kilomètres de là... De plus, les préhistoriens notent de fortes similitudes entre les deux sites. Tout d'abord, le bestiaire représenté à Coliboaia, constitué d'animaux puissants et dangereux, le rapproche de celui de Chauvet...

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Delcamp Alain, Chaltiel Florence

**L'Union européenne et ses États membres après le traité de Lisbonne - Quelle place et quel rôle dévolus aux États et pour quelle Union?**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 556, mars , 141-143

No abstract available

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Nabli Béligh

**L'Union européenne: source d'un**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 554, janvier , 29-39

The European Union is a source of basic questions for constitutional law. European integration involves its morphology, i. e. its categories, concepts, classifications, etc., The disquiet that can possibly result is all the more obvious since the Union's law causes positive constitutional law to be normatively insecure: not only does European integration challenge the normative prevalence of the national Constitution, it also causes the regular revising of our fundamental law. The



fact remains that beyond the apparent competition by the Union's law and constitutional law, their encounter translates in a rebirth - not a crisis - of constitutional science. The European comes through as a legitimate constitutional object and opens new prospects for constitutional science, whose traditionally State-centred borders - structured by the triple aspect: state/sovereignty/nation - is reset to the measure of a non state item without a specific people.

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Rizzo Alfredo

**L'Unione europea e i Paesi dei Balcani occidentali nella prospettiva dell'allargamento**

in *Diritto dell'Unione europea*, n. 2 , 445-476

No abstract available

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Torre-Schaub Marthe

**L'apport du principe de développement durable au droit communautaire : gouvernance et citoyenneté écologique**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 555, février , 84-92

The European Union has made the commitment contained within the principle of sustainable development: taking responsibility for the future in an individual and collective way. Sustainable development requires difficult choices, a reconsideration of the practices and experiences in order to move towards redefined progress, based on the respect of the laws in a healthy environment. The attention given to the consequences of this principle provides a glimpse of a new rationality, an evolution of programmatic frameworks, a new institutional positioning and a new way of making law. Sustainable development would have a double nature in Community law: a programmatic aspect, because it is a question of whether the principle of sustainable development is more than a principle of law and contains veritable aspects of ethnicity, justice and judicial effectiveness.

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Michéa Frédérique

**L'appropriation de la gouvernance économique par le Conseil européen**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 556, mars , 169-177

In the context of the public debt crisis in Europe, the European council has clearly took its stand as the legitimate institution to lead the economic governance of the new Union. Actually, with the latest developments (legal economic governance package, new budget pact, split up of the institution into two bodies, etc.), the European council was consistently the bearer of an economic and budget integration ambition, either through a general political impetus or by influencing more directly the passing of material rules. However the European council by essence remains an intergovernmental body that disturbs the Union's institutional balance. The direct involvement of heads of state or government in economic governance files tends to weaken not only the Commission's power of initiative, but also the



institutional position of national parliaments and of the European parliament

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Fines Francette

**L'association des parlements nationaux au contrôle du principe de subsidiarité**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 556, mars , 192-196

The new check of the European subsidiarity principle by national parliaments means that the conventional concept that democracy could be achieved only in a state has been exceeded. Indeed it results in the construction of transnational parliamentarism; it also organises the participation of national parliaments in the supranational law-making procedure. In the same time, which that check such as created by the Lisbon treaty, national elected representatives, will pronounce on the breakdown of jurisdictions, between the two levels i.e. the Union and the States. That is why, in the European context, that principle is of a federal nature or essence. In line with that, such a check also allows national parliaments to ensure the protection of their own parliamentary duties, and therefore to achieve a rebalancing with the European institutions.

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De Pasquale Patrizia

**L'espulsione degli immigrati irregolari nell'Unione europea: a valle di El Dridi**

in *Diritto dell'Unione europea*, n. 4 , 927-939

No abstract available

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Elie COHEN

**L'euro à l'épreuve de la crise des dettes souveraines**

in *Politique Etrangère*, Vol. 77, n°1 printemps

Quatre crises successives de l'euro ont suivi la découverte de l'ampleur des déficits grecs. De sommets en accords, les dirigeants européens tentent de sauver la zone euro. Dérives de la finance, incompétence des politiques, défaillances institutionnelles, divergence des temps politique et économique, pressions concurrentes des marchés et des opinions : c'est en prenant en compte ces éléments des discours explicatifs que peuvent être ébauchés les avènements de l'euro et donc de l'Europe.

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De Boissieu Christian

**L'europe au pied du mur**



in *Politique internationale*, n. 133 - Automne, 2011

The global economy has slowed significantly in the past few months. Following the financial crisis which began in August 2007 is a major sovereign debt crisis in Europe, which since summer has developed into a full-blown banking crisis. Until now, the euro's standing as a benchmark and global reserve currency has not been under threat. But it is clear that if the turbulence worsens, the euro's credibility will be called into question. From the beginning of this crisis, the main objective has been to maintain the integrity of the euro zone by limiting contagion. This is the thinking behind the establishment of a support mechanism, the European Financial Stability Facility (EFSF). Some have argued that the facility is not large enough. Others have called for the introduction of euro-bonds which would pool European debt. One thing is sure: any "top-down" solution will have to involve strengthening Europe's economic and political governance.

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Lepage Henri

**L'heure de l'addition**

in *Politique internationale*, n. 133 - Automne, 2011

L'Europe est entrée cet été dans un engrenage déflationnaire dont le déclenchement, lié à une nouvelle erreur de gouvernance économique commise depuis la fin de la dernière récession, ruine les espoirs des États européens de mener des stratégies de désendettement ordonné.

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Nabli Béligh

**L'identité (constitutionnelle) nationale: limite à l'Union européenne?**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 556, mars , 210-215

The European Union is facing the constitutional national identity of its member countries. The identity claim in domestic and European legal orders renews the issue of the Union's limits. Not only does European integration not require State denationalisation, but the assertion of national identity is a new sign of the significance of the state aspect of the Union. It also expresses the diversity of such integrated sovereign entities. Beyond their belonging to one organisation, Union countries are not monolithic blocks. National identity is thus part of an individualisation approach that increasingly characterises the terms of state participation in the Union. National identity has a constitutional aspect. The national identity/constitutional identity relationship is all the more topical since they are two separate legal categories. The recognised national identity of article 4 § 2 of the EU treaty does not cover the same area as the constitutional identity aimed at by some national constitutional courts. Nonetheless they merge in their function of European Union limitation. Yet, national identity should not prevent the European integration process. In other words, the legal scope of national identity itself is limited.

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Napolitano Giulio



**L'incerto futuro della nuova governance economica europea**

in *Quaderni Costituzionali*, numero : 1, marzo , 141-144

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Levrat Nicolas

**L'initiative citoyenne européenne: une réponse au déficit démocratique?**

in *Cahiers de Droit Européen*, n. 1 , 53-102

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Levrat Nicolas

**L'initiative citoyenne européenne: une réponse au déficit démocratique?**

in *Les Cahiers de droit europeen*, Vol. 47, n. 1 , 53-101

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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El-Herfi Racha

**L'initiative citoyenne européenne : évaluation d'un mécanisme de démocratie participative au sein de l'Union européenne**

in *Revue du droit de l'Union Européenne*, n. 4 , 677-708

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Baudouin Bollaert

**L'intégration européenne, seule solution à la crise**

in *Politique internationale*, n. 133 - Automne, 2011

José Manuel Barroso is half-way through his second term as head of the European Commission. His task is far from easy, to say the least, given the economic and financial storm that has been raging in EU countries for some months now. Is the Commission no longer playing its past role as catalyst and idea incubator? Has it run out of solutions to





resolve the debt problem? In this interview with Baudouin Bollaert, the former Prime Minister of Portugal refutes these charges. In any case, the crisis has led him to make a strong claim that the institution he leads should take a central role in problem-solving. In other words, more political integration and less inter-governmental collaboration is needed. But it is hard to defend this position in a union of 27 countries where a number of voters are tempted to retreat back into their national shells. Still, José Manuel Barroso doesn't see how a single European country, no matter how large, can resolve this situation on its own.

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**Della Cananea Giacinto**

**L'ordinamento giuridico dell'Unione Europea dopo i nuovi accordi intergovernativi in Comunità Internazionale (La)**, vol. LXII, n. 1, primo trimestre , 3-12

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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**Mouton Jean-Denis**

**L'État membre entre souveraineté et respect de son identité: quelle Union européenne?**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 556, mars , 204-209

The federal vocabulary is back in the political arena, following the crisis that affects the European Union. But what it is? An analysis of the evolution of the Union member country status, based on the founding treaties, as well as on the case law of the European Union Court of Justice, helps understand what form of federalism it could be heading for. Though the statement of state sovereignty is reinforced, the principle that the European Union should respect the national identity of its member countries is gradually emerging in the case law of the Luxembourg Court, in line with the case laws of national constitutional courts. There appears to be arising what one could refer to as a plurinational federation, distinguished from a federal state. One of the major stakes that the European construction now has to address is certainly the challenge that such a form of political organisation could lead to an actual political community.

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**Wojtyczek Krzysztof**

**La Constitution polonaise et l'Union européenne après le traité de Lisbonne**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 554, janvier , 60-66

The Polish Constitution of 1997 does contain provisions pertaining to international organizations in general without any express reference to the European Union. The constitutional provisions fulfilled their objective: Poland became member of the EU. The constitutional practice and case law fulfill the lacunae of the constitutional text and of the ordinary legislation. Despite different conflicts of the cohabitation period, the Constitution enabled a relative efficient functioning of state within the European structures. After the entry in force of the Lisbon Treaty, it is necessary to adapt the Constitution. Several constitutional bills pertaining to the EU matters were introduced in 2009 or 2010 but the attempts to



reform the Constitution were unsuccessful. More than 7 years after entering in the EU Poland has to live with the obsolete constitutional provisions of 1997.

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Reto M. Hilty

#### **La Constitution économique européenne et la propriété intellectuelle**

in *Revue internationale de droit économique* , Vol. 25, n°4 , 481-510

At first sight, « intellectual property » rights, which according to the general view are intended to provide an incentive for the production of new creations and innovations, appear to be distinguishable from the regulatory approaches to the control of competitive processes. Seen more closely, however, there is a degree of complementarity in that ultimately all these regulations focus on competitive mechanisms. Regarded in this way, intellectual property systems, considered in a broad sense, are part of what can be described as market behaviour law. The purpose of this market behaviour law is to intervene in the free forces of competition if investments must be made that could not be amortised adequately without legal protection, where there is a risk that such investments would not be made. An intervention in the free forces of the market is accordingly justified if the naturally existing competitive mechanisms fail, in particular where the first-mover advantage is not sufficient in order to ensure a return on investment. This is definitely the case if third parties can exploit another's investments too quickly or too inexpensively. The cut-off point between where protection is to be granted and where it is not to be granted is a delicate issue. The legal system must not be used as a tool to cushion the consequences of individually unsuccessful conduct. Functioning, dynamic and undistorted competition is, on the contrary, characterised by the fact that competitors who are unable to hold their ground will disappear from the market. Accordingly, competition also involves seeing imitation as a fundamentally permissible process. It leads to the positive effect that the investing innovator's monopoly position that exists in the first phase is brought to an end, allowing other competitors to make their appearance on the market. This means that the volume available gradually increases, thereby reducing the risk of exorbitant prices. The approaches to the implementation of such investment protection mechanisms in the various legal systems are extremely variable. A number of degrees of density can be identified, with « genuine » protection, seen from the logic of market behaviour law, not being directly linked to the quality of the product that is produced as a result of the investment. Instead, the question must be asked whether the conduct of the imitating competitor is capable of squeezing the original competitor from the market and whether in the long term this leads to a failure of the market. Thus investments should not be protected unconditionally, but instead imitations by third parties must be permissible as long as there is no risk of a market failure. This is essential because often it is only the possibility of being able to have recourse to or to develop on what already exists – and has been created by third parties – that makes progress at all possible. This approach is not at first sight reflected in the actual intellectual property rights ; instead, these are characterised by special preconditions for protection. In a qualitative sense, therefore, there must be something unusual that is the direct subject matter of protection. Nevertheless, intellectual property rights also derive their justification essentially from competition law considerations ; taken to their logical conclusion, they put investment protection at a higher level. Consequently, account must also be taken of the fact that excessive protective mechanisms can impede future innovations and creation. These basic values are also reflected in principle in the European economic constitution. On the other hand, secondary law is relatively little permeated by an overall concept for a market behaviour law in the broad sense. The harmonisation of legislation to date has been characterised by an ongoing increase of the minimum level of protection in the Member States. However, this focus appears too short-sighted if one considers the objectives of the internal market. The aim should not be to maximise protection ; what must be achieved is the right extent of investment protection – at whatever degree of density. This can also require national legislature to prohibit



certain country specific, anticompetitive approaches to protection.

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**Marc Pallemmaerts**

**La Constitution économique européenne et le « développement durable de l'Europe » (et de la planète) : balises juridiques pour une économie de marché verte et sociale ?**

in *Revue internationale de droit économique* , Vol. 25, n°4 , 511-541

This article analyses the process of legal formalisation of the European Union's commitment to sustainable development, both as an internal and external policy objective, which was completed by the Lisbon Treaty. Since the entry into force of this Treaty in 2009, sustainable development features prominently in the new Article 3 of the Treaty on European Union, the key treaty provision laying down the basic objectives of the Union. The new references to sustainable development in the Treaty are the culmination of a gradual process of emergence of sustainable development principles in the political and legal discourse of the EU which started in the late 1980s and accelerated in the wake of the Rio Conference in 1992. The article provides a chronological overview of this process and its main steps, with a special focus on the EU Sustainable Development Strategy first launched by the European Council in 2001, and the "Declaration on the guiding principles for sustainable development" adopted by the European Council in 2005. It addresses the complex interactions between the three dimensions of sustainable development (economic, social and environmental) and the tensions between the Sustainable Development Strategy and the EU's parallel Lisbon Strategy for growth and jobs. The concluding part of the article explores the potential legal implications of sustainable development as an objective and as a principle in the context of EU constitutional law. The ambiguity of the concept and the lack of relevant case-law thus far make it difficult to draw firm conclusions as to what the actual impact of the constitutional recognition of sustainable development as a Union objective might be. It is argued that, in view of its inherent ambiguity, sustainable development might be invoked not only to justify a stronger integration of environmental protection objectives in other policies but also, paradoxically, to temper the ambition level of environmental policies in the interest of economic growth.

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**Hans-W. Micklitz**

**La Constitution économique européenne revisitée. Introduction**

in *Revue internationale de droit économique* , Vol. 25, n°4 , 411-417

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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**Josef Drexl**

**La Constitution économique européenne – L'actualité du modèle ordolibéral**

in *Revue internationale de droit économique* , Vol. 25, n°4 , 419-454



Today, the concept of a “European Economic Constitution” is broadly used in the scholarly debate in the different official languages of the European Union. Historically, the rules of the founding treaties relating to the economy were inspired by the ordoliberal ideas of German lawyers and economists after World War II. The preceding article analyzes the relevance of the ordoliberal model after the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty, which has also changed the rules on the goals of EU law. Thereby, it takes account of today’s challenges, including the economic and financial crises as well as economic globalisation. From a terminological point of view and from a historical perspective, the article distinguishes between three different notions of “Economic Constitution”. For better understanding the ordo-liberal theories, a mixed – both legal and economic – notion should be preferred, according to which the “Economic Constitution” includes all legal rules that are essential for establishing the preferred economic system. Historically, ordo-liberalism developed in reaction to the German experience with the nazi dictatorship. This explains why protection of economic freedom is advocated as the principal objective of the “Economic Constitution” by the ordoliberals. Based on a concept of “interdependence of orders”, ordo-liberalism starts from acknowledging the existence of a “paradox of freedom” (Plato, Popper), which does not only require that democracy be protected against its self-destruction (as experienced in Germany in 1933) ; it also explains that economic freedom is in need of being protected against restraints of competition. This is why competition law has always been put at the center of the German “Ordnungspolitik” and why competition law has been ranked so highly even in the first founding treaties of European unification in the 1950s. In Germany, just after the adoption of the Grundgesetz as the new “Political Constitution”, the political advocates of ordo-liberalism forged the concept of the “social market economy”, according to which the competition principle also constitutes an essential and integral part of the welfare state. After World War II, the German ordoliberals have certainly identified additional elements of the “Economic Constitution” such as the principle of freedom of contract, private property and civil responsibility, just to mention the most important ones. It is the principle of freedom of contract which has the closest links with the protection of competition in the market economy. Freedom of contract is the indispensable precondition for competition to work ; at the same time this principle is in need of protection of competition against the power of monopolies. Hence, ordoliberalism advocates a strong and responsible state that guarantees the respect of the rules of the game without defining the results of the economic process. Ordoliberal ideas have entered the rules of the European treaties on the economy. In the field of competition law, this influence has inspired the courts to develop a concept of institutional protection of competition, based on the guarantee of undistorted competition provided for in the provisions on the goals of the EC Treaty. This concept has recently been reconfirmed by the Court of Justice in a series of cases against neoliberal tendencies that favour economic efficiency and consumer welfare as the exclusive goals of competition law. In November 2011, the Court has also clarified that the transfer of the guarantee of undistorted competition from the Treaty provisions to a mere Protocol to the Lisbon Treaty has not weakened this principle. Taking account of the active and responsible role attributed to the State, today’s relevance of ordoliberal thinking is almost undeniable in the light of the economic and financial crises, which has shaken the ideology of unlimited economic freedom. In addition, ordoliberalism, thanks to its social dimension, offers a more appropriate and convincing foundation for economic inclusion of developing countries in today’s process of globalisation.

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Kaarlo Tuori

#### **La Constitution économique parmi les Constitutions européennes**

**in Revue internationale de droit économique** , Vol. 25, n°4 , 559-599

In the European context, the place of the revolutionary notions of constitutive power, demos and constitutional moment is occupied by the evolutionary concept of constitutionalisation. Economic constitution is merely one aspect in



multi-dimensional European constitution (alisation). My tentative proposal is to distinguish between the following dimensions of constitution : economic constitution ; juridical constitution ; political constitution ; social constitution ; and security constitution. In this classification, economic constitution is about the relation of law to the fundamentals of the economic system ; juridical constitution concerns the fundamental features of the legal system and establishes a reflexive relation of the law with itself ; and through political constitution, the law regulates the political system or – to use different political vocabulary – the polity, and contributes to both its empowerment and containment. The ultimate object of the social constitution consists of the members of society, their social life-world, while security constitution addresses society's internal and external security risks. According to my (hypo) thesis, European constitutionalisation is susceptible to a periodisation where each stage receives its particular colouring from a particular constitution. Reflecting the temporal and functional primacy of economic integration, the first wave proceeded under the auspices of economic constitution ; in the second phase, the emphasis shifted to juridical constitution ; during the third wave, the focus was transferred to political constitution ; and finally, in our contemporary age, since, say, the Amsterdam Treaty (1998) the pacemaker role appears to have been taken by security constitution. Such a temporal succession should not be interpreted in the sense of one constitutional aspect replacing or supplanting another one ; rather, the constitutional dimensions complement each other. Thus, history of the economic constitution does not end with the first period of constitutionalisation. The economic constitution has retained its functional primacy, and, correspondingly, the non-economic constitutional dimensions have largely developed as a response to the demands raised or the consequences caused by the economic one. But relations between aspects of constitution can also be of a conflictual nature. Before the European Court of Justice, conflicts often assume the guise of contests between different types of rights : between, on the one hand, rights related to market freedoms and, on the other hand, civil and political or social rights.

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**Gomart Thomas, de Durand Étienne**

#### **La France, charnière centrale de l'Europe**

**in Revue des deux mondes**, Avril

Sans forcément le dire ou même se l'avouer, Paris a atteint son objectif diplomatique de toujours et occupe aujourd'hui une position centrale en Europe. Cette position charnière repose sur trois paradoxes : elle s'explique d'abord par des choix de long terme, un flair tactique plus récent mais surtout une modification aussi rapide que profonde de l'environnement européen ; par ailleurs, cette « centralité » est atteinte dans un contexte de diminution relative de la puissance française, stratégiquement et plus encore économiquement; enfin, cette position s'observe également en négatif : au regard de l'état préoccupant de l'économie française et de son poids en Europe, une aggravation rapide de la situation intérieure conduirait à ébranler définitivement l'euro comme la construction européenne...

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**Micossi Stefano**

#### **La Lettera dei Dodici, svolta per l'Europa**

**in Affari Esteri**, Anno XLIV, numero speciale, n. 166 , 79-82

No abstract available



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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Fabrice Riem

**La concurrence dans le secteur des transports maritimes. Le marché entre concentration et complaisance**  
in *Revue internationale de droit économique* , Vol. 26, n°1 , 31-56

In September 2006, the European Council decided to put an end to the exemption Regulation from which liner conferences had been benefiting since 1986. The European Commission pledged to “facilitate the transition towards a fully competitive system”, while showing ambitions in support of an integrated maritime policy. This would have to take into account the “key principles” of sustainable development, the opening of markets to loyal competition and a high social regulations framework. Those objectives are based on some seducing texts. However, the concentration level reached in the area and the generalized recourse to free registration flags make us doubt the credibility of those ambitions. The observation of the maritime transports market specifically enables to measure the ambiguity of the non distorted competition objective.

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Mengozi Paolo

**La contribution du droit à la détermination de l'identité de l'Union européenne.**  
in *Diritto dell'Unione europea*, n. 3 , 585-601

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Stefan EDERER

**La crise de l'union monétaire européenne**  
in *Politique Etrangère*, Vol. 77, n°1 printemps

La crise financière européenne s’est transformée en une crise des finances publiques qui interdit toute reprise économique dans la zone euro. Les multiples mesures prises jusqu’ici se sont révélées inopérantes. Il faut sans doute trouver une solution permettant d’eupéaniser les dettes des États. En même temps, il est nécessaire de prendre des mesures de court terme relançant la croissance. Et de réduire, mais cela n’est possible que sur le long terme, l’endettement global de la zone euro.

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Giraud Gaël

**La crise de l’euro n’est pas finie**  
in *Esprit*, Mai 2012 , 7-9





No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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**Cerfeda Walter**

**La di-unione europea e il patto euro plus**

in *Sociologia del diritto*, n. 3, 85 ff.

L'Europa sta attraversando il periodo più difficile della sua storia e gli sbocchi sono del tutto incerti ed imprevedibili. La combinazione inedita tra stagnazione economica e speculazione finanziaria può determinare un lungo periodo di recessione economica e la messa in discussione della stessa moneta dell'euro. Per questo vi è una sostanziale moratoria dei diritti sociali. Il modello sociale europeo è stato sempre interconnesso al modello economico e la crisi attuale ingenera quella sociale. Una politica di solo rigore non basta. La crisi non è nell'euro ma dell'euro. Serve un equilibrio urgente tra rigore e crescita. Quindi non un'Europa delle nazioni ma un'accelerazione dell'integrazione economica e un vero ruolo di Banca centrale della BCE. La scorciatoia di rovesciare tutto il deficit di competitività sul lavoro in realtà sta conducendo l'UE in un vicolo cieco.

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**Frosini Tommaso Edoardo**

**La dimensione europea della forma di stato e di governo**

in *Federalismi*, Anno X - Nr 5

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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**Roussel Josse**

**La fièvre de l'Euro Du mirage d'une croissance factice à l'austérité perpétuelle**

in *Confluences Méditerranée*, n. 80, 19-29

Les nations du sud de la zone Euro ont connu la prospérité dans les années qui ont suivi la création de la monnaie unique. Le bond de la consommation et l'élévation du niveau de vie se sont hélas révélés être des mirages. En favorisant un endettement massif, l'Euro a encouragé un mirage économique qui, aujourd'hui disparu, ne laisse plus entrevoir qu'un mur de dettes et sa promesse d'austérité perpétuelle. Comment en est-on arrivé là ? Comment en sortir ?

PLAN DE L'ARTICLE

Les mirages de la fièvre de l'Euro pour les nations de l'Europe du sud

Une réduction du taux d'inflation

Des taux d'intérêt plus faibles



Davantage d'importations et plus de prospérité  
Une redistribution monétaire au profit du sud de la zone Euro  
La zone Euro : un système d'incitations non soutenable  
Le monopole de la BCE concernant l'offre de monnaie  
L'Euro : un système de financement collectif des dettes souveraines  
La tragédie de la dette grecque  
Peut-on épargner aux nations du sud de la zone Euro une condamnation à l'austérité perpétuelle ?

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Porchia Ornella

**La gestione del contenzioso con l'Unione europea per violazioni imputabili alle regioni: gli strumenti previsti in Italia e in Spagna**

in *Diritto dell'Unione europea*, n. 2 , 407-443

No abstract available

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Carlucci Francesco

**La grande crisi e i suoi effetti sull'Europa**

in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Volume 78, n. 4, ottobre-dicembre , 489-518

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Bilbao Ubillos Juan María

**La iniciativa ciudadana europea (art. 11.4 TUE)**

in *Cuadernos europeos de Deusto*, n. 46 , 49-84

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Guillard Christine

**La lecture étatique des compétences non exclusives de l'Union européenne**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 556, mars , 159-168

By negotiating the provisions relating to jurisdiction types, States are said to have designed multiple incumbent jurisdictions in a way more favourable to their involvement than to that of the European Union. The alleged state's



interpretation of the non exclusive jurisdictions of the Union needs to be put into perspective. That conclusion is obvious, regarding shared jurisdictions. The efforts to push exclusivity back by exercising the Union's jurisdiction are pointless. The idea of a state interpretation seems disputable, all the more since the negative definition of shared jurisdiction allowing to include ad hoc sub-categories can on the contrary be favourable to the jurisdiction of the Union. A state interpretation of support, coordination and complement jurisdictions does not seem highly disputable due to the attribution of a minimum jurisdiction to the European Union. It can however be toned down by the strict conception that is applied in areas in that category, which is favourable to the Union's involvement in areas artificially removed from the category of jurisdiction.

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**Dastoli Pier Virgilio**

**La lunga storia costituzionale europea**

in *ItalianiEuropei*, n. 2

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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**Meyer-Heine Anne**

**La participation des parlements au fonctionnement de l'Union européenne : quand la subsidiarité renforce la démocratisation de l'Union**

in *Droit et société*, n. 80

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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**Munari Francesco**

**La politica estera e di sicurezza comune (PESC) e il sistema delle fonti ad essa relative**

in *Diritto dell'Unione europea*, n. 4 , 941-970

No abstract available

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**Gianfrancesco Eduardo**

**La politica estera e di sicurezza europea prima e dopo il trattato di Lisbona**

in *Diritto e società*, n. 2-3 , 193-208

No abstract available



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Peiffert Olivier

**La politique de change de l'euro**

in *Les Cahiers de droit europeen*, Vol. 47, n. 2 , 433-470

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Stärkle Guido

**La protection et le traitement des informations classifiées dans le cadre de la politique de sécurité et de défense commune (PSDC) au sein des institutions et agences de l'Union européenne**

in *Les Cahiers de droit europeen*, Vol. 47, n. 1 , 155-229

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Passarelli Giuseppina

**La protezione dei diritti fondamentali nello spazio giuridico europeo**

in *Cittadinanza europea (La)*, Fascicolo 1 - 2012

L'articolo propone una riflessione sulla tutela dei diritti fondamentali nello spazio giuridico europeo. Un peculiare riguardo è riservato all'analisi della condizione delle minoranze, dei minori, dei disabili e degli immigrati alla luce del Rapporto annuale pubblicato dall'Agenzia europea per i diritti fondamentali. Le gravi forme di discriminazione che, ancora oggi, si consumano negli Stati membri, nonostante il rilievo giuridico assunto dalla Carta di Nizza - Strasburgo, denotano quanto sia profondo il gap tra enunciazione formale dei diritti e loro effettiva realizzazione in uno scenario futuro dai contorni scarsamente definiti.

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Jolly Cécile

**La rigueur et après ?**

in *Confluences Méditerranée*, n. 80 , 31-36

Cet article tente une prospective économique des pays méditerranéens de l'UE. Il propose notamment trois scénarios, en s'inspirant d'une étude du Centre d'Analyse Stratégique (CAS) consacrée à la France. Et force est d'admettre que toutes les perspectives ne sont pas obscures, loin s'en faut, pour les pays méditerranéens.



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Louis Jean Victor

**La réforme de la Cour de justice**

in *Les Cahiers de droit europeen*, Vol. 47, n. 1 , 9-21

No abstract available

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Louis Jean Victor

**La réforme de la Cour de justice**

in *Cahiers de Droit Européen*, n. 1 , 9-22

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Oularbi Smail

**La réforme des règles d'origine des produits du schéma des préférences généralisées (SPG) -- Entre impératif de simplification et besoin de protection**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 558, mai , 303-314

The EU has granted, since 1971, significant price reduction to a set of products coming from countries declared eligible for the community preference plan (SPG) imported into the EU. Regulation 1063/2010 dated 18/11/2010, which constitutes a significant step in a process initiated in 2003, defines the EU's intentions, regarding the original rules of the SPG system, and changes some clauses of the current provisions to make them effective. The new text, which is in line with the millennium Doha programme for development is designed as an answer to the expectations of countries eligible for the plan, specifically of the PMAs, which demand simpler, less restrictive original rules in order to include them more easily in the world economy. The reform simplification requirement sought by the reform does not prevent us from revealing its preventative aspect for better community industry protection. A general through on the material and procedure rules of the new SPG system is necessary in order to better understand the ambivalent nature of the reform.

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Marchand-Tonel Xavier

**La subsidiarité, un enjeu des débats sur l'Union européenne. Présentation du dossier**

in *Droit et société*, n. 80

No abstract available



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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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José Enrique de Ayala

**La supervivencia del proyecto común en siete claves**

in *Politica Exterior*, Mayo / Junio, 147

La Unión Europea se enfrenta a una coyuntura histórica de la que puede salir o reforzada en su unidad o con un retroceso en su cohesión, que costará muchos años recuperar y reconstruir. Las debilidades y contradicciones de la construcción europea no son nuevas, solo se ponen de manifiesto o se agudizan en tiempos de crisis.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Calamia Piero

**La svolta europea del 1985. Il ruolo dell'Italia**

in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Volume 79, n. 1, gennaio-marzo , 15-24

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Caponi Remo

**La tutela della identità nazionale degli stati membri dell'U.E. nella cooperazione tra le corti: addio ai 'controlimiti'?**

in *Diritto dell'Unione europea*, n. 4 , 915-926

No abstract available

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Editorial (Esprit)

**La volonté française et la règle allemande : l'impossible alchimie de l'Europe**

in *Esprit*, Février 2012 , 4-5

The full text is free:

<http://www.esprit.presse.fr/archive/review/article.php?code=36604&folder=0>

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Dupont-Lassalle Julie





**La « subsidiarité juridictionnelle », instrument de l'intégration communautaire ?**

in *Droit et société*, n. 80

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Van Hoek Laura

**Le Conseil d'Etat, acteur et vigie du droit de l'Union européenne - Le rôle des sections administratives du Conseil d'Etat dans l'élaboration et la mise en oeuvre du droit de l'Union européenne**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 554, janvier , 9-20

The State Council's area of responsibility was significantly altered in the last revision of the French constitution dated July 23, 2008. This specifically concerned the role it plays in the French law-making system, but also - and especially - in the preparation and implementation of European Union law, through the specific modification of articles 39 and 88-4 of the constitution. In fact, although the involvement of the State Council in the implementation of European law in domestic law - which translates in controlling the right application of such European law, but also the respect of the Union's law by French laws and regulations - is relatively known, it is only the second step of a significantly broader process that the State Council takes part in. Indeed, it plays a marginal though crucial role in the elaboration of European law, whose quality and efficiency are a deciding factor of its correct implementation. Both aspects are two sides of the same coin, one and the same issue that is particularly vital today: the respect of European Union law in France.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Jana VARGOVCIKOVA

**Le Groupe de Visegrad, 20 ans après**

in *Politique Etrangère*, Vol. 77, n°1 printemps

Le Groupe de Visegrad (Pologne, Hongrie, République Tchèque, Slovaquie) a, en 20 ans, marqué de son empreinte la carte géopolitique de l'Europe centrale. Ce Groupe peut-il se constituer en acteur sousrégional dans l'Union européenne ? S'il démontre une efficacité locale incontestable, il semble n'avoir à Bruxelles qu'une efficacité réactive. Sa capacité à intervenir sur la politique européenne de voisinage ou dans la politique énergétique de l'Union sera un test de son poids pour l'avenir.

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Kawka Inga

**Le bilan de l'adhésion de la République de Pologne à l'Union européenne**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 555, février , 108-115

The article discusses the impact of the accession of Poland to the European Union on its economic situation and legal



system, after seven years of membership. In the overall balance of benefits and disadvantages, the predominant effects are positive. They result, in particular, from the participation of Poland in the European internal market, from the financial transfers from the EU budget to the budget of this Member State, as well as from the inflow of foreign direct investment. The requirement to adapt Polish legislation to the *acquis communautaire* also led to rapid modernization of Polish legal system. However, the article also describes disadvantages of the accession of Poland to the EU and the problems with ensuring effectiveness of the EU law in the national law. The analysis also shows that Poland did not take advantage of all benefits of its participation in the European integration.

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Lapavistas Kostas

**Le capitalisme européen à la croisée des chemins**

in *Actuel Marx*, N° 51 (avril 2012)

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Vandelle Nathalie

**Le contrôleur européen de la protection des données et la protection des données personnelles dans l'administration européenne**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 554, janvier , 44-50

The European Data Protection Controller (CEPD) is an independent supervision authority whose task is to ensure that the European Union's institutions and bodies (European Commission and European Parliament, for instance, comply with basic private data and privacy protection. It also advises European public services on all issues impacting private data protection. Lastly it cooperates with national supervision authorities with a view to promoting harmonised enforcement of data protection rules. In accordance with those guidelines, the Controller works to promote a "data protection culture" within European institutions and bodies. Thus he contributes to improving the quality of European policies whenever effective private data protection and privacy protection are a crucial condition of success.

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Dubos Olivier

**Le paradigme du "multi-level governance" est-il soluble dans le droit?**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 556, mars , 144-149

The multi-level governance paradigm developed more than ten years ago by political science to grasp the European construction poses a number of methodological difficulties when transposed in the legal area. However, even when limited to an organic approach, it shows the multiple and mutual links of interdependence that exist between the member country and the European Union. Indeed the decision-making processes combine state bodies and Union bodies. Beyond the distinction between the legal status of the State and the legal status of the Union, they should be considered



as forming a complex law-generating system.

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Neframi Eleftherina

**Le principe de coopération loyale comme fondement identitaire de l'Union européenne**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 556, mars , 197-203

The principle of loyal cooperation requires member countries to put themselves at the service of the European Union's objectives and in the same time implies that the European Union be a Union of States that protect their autonomy. Around the search for a balance between member country privileges and the achievement of the Union's objectives, the principle of loyal cooperation leads to the Union's identification, internationally, as an independent and efficient player, and to the crystallisation of the main items of its identity as a separate legal order. The interaction with the basic principles governing law conflict and the exercising of jurisdictions does not prevent the autonomisation of the identifying function of the principle of loyal cooperation.

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Dickmann Renzo

**Le regole della governance economica europea e il pareggio di bilancio in Costituzione**

in *Federalismi*, Anno X - Nr 4

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Platon Sébastien

**Le respect de l'identité nationale des États membres: frein ou recomposition de la gouvernance?**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 556, mars , 150-158

The principle of respect for national identities has existed in the European Union's original law since the Maastricht Treaty. The Lisbon Treaty, reproducing the treaty establishing a constitution for European, develops the wording thereof specifically, and apparently gives it significantly more weight and a more detailed definition. Several arguments drawn from the review of the text, can lead to believe that the principle is now seen as a controlling principle of the European Union's actions, as a principle regulating the lawfulness and/or enforceability of derived law, which could possibly be an obstacle to European governance. However, one can only note that recent European case law on the identity principle does not show any materialising of such potentials. What's more, even though such materialisation may be yet to come, it would not necessarily result in a total transfer to member countries of enforceability and/or lawfulness conditions for the European Union's derived law. In other words, European governance will be at most recomposed by the redefinition of the principle of respect for national identities resulting from the Lisbon Treaty.

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Michea Frédérique

**Le rôle du Conseil européen après Lisbonne - Lecture critique des traités modifiés**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 555, février , 76-83

A systemic reading of the modified treaties implicitly shows an unprecedented change in the role of the European Council, which can at first be analysed in terms of the diversification of the powers of this new institution. In this regard, the Union's primary legislation carries out an imperfect structuring. All the powers are not clearly indexed and the allocation of numerous tasks of a constitutional nature to the European Council, at the expense of the Council, also draws critical comments. Subsequently, the role of the European Council can be studied in light of article 15 §1 of the Maastricht Treaty which expressly prohibits the council from exercising the legislative function. And yet, ambiguities remain on the non-legislative nature of all the acts of the European Council and on its contribution in the process of forming legislative acts.

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Chaltiel Florence

**Le traité sur la stabilité, la coordination et la gouvernance: du fédéralisme monétaire au fédéralisme budgétaire?**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 558, mai , 293-294

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Itzcovich Giulio

**Legal Order, Legal Pluralism, Fundamental Principles. Europe and Its Law in Three Concepts**

in *European law journal*, Vol 18 Issue 3 - May , 358–384

The essay analyses the way in which the concepts of legal order, legal pluralism and fundamental rights have been used to describe (and decide) what European integration is (and what it ought to be) from the perspective of the law. The essay does not provide a legal theory but limits itself to investigating how certain concepts have been employed to justify legal decisions and to construct legal theories. The juridical discourse on Europe is examined to identify some trends in contemporary legal culture: the decline of a tradition of legal thought, 'legal dogmatics,' the vanishing of the distinction between internal and external law (between domestic law and international law, and between positive law and morality), the growing importance of fundamental rights discourse, the centrality of balancing test, the widespread criticism of legal science's claim to neutrality and the consequent normative turn affecting legal scholarship.

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Larrazabal Basañez Santiago

**Legitimidad democrática en la Unión Europea**  
in *Cuadernos europeos de Deusto*, n. 46 , 13-15

No abstract available

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Saddiki Said

**Les clôtures de Ceuta et de Melilla. Une frontière européenne multidimensionnelle**  
in *Etudes Internationales*, Vol. 43, n° 1 , 49-65

Fences of Ceuta and Melilla are an appropriate model to study to what extent governments could harmonize between stated purposes and hidden objectives. Although Spanish government has constantly stated that fences of the two enclaves aim only to stop irregular migration, comprehensive view of various aspects of the issue leads us to conclude the existence of other objectives behind this policy. Spain's policy of fencing the two enclaves' borders reflects a contradictory process in the region. While Mediterranean sphere has witnessed during the last two decades an increasing number of cultural and economic cooperation projects, new real and virtual walls have been built in the region to achieve "Fortress Europe". The paper tries, first, to show the controversial aspects of Ceuta and Melilla fences as the de facto eu southern border. Second, it aims to highlight the changing roles of the two enclaves' fences.

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Chaltiel Florence

**Les coopérations renforcées annoncées : enfin ou fin ?**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 554, janvier , 5-6

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Lamblin-Gourdin Anne-Sophie

**Les coopérations renforcées au secours du brevet unique européen?**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 557, avril , 254-269

On March 10, 2011, the European Union Council agreed to use reinforced cooperation to set up the single European patent or community patent, and negotiation allowing to adopt that industrial property title are underway. The idea is the put an end to almost fifty years of thinking and negotiating, impeded by the difficult determination of its status and of the dispute settlement system. With respect thereto, the use condition of reinforced cooperation are fulfilled. In spite of that, one can wonder about the timeliness of that solution, which only partly remedies the current inside market segmentation. Mainly, the community patent will not be really interesting unless it comes with a central dispute settlement system. Yet the legal imbroglio is such that none of the considered options is perfectly convincing. As a



result, it is advisable that, in the name of economic efficiency, the European Union make the breach of differentiation in the inside market to establish a title whose effects may be only partly unified?

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Robert-Cuendet Sabrina

**Les investissements intracommunautaires. Entre droit communautaire et accords internationaux sur l'investissement : concilier l'inconciliable ?**

in *Revue générale de droit international publique*, vol. 115, n. 4

No abstract available

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Pigeonnier Anne-Sylvie

**Les organisations européennes et la promotion des droits des minorités nationales dans les pays baltes Le cas de la Lituanie**

in *Revue d'études comparatives Est-Ouest*, vol. 42, n. 4 , 55-82

While the promotion of minority rights in Latvia and Estonia during the process of joining the EU received much attention from international organizations, the positive situation of national minorities in Lithuania was seldom mentioned. Owing to this initial fit with EU criteria, European organizations have brought little pressure to bear on the Lithuanian government. Minority rights started eroding in 2002 however, a trend that EU membership did not stymie. Protecting minorities is a paradoxical issue in Lithuania: the choice of a multicultural democracy and the willingness to meet international norms still run counter to the felt need to promote a Lithuanian identity.

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Marc Milet

**Les publicistes français et la CED, controverse doctrinale et engagement civique**

in *Relations internationales*, n°149 , 101-113

The treaty of Paris which established a European Defence Community was signed under pressure from the US. From 1952 to 1954 the opportunity to ratify violently divided the political and intellectual scene. An unknown fact is that professors of public law were involved in public debate in the summer of 1954 regarding a doctrinal controversy published in the national press. The revision of this episode allows us to specify the nature of the lawyers' intervention, which can be defined as an intervention by specific intellectuals who took up the cause on issues of law in the name of specialized knowledge. The legal controversy recalls the importance of the issue of transfer of sovereignty in the divisions that do not just refer to a conflict of cold war. This paper contributes to the presentation of the « crusaders games around the law » in that it shows the correlation between civic commitment and doctrinal position even as the players differentiate the two positions.





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Louis Jean Victor

**Les réponses à la crise**

in *Les Cahiers de droit européen*, Vol. 47, n. 2 , 353-367

No abstract available

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Tuomioja Erkki

**Let's get Europe's crisis back in perspective**

in *Europe's World*, Issue 21, Summer

It's far too soon to declare the EU's economic and political crises over, says Erkki Tuomioja, but there's no reason to think the Union is about to fall apart. What's needed now is to draw the right lessons from the crisis.

[http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home\\_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/22001/language/en-US/Default.aspx](http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/22001/language/en-US/Default.aspx)

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Rupnik Jacques

**Leçons centroeuropéennes de la crise de l'euro**

in *Esprit*, Mai 2012 , 74-85

La crise européenne a un fort impact sur les pays récemment entrés dans l'Union, qu'ils fassent partie ou non de la zone euro. Leurs réactions ne sont cependant pas homogènes : si la Hongrie subit une crise profonde, la Pologne, plus prospère, appelle à un renouvellement de l'esprit européen. Avec un affaiblissement des pays du Sud et un échec des pays moteurs (France et Allemagne), la crise redéfinit ce que seront demain le centre et les périphéries de l'Union.

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Santulli Carlo

**L'Euro : analyse juridique de la « crise de la dette »**

in *Revue générale de droit international publique*, vol. 115, n. 4

No abstract available

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Rangoni Machiavelli Beatrice

**L'Europa è politica interna**

in *Critica liberale*, volume XIX, n.195 - gennaio

No abstract available

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Habermas Jürgen, Vigi Sara

**L'Europe paralysée d'effroi – La crise de l'Union européenne à la lumière d'une constitutionnalisation du droit international public**

in *Cité, philosophie, politique, histoire*, n. 49 , 131-146

Premières lignes

Pourquoi l'Europe est aujourd'hui plus que jamais un projet de constitution À court terme, la crise actuelle monopolise toute l'attention. Mais par-delà ceci, les acteurs politiques ne devraient pas oublier les défauts de construction qui sont au fondement de l'union monétaire et qui ne pourront pas être levés autrement que par une union politique adéquate. Il manque à l'Union...

PLAN DE L'ARTICLE

Pourquoi l'Europe est aujourd'hui plus que jamais un projet de constitution

Première innovation : la subordination des États nationaux au droit supranational

Deuxième innovation : la souveraineté originellement partagée entre citoyens de l'Union et peuples européens

Que découle-t-il de la partition des puissances constituantes pour l'édification légitime de l'Union ?

En vue de meilleures avancées vers une intégration européenne plus complète, nous devons décider entre le fédéralisme exécutif et une démocratie supranationale propre

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de Rubercy Eryck

**L'Europe, une grande histoire qui "nous" concerne**

in *Revue des deux mondes*, Avril

Jamais plus qu'aujourd'hui il ne sera sans doute opportun de souligner la saisissante actualité du livre Pavane pour une Europe défunte du philosophe Jean-Marie Benoist qui éclaire la crise dans laquelle l'Europe se trouve actuellement plongée. Plus de trente ans après sa publication, sa lecture, en effet, ne saurait manquer d'étonner le lecteur tant l'appréciation que son auteur y fait d'une Europe enlisée dans sa marche, qui ne l'empêche pas pour autant de lancer un appel, une adjuration pressante à ne pas y renoncer, coïncide avec le constat navré que nous pouvons faire



aujourd'hui sur l'édification d'une Europe politique ébranlée par la crise financière de sa monnaie unique...

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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**Slim Assen**

**L'Instrument d'aide de préadhésion (2007-2013) favorise-t-il l'intégration des Balkans occidentaux à l'UE?**

in *Revue d'études comparatives Est-Ouest*, vol. 42, n. 4, 149-184

How efficient is the pre-accession assistance that the EU has proposed to the Western Balkans? This analysis focuses on this program's weak points. Based on G. Myrdal's theoretical framework for aid and taking into account previous programs of assistance to transitional countries, this article presents the differences between pre-accession assistance and what could be an "Integration Aid Instrument".

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**Paladini Luca**

**L'Unione europea all'Assemblea generale dell'ONU: un vecchio osservatore con nuovi poteri?**

in *Studi sull'integrazione europea*, Anno VII, n. 1, gennaio-aprile, 84-104

Resolution 65/276 of May 3, 2011 adopted by the UN General Assembly grants to the European Union some new prerogatives in its capacity as an observer. The EU can intervene in debates, can submit proposals and amendments (with some limits), and has the right of reply and to circulate documents in the Assembly sessions and works, in its committees and working groups, in international meetings and conferences convened under its auspices, and in the UN conferences. The resolution poses some issues that this article aims to consider. Certainly the accorded status represents a development in the observers current practice, but it does not constitute a privilege only for the EU. UNGA can decide to extend that status to all regional organizations admitted as observers and whose representatives can speak on their behalf, thus Resolution 65/276 constitutes a step towards a new practice, aiming to encourage international organizations to participate more actively. In that regard, it is worth mentioning that the Resolution allows the EU to get close to the "enhanced observer status", which it already possesses in other international organizations. A special focus is dedicated to the external representation legal framework introduced by the Lisbon Treaty; the variety of "EU actors" – i.e., the President of the European Council, the High Representative for Foreign Affairs (HR), the Commission and EU delegations – and the need to organize their actions suggest the opportunity to arrange a preliminary and internal coordination, which should include the relationship with the rotating Presidency. In that regard, the 66th UNGA session already offers some confirmation. Finally, after some consideration about the EU participation in the Security Council (that Resolution 65/276 does not take into account), the article ends with some final observations. In particular, a key-role of the HR in the EU external representation emerges, which can also contribute to strengthen his/her problematic position within the Union institutional framework.

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**Lenzi Guido**

**L'indispensabile "vicinato" dell'Unione Europea**



in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLIV, numero speciale, n. 166 , 143-149

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Arjakovsky Antoine

**L'oecuménisme en Europe : une approche religieuse et politique**

in *Revue des deux mondes*, Avril

La notion d'oecuménisme est associée aujourd'hui à la sphère religieuse. On connaît par exemple le Conseil oecuménique des Églises, qui se trouve à Genève et qui organise des projets conjoints avec plus de trois cent cinquante Églises. En Europe existe également la Conférence des Églises européennes, qui est une communion de cent vingt Églises protestantes, anglicanes, vieilles catholiques et orthodoxes. Elle fut créée en 1959 pour tenter de surmonter de façon pacifique la guerre froide qui déchirait alors le continent européen. Cet organisme collabore de façon régulière avec le Conseil des conférences épiscopales européennes créé dans l'Église catholique après le concile Vatican II.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Chad Damro

**Market power Europe**

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 19, Issue 5 2012 , 682-699

While the identity of the European Union (EU) may have normative and/or other characteristics, it is fundamentally a large single market with significant institutional features and competing interest groups. Given these central characteristics, the EU may be best understood as a market power Europe that exercises its power through the externalization of economic and social market-related policies and regulatory measures. Such an exercise of power, which may occur as intentional or unintentional behaviour, suggests the EU is fully capable of using both persuasive and coercive means and tools to influence international affairs. By scrutinizing the EU's identity, official documents and initial evidence, the article provides an analytical framework for understanding what kind of power the EU is, what the EU says as a power and what the EU does as a power.

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Busch Klaus, Hirschel Dierk

**Mehr Europa, aber anders**

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, Juni, 2012 , 39-42

Nicht nur die EU steckt in der tiefsten Krise ihrer Geschichte, sondern auch der Protest gegen die Aushöhlung der nationalen Demokratien (siehe den Beitrag von Florian Rödl in der April-Ausgabe). Worauf es heute ankommt, ist daher zweierlei: die Verteidigung nationaler Schutzrechte und eine neue Europäisierung des Protests für ein anderes Europa.



Europa befindet sich, von Griechenland über Spanien bis zu den Niederlanden, in einer schweren Integrationskrise: Seit zwei Jahren steht der Euro am Rande des Scheiterns. Eine drakonische Sparpolitik stürzt die Eurozone mehr und mehr in die Rezession. Die Folgen sind verheerend: Von Amsterdam bis Athen sind heute 25 Millionen Menschen ohne Arbeit, ein neuer, trauriger Rekord. Die Ursache all dessen liegt in der Architektur der Wirtschafts- und Währungsunion (WWU) und in entfesselten Finanzmärkten. Denn die Wirtschafts- und Währungsunion wurde nicht in eine Politische Union eingebettet; der Euro nicht in eine politische Solidargemeinschaft. Ein Finanzausgleich zwischen den ungleich entwickelten Staaten ist im Maastrichter Vertrag nicht vorgesehen...

The full text is free:

<http://www.blaetter.de/archiv/jahrgaenge/2012/juni/mehr-europa-aber-anders>

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Korpos, Attila

**Monetary Union and Pegging in the Presence of Labor Unions  
in Scandinavian Journal of Economics**, volume 114 n.2 , 466-479

As the European Economic and Monetary Union grows, power over monetary policy is shifting away from the original founders. Previously, researchers have analyzed the impact of replacing an exchange rate peg with a monetary union in the presence of labor unions. In these studies, the authors have consistently concluded that unemployment in the country that originally controlled monetary policy will rise, although they cite very different reasons. In this paper, we present a more general model that reproduces the previous results in special cases and clarifies the relations across the results. In addition, the more general model shows that the results are reversed in certain conditions.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Winzen Thomas

**National Parliamentary Control of European Union Affairs: A Cross-national and Longitudinal Comparison  
in West European Politics**, vol. 35, n. 3 , 657-672

ABSTRACT: Recent research on national parliamentary control of European Union affairs relies primarily on cross-sectional, contemporary data, whereas information on the nature and frequency of changes within countries and over time is currently lacking. This lack of data not only limits our substantive knowledge of the role of national parliaments in EU affairs but also constrains studies of the causes of parliamentary control. This research note offers a cross-national and longitudinal comparison of all member state parliaments from 1958 to today. Thus, it refines and updates recent measurements and provides a starting point for more conclusive analyses of cross-national and temporal variation.

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Edoardo Bressanelli

**National parties and group membership in the European Parliament: ideology or pragmatism?**  
in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 19, Issue 5 2012 , 737-754

This contribution investigates the factors behind political group membership in the European Parliament. In June 2009, more than 150 national parties, from the 27 member countries, joined one of the seven transnational groupings. Two main explanations for group membership are advanced. A first, traditional argument is based on the ideological or policy compatibility of the member parties. National parties will join the political group that best matches their programmatic position. A second argument focuses, instead, on the structure of incentives in the Parliament, positing that the pragmatic goals of national parties are better advanced by joining the largest and most influential groups. These arguments are tested by fitting a multinomial logit model for political group 'choice' based on the 2009 Euromanifestos data. The findings suggest that ideological compatibility is the most important factor behind transnational affiliation, even if some caution is needed for the 'new', post-communist members.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Mühlböck Monika

**National versus European: Party Control over Members of the European Parliament**  
in *West European Politics*, vol. 35, n. 3 , 607-631

ABSTRACT: This article examines different strategies of national governmental parties to influence 'their' Members of the European Parliament (MEPs), posing the following questions: Do national parties try to control voting behaviour of their MEPs? And do control mechanisms enhance the probability that an MEP toes a national party line rather than following his or her European party group? The analysis reveals differences between individual parties, indicating that at least some national parties actively attempt to control their MEPs. Furthermore, the article evaluates the success of the various approaches, taking compliance with the position of the minister in the Council as a benchmark. The results show that the overall effect of control mechanisms remains small. Instead of toeing the line of their national party's minister, MEPs tend to vote with their European group.

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Daniela Piana

**New Legal Instruments in a Changing World: Legal, Political and Cultural Developments in EU Judicial Cooperation**

in *International Spectator (The)*, Vol. 47, No. 1, March

At the closing of the 20th century, Europe decided the time was ripe to take bold steps towards the creation of a truly integrated European judicial space. Of its overall goals for the new millennium, judicial integration ranked at the top as this reflected shifting global challenges in an increasingly diversified world. After more than a decade, the reality is still that of a policy area in which multiple practices of cooperation coexist. Indeed, political and cultural factors matter in explaining how judicial decisions and practices are harmonised and integrated by EU member states. The article





focuses on a number of socialisation mechanisms adopted by the EU to build mutual trust among national authorities and also looks at the European Arrest Warrant as an important test bed of the strengths and weaknesses of European judicial cooperation.

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**Bast Jügren**

**New categories of acts after the Lisbon reform: Dynamics of parliamentarization in EU law**  
in **Common Market Law Review**, vol. 49, issue 3 , 885-927

ABSTRACT: The Lisbon Treaty has introduced new categories of acts that cut across the familiar typology of instruments provided for in Article 288 TFEU. The three main innovations are "legislative acts", "regulatory acts" and "delegated acts". The article critically analyses these legal concepts in the light of the institutional practice recently developed under the EU Treaties. It includes the first generation of "special" legislative acts adopted by the Council, the landmark rulings of the General Court in *Inuit and Microban*, the Comitology Regulation of February 2011 and the "Common Understanding on delegated acts" concluded in March 2011. The theme common to the three studies is the progressive parliamentarization of the Union. The Lisbon Treaty's re-arrangements in the system of legal acts are part of the difficult process of reworking the EU's constitutional settlement in view of a powerful European Parliament and the demand to translate this new political reality into the operations of the legal order. For instance, Parliament's persistent objection to the previous regime of supervising the Commission's law-making powers through a system of committees was the driving force behind the new rules of Articles 290 and 291 TFEU. In the case of "regulatory acts", however, the parliamentarization of the Union has provoked a dysfunctional spillover into EU procedural law.

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**Marianne Sundlisaeter Skinner**

**Norwegian Euroscepticism: Values, Identity or Interest**  
in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 50, Issue 3, May 2012 , 422-440

This article presents a new theory – the VCR (Values, political Culture and Rural society) model – to clarify what Norwegian Euroscepticism is really about and explain why so many Norwegians do not want their country to be a member of the European Union. It argues that at the centre of Norwegian Euroscepticism is a concern for post-materialist values, political culture and rural society, and that values (the desire to make Norway and the world a better place) is a much more potent explanation for Norwegian Euroscepticism than economic interest (the desire to make Norway a richer place) or perceived threat to Norwegian national identity. The VCR theory finds support in the empirical study conducted: a thematic analysis of newspaper debates in a major Norwegian newspaper from the 1960s, 1970s and 1990s. The findings also indicate that the Euroscepticism found in Norway in the 1990s is extremely similar to that which was formed during the first membership debates in the 1960s and 1970s. In addition to contributing towards the literature on Norway and the EU, the article makes a contribution to the general study of Euroscepticism by putting forward a new approach to studying and comparing the subject across time and across countries.

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Morgante Daniela

**Note in tema di 'Fiscal compact'**

in *Federalismi*, Anno X - Nr 7

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Buhari-Gulmez Didem

**Ombudsmanship and Turkey's Europeanization in 'World Society'**

in *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, vol. 19, n. 4, december, 475-487

ABSTRACT: This article investigates Europeanization in a candidate country from a macro-sociological perspective. From the point of view of sociology, extant Europeanization studies treat culture only in a reductionist manner. In particular, 'sender-receiver' models overlook the domestic perceptions that translate, vernacularize or reframe exogenous conditionality. Furthermore, 'goodness of fit' approaches 'bringing domestic agency back in' misleadingly reinforce the image that the domestic and the external spheres are easily separated. By studying the ombudsmanship reform in Turkey, the article concludes that: (1) the content of Europeanization is not purely European; (2) the role for domestic norm entrepreneurs in leading cultural change is variable and constrained; and (3) domestic motivations for Europeanization include exogenous factors trespassing upon EU conditionality, that is, global culture/world society.

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Carlos Carnero

**Para retornar a la Europa del consenso**

in *Politica Exterior*, Mayo / Junio, 147

Nunca hasta ahora se había utilizado a la UE como un instrumento para imponer una ideología. En el pacto fundacional del proyecto europeo está el Estado del bienestar, no una política económica única. Necesitamos recuperar la idea de una verdadera Constitución. La Unión Europea está cambiando su naturaleza constitucional.

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de Sadeleer Nicolas

**Particularités de la subsidiarité dans le domaine de l'environnement**

in *Droit et société*, n. 80

No abstract available



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Ladrech Robert

**Party Change and Europeanisation: Elements of an Integrated Approach**

*in West European Politics*, vol. 35, n. 3 , 574-588

ABSTRACT: The literature on party organisational change emphasises environmental factors as well as internal circumstances. The literature on Europeanisation and political parties privileges the EU as a key environmental factor in terms of change. This article combines insights from the party organisation and Europeanisation literatures in order to more precisely conceptualise the EU as a stimulus and therefore causal factor in party organisational change. Two types of party change are analysed, new party positions (MEPs and specialised EU party staff) and party leaderships' responses to internal dissent over the EU. Linking a specific form of EU stimulus to a particular party goal helps to explain certain types of change, while inter-governmental bargaining may produce uncertainty for domestic political actors thereby inducing defensive reactions.

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Sándor Judit, Varju Marton

**Patenting stem cells in Europe: The challenge of multiplicity in European Union law**

*in Common Market Law Review*, vol. 49, issue 3 , 1007-1037

ABSTRACT: The recent judgment by the European Court of Justice in *Brüstle* ended the long-standing controversy concerning the patentability of inventions involving human embryonic stem cells in European patent law as harmonized by the Biotechnology Directive (Directive 98/44/EC). The Court of Justice, in line with EPO practice, confirmed that Article 6 of the Biotechnology Directive excluding the patentability of industrial or commercial uses of human embryos prevents patenting human embryonic stem cells. The judgment is open to criticism on account of its interpretation of the relevant ethical principles laid down in the Biotechnology Directive in an environment characterized by moral pluralism and by a multiplicity of legal fora with jurisdiction to interpret those principles

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Thorne David

**Perché l'Europa è importante per gli Stati Uniti**

*in Affari Esteri*, Anno XLIV, numero speciale, n. 166 , 35-39

No abstract available

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Ordóñez Solís David

**Persona, dignidad y democracia en la Unión Europea**

in *Cuadernos europeos de Deusto*, n. 46 , 147-177

No abstract available

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**Poland leads Europe: Beata Stoczynska reflects on Poland's achievements as president of the European Union Council**

in *New Zealand International Review*, May 2012 , Stoczynska Beata

Seven years after its accession to the European Union, Poland assumed the presidency of the Council in 2011. It was confronted with a number of difficult issues arising from the economic crisis and the union's identity crisis. It aimed to rebuild confidence in the union and to prove that the union was able to respond efficiently and effectively to the challenges involving the euro zone, economic growth and unemployment. Among the highlights of Poland's presidency were the signature of Croatia's accession treaty and the conclusion of negotiations concerning an association and trade agreement with Ukraine. Economic governance of the union was also strengthened.

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Lähdesmäki Tuuli

**Politics of Cultural Marking in Mini-Europe: Anchoring European Cultural Identity in a Theme Park**

in *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* , vol. 20, issue 1 , 29-40

ABSTRACT: Mini-Europe—a theme park in Brussels morally supported by the European Commission and the European Parliament—consists of around 350 models of different buildings and heritage sites from all the member states of the European Union. In addition the park includes an exhibition named the Spirit of Europe. The article explores how the European cultural identity is constructed and 'sold' in Mini-Europe, and how history, geography and local and regional traditions are intertwined into a politics of cultural marking, an ideology of European integration and a creation of shared symbols. European cultural identity has often been generated through appeals to an ancient or classical past, which is produced by stressing certain themes or 'parts' of Europe. Representing these 'parts' as common European culture is a profoundly exclusive strategy: heritage of a particular temporal or spatial unit is narrated as shared by the contemporary citizens in Europe. Mini-Europe can be interpreted as an indication of this kind of pan-Europeanist ideology. In addition, in Mini-Europe the European culture and identity is represented through signs, which do not refer to Europeanness as such, but function as signifiers of famous tourist attractions of particular member states in the European Union.

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Wuthrich F. Michael, Arda#287; M. Murat, U#287;ur Deniz

**Politics, cultural heterogeneity and support for European Union membership in Turkey**  
in *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, vol. 12, n. 1 , 45-62

This study analyses factors related to attitudes toward European Union (EU) accession, taking into account political affiliation, religious and ethnic identity, fear of foreign threat, utilitarian considerations, along with a number of other variables through a survey conducted among Turkish citizens in general and also among various Alevi communities. The results show that Alevi identity, in contrast to Kurdish background, was strongly indicative of positive attitudes toward the EU. Furthermore, in conjunction with existing literature on EU integration, political party affiliation, utilitarian concerns and fear of foreigners were associated with attitudes toward membership among all groups, while religiosity was not a significant determinant of attitudes toward the EU.

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Ba#351;kan Filiz, Gümrukçü Selin Bengi

**Positions of Turkish political parties on European integration**  
in *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, vol. 12, n. 1 , 25-44

Although academic studies on the positions of political parties in European Union member states concerning European integration have increased since the end of 1990s, there is a lack of systematic and comprehensive research on this topic in Turkey. This article examines the positions on European integration of Turkish political parties competing in the 2002, 2007 and 2011 general elections. It shows that there are more Eurosceptic and Eurorejectionist parties than Euroenthusiast parties. This can be explained by the lack of elite consensus on European integration in Turkey due to specific features of Turkey–EU relations.

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Vigeneron Philippe

**Pour l'établissement d'un Coreperfin**  
in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 554, janvier , 40-43

The financial and economic crisis we are going through shows that the European Union must, at all costs, reinforce the economic aspect of the economic and monetary Union (EMU), if it is to keep the benefits of the single Market and of the euro zone. Progress has already been made in that direction since the crisis began, though it is very limited. As a result, several more or less bold proposals have been expressed both by experts and by political personalities. The following article focuses on the institutional economic governance system. It suggests making an administrative change to the Council, by setting up a Coreperfin, which would act simultaneously to the current Coreper and would be in charge of all issues relating to the economic governance of the Union and of the euro zone.

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El Karoui Hakim

**Pour un « contrat de coalition » franco-allemand**

in *Debat (Le)*, n. 168, janvier-février , 63-71

Il est de bon ton à Paris de se lamenter d'un « égoïsme allemand » qui irait contre les intérêts de la France en particulier et de l'Europe en général. Alors que l'on approche en France d'une échéance électorale majeure qui sera suivie, en septembre 2013, par les élections législatives allemandes, il faut refonder les relations franco-allemandes pour réinventer un...

PLAN DE L'ARTICLE

L'Europe existe-t-elle encore ?  
Vers la fin de l'Allemagne européenne ?  
Le moteur franco-allemand ne fonctionne plus  
Trois scénarios  
Un nouvel intérêt général européen

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Lupu Yonatan, Voeten Erik

**Precedent in International Courts: A Network Analysis of Case Citations by the European Court of Human Rights**

in *British Journal of Political Science*, vol. 42, issue 2, april , 413-439

ABSTRACT: Why and how do international courts justify decisions with citations to their own case law? We argue that, like domestic review courts, international courts use precedent at least in part to convince 'lower' (domestic) courts of the legitimacy of judgements. Several empirical observations are consistent with this view, which are examined through a network analysis of European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR) citations. First, the Court cites precedent based on the legal issues in the case, not the country of origin. Second, the Court is more careful to embed judgements in its existing case law when the expected value of persuading domestic judges is highest. These findings contribute to a developing literature that suggests international and domestic review courts develop their authority in similar ways.

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Joshi, Vivek

**Preferential Tariff Formation: The Case of the European Union**

in *Journal of World Trade*, Volume 45 Issue 5 , 901-952

In this paper, we address the impact of Multilateral Trade Liberalization (MTL) on the preferential tariffs granted by the European Union (EU), which is one of the largest traders and one of the biggest contributors to MTL. We empirically address two important questions. First, if the Most Favoured Nation (MFN) tariff for a product is higher, does it lead to a higher or lower preferential tariff? Second, with the EU being a large trading partner in such agreements, does





reciprocity matter for giving meaningful preferential access? For a given MFN tariff, we model the preferential tariff with a simple linear functional form. We draw three important conclusions. First, the products that are highly protected do not get high preferential access even at the regional level. Second, reciprocity plays only a limited role in granting better preferential access. Third, the generalized system of preference (GSP) preferences matters when the EU negotiates with the developed partners, but it does not matter when it negotiates with the developing partners.

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Piccone Valeria

**Primato del diritto dell'Unione e responsabilità civile dei giudici nazionali  
in Cittadinanza europea (La), Fascicolo 1 - 2012**

Il saggio, muovendo da una prospettiva metodologica diretta a cogliere gli elementi caratterizzanti il processo di integrazione europea, mira ad offrire, alla luce delle novità introdotte dal Trattato di Lisbona, nonché tenuto conto della giurisprudenza della Corte di Giustizia Europea, un approccio sistematico al regime di responsabilità civile dei giudici nazionali nel quadro del principio di primazia del diritto dell'Unione, riguardato in connessione con l'obbligo di adeguamento del diritto interno al diritto sovranazionale.

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Arregui Javier

**Problemas de legitimidad democrática, representación y rendimiento de cuentas en el proceso político de la Unión Europea**

in *Cuadernos europeos de Deusto*, n. 46 , 85-112

No abstract available

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Buzelay Alain

**Problématique actuelle de la régulation prudentielle pour les banques en Europe**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 555, février , 116-123

The economic and financial crisis which started in 2007, as well as the problems of public debt which were one of the consequences of it, required a considerable reinforcement of the prudential rules imposed on banks since the Basel I Accords in 1988. This reinforcement was progressively forged at the time of the Basel II Accords in 2004 and above all the Basel III Accords in 2007, accords completed by the decisions of 2011 on the restructuring of the Greek debt and the imperative need for bank recapitalisation. Essential as it may be, this tightening is not exempt of the risk of perverse effects which must be identified and overcome. The fact remains that the effectiveness of this new prudential framework is subject to two prior conditions: the prudential regulation of the banking sector is inseparable from the active regulation of the financial sector; whereas the effectiveness of this prudential regulation depends on real public willingness.



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Szwedo Piotr

**Programme de la présidence polonaise de l'UE**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 555, février , 101-107

A program of an EU Presidency is not a result of single-state-initiative. It must meet dynamic needs originating from inside and outside the Union. As the same time, the EU seeks to realize its projects and initiatives in a consistent and successive manner. The EU Presidency means rather to direct a ship of which the route was already jointly predefined and which depends on many global and regional currents that drive the vessel of the Union. "The Polish semester" was dominated by a struggle for the survival of the Eurozone, in which Poland does not take part. However, the Presidency aimed to realize progressively the predetermined goals such as the outline of the Multiannual Financial Framework 2014-2020, the Eastern Partnership, the EU enlargement and the energy security.

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Julien Chaisse

**Promises and Pitfalls of the European Union Policy on Foreign Investment—How will the New EU Competence on FDI affect the Emerging Global Regime?**

in *Journal of International Economic Law*, Vol. 14, Num. 2 , 51-84

This article analyses constitutional changes and policy consequences concerning the transfer to the supranational level of an external competence in the field of investment resulting from the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU). It states that EU Member States lose their competence to conclude investment treaties and to analyse legal innovations at the EU level. The new comprehensive European investment policy may enable the EU to utilize its leverage to negotiate favourable terms with non-Member States and consistency in protection standards worldwide, leading to an even (as well as a superior) playing field for EU investors. This horizon, however, is darkened by technical, but important, issues of investment treaties implementation and the uncertain future of existing investment treaties signed by Member States. This article shows that these legal innovations offer a rich canvas against which international legal issues of 'systemic importance' are discussed, while policy lessons covering preferential trade policy and the next generation of investment treaties are explored. Legal issues and policy strategies will in turn impact the international regime for investment.

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Lanzoni Lisa

**Protección y limitación de los derechos humanos en el Art. 52 de la carta de los derechos fundamentales de la Unión Europea**

in *Revista de derecho politico*, n. 82 , 573-601

No abstract available



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Eckes Christina

**Protecting Supremacy from External Influences: A Precondition for a European Constitutional Legal Order?**  
in *European law journal*, Vol 18 Issue 2 - March , 230–250

The number of international law obligations that have binding force on the Union and/or its Member States is sharply increasing. This paper argues that in this light the well-functioning of the European Union ultimately depends on the protection of the principle of supremacy from law originating outside of the EU legal order. The supremacy of EU law is essential to ensuring that Member States cannot use national rules to justify derogation from EU law.

As a matter of principle, international treaties concluded by the Member States rank at the level of ordinary national law within the European legal order and below all forms of European law (both primary and secondary). Article 351 TFEU exceptionally allows Member States to derogate from primary EU law in order to comply with obligations under anterior international agreements. It does not however allow a departure from the principle of supremacy that underlies the European legal order. In *Kadi I*, the Court of Justice of the European Union stated that Article 351 TFEU, while it permits derogation from primary law, may under no circumstances permit circumvention of the “very foundations” of the EU legal order. This introduces an additional condition that all acts within the sphere of EU law need to comply with a form of “super-supreme law”. It also strengthened the principle of supremacy and gave the Court of Justice the role of the guardian of the Union's “foundations”. The Court of Justice acted on the necessity of defending the Union as a distinct legal order, retaining the autonomous interpretation of its own law, and ultimately ensuring that the Union can act as an independent actor on the international plane.

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Dulphy Anne, Manigand Christine

**Public Opinion and the European Parliament**  
in *Journal of European Integration History*, vol. 17, n. 1 , 117-130

The relationship between public opinion and the European Parliament has been marked for a long time by indifference or incomprehension. Public perception of Europe has been deteriorating over the past half-century in terms of trust and legitimacy. However, the situation became more complex, characterized by the development of real political attitudes towards the EU. Trying to enlighten them, the authors focus first on drawing up an evolutionary typology of European feeling, then on attitudes towards the European Parliament elections by universal suffrage. This parliamentary institution now has an indisputable reputation, but its visibility remained low and its powers unclear although they are increasing.

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Bovis Christopher H.

**Public procurement in the EU: Jurisprudence and conceptual directions'**



in **Common Market Law Review**, vol. 49, issue 1 , 247-289

ABSTRACT: The present article reviews the emerging conceptual themes from the case law of the European Court of Justice which have triggered the revision of the public procurement Directives, and the alignment of the public procurement acquis with the Europe 2020 Growth Strategy. The Court's jurisprudence has instrumentally influenced the interpretation of public procurement legal concepts such as contracting authorities, the remit of selection and qualification criteria, the parameters for contracting authorities to use environmental and social considerations as award criteria and the principles which underpin the remedies in the award of public contracts.

However, the exhaustive harmonization which is inherent in the public procurement directives has caused significant porosity and limitations in the effectiveness of the public procurement acquis. Service concessions, contracts awarded by a contracting authority to another contracting authority on the basis of exclusive rights, public-public partnerships and in-house contractual relations, and contracts which fall below the stipulated value thresholds all reflect upon the forthcoming reforms of the public procurement regime.

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**Draetta Ugo**

#### **Quale futuro per l'Eurozona e l'Unione europea?**

in **Studi sull'integrazione europea**, Anno VII, n. 1, gennaio-aprile , 23-32

The idea that the European integration could proceed through small steps of economic nature to achieve a political federation proved to be wrong. The Euro was conceived by Delors as a bridge towards the European federation created without its pillars: such pillars are the unified economic policy, without which the bridge (and the Euro) is likely to collapse anytime a member of the Eurozone encounters economic difficulties.

The only way to save the Euro is to achieve a unified economic policy among the members of the Eurozone, but this implies sacrifices of the sovereignty by the individual States which can only be conceived in a federal structure. The process to federalism cannot be led by the Governments or by the institutions of the European Union. It must be approved by the citizens of Europe which should be consulted with a referendum to be held at the same time within all Member States. The question should be very simple: would you like the status quo and the consequent risks for the Euro, or would you accept a limitation of sovereignty of your State to achieve a real unified economic, foreign and defence policy?

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**Roland Sébastien**

#### **Quand le performatif tient lieu d'argumentatif: la contribution des parlements nationaux au bon fonctionnement de l'Union**

in **Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne**, n. 556, mars , 178-184

The Lisbon Treaty increased the powers granted to national parliaments which are supposed, in pursuance of the letter of article 12 TUE, to provide active contribution to the proper operation of the Union. However such an assumption



appears to be far from verified. Firstly because that increased role recognised to national representation poses significant consistency problems in terms of the EU's political institutional characteristics. Also because one cannot underestimate the disorders that it could lead to.

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Schwartz Antoine

**Quand l'euro enfiévrerait les rédactions**

in *Monde Diplomatique (Le)*, Janvier

Le 1er janvier 2002, la monnaie unique (créée en 1999) entrait en circulation. L'atmosphère de jubilation qui caractérisa la célébration de l'événement dans la presse tranche avec les doutes que suscite désormais une devise rêvée à Paris, conçue à Bruxelles et frappée à Francfort. Au point qu'investisseurs et entreprises s'interrogent : l'euro soufflera-t-il sa onzième bougie ?

<http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/2012/01/SCHWARTZ/47206>

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Leonard Mark

**Quatre scénarios pour réinventer l'Europe**

in *Economie politique (L')*, n° 53, 2012/1, 63-84

Derrière la crise de l'euro menace un défi plus grand et plus fondamental encore : le quasi-effondrement du système politique de l'Union européenne (UE) . Les marchés ont désormais forcé Silvio Berlusconi et Georges Papandréou à la démission, et leur impatience, combinée à la lenteur de la prise de décision, a déplacé la crise de la périphérie vers le coeur de l'économie...

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Marchat Philippe

**Que penser de cette série ininterrompue de crises qui s'interpénètrent?**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 557, avril, 222-238

The current world financial and economic crisis derived from a conventional American real estate crisis. Yet its ultra liberalism, the lack of control of a rather imaginative world, extreme securitisation of junk bonds and reprehensible sloppiness by rating agencies allowed to saturate the markets with them, dry them up and multiply bankruptcies and failures. Faced with that situation, the political and monetary authorities had to tackle the salvaging of banks and companies in multiple ways (repayable loans, nationalisations, central bank intervention...). Budget deficits and sovereign debts became targets for hedge funds, speculators and rating agencies with huge powers. Thus States perfected and adapted their defence means to a globalised world, by asking emerging countries to their meetings, in order to better fight, like firemen, developing crisis centres. Failing common management and compliance with base



criteria, many of the 17 countries with the same currency are in a crisis: Ireland, Spain, Portugal, Italy, France and mainly, Greece, the "weakest link". Its difficult salvaging, which remains to be confirmed, already involves, from a financial point of view the combined intervention of two European funds set up for that purposes, by the IMF and the ECB, as well as a loss of 50% of the claims held by banks. It should be the prelude to the necessary and prompt establishment of real governance.

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Mayer Franz C.

**Rashomon in Karlsruhe: A reflection on democracy and identity in the European Union: The German Constitutional Court's Lisbon decision and the changing landscape of European constitutionalism**  
in *International Journal of Constitutional Law*, Vol. 9, issue 3-4, 757-785

No abstract available

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Proksch Sven-Oliver, Lo James

**Reflections on the European integration dimension**  
in *European Union Politics*, Vol. 13, n. 2, June, 317-333

The present economic and political state of the European Union (EU) provides a timely opportunity to reflect on the methodological toolkit of political scientists studying European integration. The political events during the first decade of this century have marked an accelerated and increasingly complex integration process. The EU has managed to overcome Cold War divisions between East and West to include an unprecedented number of countries. At the same time, the EU has successfully reformed its institutions through the Treaty of Lisbon after an almost decade-long process full of obstacles. Following this expansion and institutional reform, the EU faces yet another crossroads after a severe European debt crisis has put the future of the common currency, and thereby the future of political and economic integration of Europe, into question.

Knowing where political parties stand on Europe is therefore not just a measurement exercise in political science. Party position measures allow researchers to examine important substantive questions, ranging from explaining how party systems across Europe work, how election campaigns are run, or how governments deal with new economic, fiscal, and political challenges. Scholars studying Europe will therefore continue to demand valid and reliable party position estimates on European integration. Any continued effort to produce data for the scholarly community should thus be complimented.

Given the prominence of the integration dimension in research on the European Union, we investigate in this forum section how well parties can be distinguished on this dimension. Using data from different sources, including expert surveys, voter surveys, and roll call votes in the European Parliament (EP), we find that the scale reliability of this dimension may be overstated when the data are analysed across sub-ranges of the scale. Typical cross-validation measures, i.e. correlation coefficients across the full data range, hide an important feature of the data: while ...





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**W. Mattli and A.S. SEET**

**Regional Integration and the Evolution of the European Polity: On the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Journal of Common Market Studies**

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 50, Issue s1, March 2012 , 1-17

This special issue commemorates the fiftieth anniversary of the JCMS. Over five decades, the journal has charted the deep transformations wrought by integration in Europe.

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**Boomgaarden Hajo G., Wüst Andreas M.**

**Religion and party positions towards Turkish EU accession**

in **Comparative European Politics**, vol. 10, n. 2, april , 180-197

ABSTRACT: The potential accession of Turkey to the European Union (EU) is a controversial issue. This article considers how national political parties in the EU view Turkish membership, with a focus on the role of religion in party politics, in particular the positions of Christian Democratic (CD) parties. Whereas this party family is traditionally considered to be outspokenly pro-European, it is argued that Turkish accession poses a challenge to Europhile CD parties. On the basis of the party manifesto coding from the 2009 European Election Study project, our results confirm a significantly more hesitant position of CD parties vis-à-vis Turkey accession compared to other parties. The study suggests that CD parties' positions, although overall supportive of the EU, may turn into opposition when it comes to specific policies touching on religious questions.

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**Hinrichsen Malte Carlos**

**Religion, the media and EU membership of Turkey**

in **Comparative European Politics**, vol. 10, n. 2, april , 198-217

ABSTRACT: This study investigates the role of religiousness and exposure to news about the European Union (EU) in the media in explaining public support for Turkish EU membership. The study draws on surveys in highly religious Ireland (n=1437) and rather secular Netherlands (n=1089) as well as media content analyses of television news and national newspapers in both countries. The results suggest that media coverage of EU affairs matters to public opinion about EU enlargement. The effects of the news media, however, are conditional upon the visibility and consistency in tone of the news. The results provide evidence for an important role of religiousness and the moderating role of EU media coverage in that more and more positive information about the EU decreases anti-Turkey sentiments in a highly religious country context.



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**Dorn Nicholas**

**Render Unto Caesar: EU Financial Market Regulation Meets Political Accountability**  
in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 34, Issue 3 , 205-221

This paper posits three phases in EU financial market regulation. First, for the 1990s, established scholarship suggests leadership by public actors in the context of development of the single market and relations with the USA. We adopt this analysis, characterising it as 'public-private' regulation. Second, in the new millennium regulation shifted towards 'private-public', with regulators paying more attention to the demands of large financial firms. This tendency is explored through a critical study of 'technical' decision-making by EU regulators, focusing upon the Committee of European Securities Regulators and rating credit agencies. Third, as from 2010 EU policy-makers react to the spillover of the financial crisis from markets to member states, some limits to private-public governance have been underlined. The paper concludes with a discussion of positions taken by the European Parliament, moderating claims made for 'technical' rule-making and opening up the possibility of wider intellectual and policy debate.

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**Steffen Hurka & Michael Kaeding**

**Report allocation in the European Parliament after eastern enlargement**  
in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 19, Issue 4 2012 , 512-529

This article identifies factors that have influenced the chances for Members of the European Parliament (MEPs) to become rapporteurs in the European Parliament after the 2004 eastern enlargement. More specifically, it answers the question of how the MEPs from the new member states were integrated into the report allocation process under different legislative procedures. Controlling for a whole range of alternative explanations such as legislative experience, attendance rates or party group membership, we find that MEPs from the accession countries were at a disadvantage when reports were distributed. Their chances of becoming rapporteurs were lower than those of their peers from the old member states. Most importantly, this pattern still holds when comparing MEPs from the accession countries with first-time MEPs from the old member states.

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**Nieves Perez-Solorzano Borragan, Stijn Smismans**

**Representativeness: A Tool to Structure Interest Intermediation in the European Union?**  
in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 50, Issue 3, May 2012 , 403-421

This article analyzes how the concept of 'representativeness/representativity' has been used by the European Union institutions to structure interest intermediation. It examines how the concept emerged and has been defined, and identifies its scope of application. 'Representativeness' is mostly used to refer to organizational features of the interest groups (organizational representativeness), but is occasionally used in relation to representative aspects of the overall



system of interest representation (system representativeness). The focus is primarily on aspects of 'descriptive representativeness' – in particular, territorial and thematic representativeness – rather than on 'procedural representativeness' that guarantees authorization and accountability. Originally applied to the social partners only, the White Paper on European Governance proposed to extend the use of representativeness to the wider category of civil society organizations. It will be shown that the application of the concept to these organizations proves more problematic than it does to the social partners. The European Transparency Initiative subsequently abandons representativeness, but it is argued that it contains the seeds for its re-emergence.

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Webb Edward

**Resisting Anamnesis: A Nietzschean Analysis of Turkey's National History Education**  
in *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* , vol. 19, n. 4, december , 489-500

ABSTRACT: The Turkish Republic that emerged from the collapsing Ottoman Empire offers an instructive example of a self-conscious deployment of history by political elites to build a nation fitting the new state. The purpose of official history has been to tie the population to the land and the State, and to the project of 'modernization' (meaning, mostly, Europeanization). It encompasses many apparent contradictions that nevertheless have had to be reconciled in the historical narratives presented to schoolchildren and what has been omitted from those narratives, such as the role of Europeans as wartime enemies versus the new Republic's European orientation. In order to explain how Turkish republican official history selectively synthesized and mobilized disparate potential historical sources of a modernizing national identity, I analyze history textbooks and curricular materials from the 1930s through the 1950s, applying a four-way analysis drawn from Nietzsche. Following the schema presented in his early essay 'History in the service and disservice of life' I show examples of how different elements of Turkey's past, as well as key events in European history, are deployed in monumental, antiquarian, and critical modes of representation. I discuss Nietzsche's main preoccupation in that essay, the importance of forgetting, and apply it to some of the occlusions in the history curriculum of the early Republic. The article sheds light on the content of the history curriculum and the challenges facing reformers today, and also illustrates an analytic schema that could be applied to other cases of national identity construction.

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Baron Crespo Enrique, Holland Stuart

**Resolving the Eurozone crisis and enhancing global governance**  
in *Comunità Internazionale (La)*, vol. LXII, n. 1, primo trimestre , 13-24

No abstract available

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del Río Villar Susana, Sánchez Barrueco María Luisa



**Responsabilización institucional y comunicación en la Unión Europea**

in *Cuadernos europeos de Deusto*, n. 46 , 113-146

No abstract available

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Gazzini Tarcisio, Herlin-Karnell Ester

**Restrictive Measures Adopted by the European Union from the Standpoint of International and EU Law**

in *European Law Review*, Vol. 36, issue 6 , 798 ff.

No abstract available

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Chaltiel Florence

**Retour sur le Parlement européen**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 555, février , 74-75

No abstract available

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Nölke Andreas

**Rettet Europa! Ohne den Euro?**

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, März, 2012 , 55-64

Linksliberale Analytiker der aktuellen Krisenpolitik der Europäischen Union (EU) sind sich einig, dass diese in vielerlei Hinsicht fehlgeleitet ist. Insbesondere die den Krisenländern verordnete Sparpolitik wird vehement abgelehnt. Schon die Sparpolitik der 1930er Jahre und die nach der globalen Schuldenkrise der 80er Jahre eingeführten Strukturanpassungsprogramme in der sogenannten Dritten Welt hätten gezeigt, dass strikte Sparmaßnahmen eine Wirtschaftskrise nur verschärfen. Notwendig sei hingegen eine solidarische Unterstützung der Bevölkerung in den Krisenländern.

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Felber Christian

**Rettungsprogramm für den Euro**

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 13, 2012

Kann der Euro noch gerettet werden? Soll er überhaupt gerettet werden? Diese Fragen führen zu den



wirtschaftspolitischen Konstruktionsfehlern und den demokratiepolitischen Konstruktionsdefiziten der EU.

The full text is free:

<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/126024/rettungsprogramm-fuer-den-euro>

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Antpöhler Carlino, Von Bogdandy Armin, Dickschen Johanna, Hentrei Simon, Kottmann Matthias , Smrkolj Maja

**Reverse Solange—Protecting the essence of fundamental rights against EU Member States**

in **Common Market Law Review**, vol. 49, issue 2 , 489-519

ABSTRACT: This article presents an innovative approach to EU fundamental rights protection against the Member States. It draws on recent studies which have shown that the fundamental rights situation in a number of Member States is an increasing cause for concern, particularly with respect to media freedom. However, while the Union intensely scrutinizes the fundamental rights situations in candidate countries, there is scant action so far in case of serious problems in the Member States. Although the latter are comprehensively committed to "respect for human rights" according to Art 2 TEU and subject to the enforcement mechanism foreseen by Art 7 TEU this has proven to be of very limited practical impact. Therefore, the article suggests opening up "respect for human rights" for individual legal actions via Union citizenship. Its starting point is the recent jurisprudential development of the "substance" of Union citizenship in Ruiz Zambrano. This substance can and should basically be defined with reference to the essence of fundamental rights enshrined in Article 2 TEU. To put this into practice the article suggests a reverse Solange-doctrine, applied by the ECJ towards the Member States: outside the scope of the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights the Member States remain autonomous in fundamental rights protection as long as it can be presumed that they ensure the essence of fundamental rights enshrined in Article 2 TEU. However, should this presumption be rebutted, the "substance" of Union citizenship - within the meaning of Ruiz Zambrano - comes into play. On this basis Union citizens can seek redress before national courts and the ECJ.

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Cagiati Andrea

**Ritornare all'Europa carolingia**

in **Affari Esteri**, Anno XLIV, numero speciale, n. 166 , 65-72

No abstract available

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Malghin Artem V.

**Russia e Polonia nella Ostpolitik dell'Unione Europea**

in **Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali**, Volume 78, n. 4, ottobre-dicembre , 529-540



No abstract available

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**Jules Stuyck**

**Réflexions sur une meilleure intégration du droit de la concurrence et du droit des pratiques commerciales déloyales**

in *Revue internationale de droit économique* , Vol. 25, n°4 , 455-479

Directive 2005/29/EC concerning unfair business-to-consumer commercial practices in the internal market is an instrument of full harmonisation in this field. This means that Member States do not, as a matter of principle, have the power to take stricter measures than those provided for by the Directive at the EU level. By contrast, the law of unfair competition and business-to-business commercial practices remains essentially national. Finally, the competition rules should be mentioned. They prohibit i.a. restrictive practices of undertakings both at the EU level and at the level of the Member States. There is a high degree of convergence between the EU competition rules and the competition rules of the Member States. This paper first examines the Unfair Commercial Practices Directive, as interpreted by the case law of the Court of Justice, as well as Directive 2006/114/EC concerning misleading and comparative advertising. Pursuant to this Directive there is only a minimum harmonisation of business-to-business misleading advertising. The relationship between these two branches of the law (unfair business-to-consumer commercial practices, unfair business-to-business commercial practices and competition law) raises a lot of questions. The difference in the degree of harmonisation between Directive 2005/29 and Directive 2006/114 (full versus minimum harmonisation) in itself can lead to conflicts. There is an overlap between the application of the rules on business-to-consumer commercial practices and the rules on business-to-business commercial practices. In addition, the application of rules on unfair commercial practices can bring into jeopardy the attainment of the objectives of competition law, i.e. to guarantee effective competition. Contradictions between the competition rules and the rules on unfair commercial practices can notably derive from Article 3 of Regulation 1/2003 implementing Articles 101 and 102 of the TFEU. That provision allows for derogation from the general rule that the application of competition law may not lead to the prohibition of restrictive practices which are not prohibited under Article 101 TFEU, namely in the case of application of provisions of national law that predominantly pursue an objective different from that pursued by Articles 101 or 102 of the Treaty, in practice : the law on unfair competition. A better integration of these three branches of the law might have the benefit of avoiding the contradictions that exist today. In this paper it is i.a. proposed that the law on unfair commercial practices would recognise the guarantee of effective competition as one of its objectives (as it is already the case in the German law on unfair competition) and that competition law does not authorise in an unlimited way, as it is now the case under Article 3 of Regulation 1/2003, Member States to prohibit restrictive practices on the basis of legislation with another aim.

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**Wenneras Pal**

**Sanctions against Member States under Article 260 TFEU: Alive, but not kicking?**

in *Common Market Law Review* , vol. 49, issue 1 , 145-175

ABSTRACT: Since the Treaty of Maastricht introduced the possibility of imposing financial penalties on Member States that failed to comply with judgments of the Court, only fourteen rulings have been handed down by the Court under





Article 260 TFEU (ex 228 EC). Not all of these cases resulted in sanctions, and the penalties imposed in some judgments were hardly sufficient to deter similar infringements from recurring. However, some improvements can be seen in recent years and the Lisbon Treaty has introduced amendments aimed at bolstering the effectiveness of Article 260 TFEU. Taking stock of the case law and the Lisbon amendments, this article explores whether Article 260 TFEU has been effectively employed as a tool for enforcing EU law and to what extent the Treaty amendments are likely to make a difference.

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**Picaper Jean-Paul**

**Sauver l'europe de la faillite**

in *Politique internationale*, n. 133 - Automne, 2011

In this exclusive interview, Hans-Werner Sinn, one of Germany's most renowned economists, offers his analysis of the financial crisis that is currently engulfing Europe. His proposal is undeniably provocative: for Sinn, the only solution that would really save Greece would be a "controlled default"-a scenario which would imply the country's suspension as a member of the European monetary union. Sinn believes that the damage Greece has inflicted on the European Union is not yet irreversible, but it will become so if Berlin and Paris continue to pour euros into the Athenian breach. Otherwise, Germany and France will be almost systematically forced to help all its partners in financial difficulty-until in turn both countries are eventually faced with bankruptcy themselves. Which is why Greece must temporarily exit the euro zone and return to the drachma until it has put its financial house in order. A truly explosive proposal!

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**Schmidt Ingo**

**Schade Deinem Nachbarn. Europa und das Recht des Stärkeren**

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, Mai, 2012 , 69-75

Die Atempause im Kampf gegen die Auswirkungen der Eurokrise währte nur kurz. Nach Griechenland steht als nächstes Spanien im Fokus der Finanzmärkte, die Notlage des hochverschuldeten und vor einer Rezession stehenden Krisenlandes spitzt sich weiter zu. Der Streit über die unterschiedlichen Lösungen zur Beilegung der Krise droht dabei nicht nur antieuropäische Stimmungen in den Einzelstaaten zu befördern. Zunehmend verteidigen jene Länder, die bisher wenig unter der Krise zu leiden haben, ihre nationalen Interessen – und belasten damit auch den europäischen Zusammenhalt.

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**Tapio Raunio**

**Semi-presidentialism and European integration: lessons from Finland for constitutional design**

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 19, Issue 4 2012 , 567-584

The relationship between semi-presidentialism and the co-ordination or leadership of national EU policy has become



increasingly relevant. After all, currently 11 of the 27 European Union (EU) member states have semi-presidential systems of government. This article contributes to the literature through a comparative analysis of the 'fit' between semi-presidentialism and the co-ordination of national EU policy, with empirical evidence from Finland used to illustrate the challenges involved in combining semi-presidentialism with EU membership. The main argument is that semi-presidential regimes where both the government and the president have powers in foreign and/or European policy are prone to tensions, particularly when considering that domestic foreign policies are increasingly co-ordinated at the EU level and that foreign and EU policies are difficult to separate from one another.

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**Gerner-Beuerle Carsten**

**Shareholders between the market and the State. The VW law and other interventions in the market economy**  
in *Common Market Law Review*, vol. 49, issue 1 , 97-143

ABSTRACT: This article takes the VW case as a starting point for a systematic examination of the golden shares jurisprudence of the Court of Justice. The golden shares decisions have received much attention, but a coherent test to establish whether a national measure constitutes a restriction of the free movement of capital has not yet emerged. The Court uses the notion of "derogation from ordinary company law", whereas commentators propose to focus on the effects of potentially restrictive measures. The article seeks to rationalize the golden shares decisions and question the delimiting criteria developed by the Court. In order to do so, it distinguishes between different types of State intervention in the market economy and derives four arguments from the case law that help explain the Court's interpretation of the Treaty. The article shows that the argument with the highest explanatory power is a genuinely political one, that concerns the internal governance structure of companies, an area not regulated by European company law. The Court's approach has implications for the different models of corporate governance and of the market economy prevalent in the Member States. The article submits that the free movement of capital is the wrong tool to level these differences. Accordingly, it recommends exercising constraint when reviewing golden shares.

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**Michalski Anna**

**Social Welfare and Levels of Democratic Government in the EU**  
in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 34, Issue 4 , 397-418

This article investigates the involvement of sub-national authorities and national parliaments in policy coordination in the area of welfare policy in the European Union (EU). Their involvement is analysed in terms of influence in policy input, ex-post evaluation and monitoring of the executive. The findings are set against the four typologies of constitutional arrangements prevalent in Europe. The article concludes that the involvement of sub-national authorities is uneven, depending on their constitutional structures, as federal and regionalized states in general have more elaborate mechanisms, but some centralized states have sophisticated systems, too, which point to existing governance practices also playing a role. Throughout the EU, national parliaments remain largely decoupled from the open method of coordination. In the case of both sub-national authorities and parliaments, their input is greater in the preparatory phase than in the ex-post evaluation, which has implications for democratic policy-making.



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**Editorial Comments**

**Some thoughts concerning the Draft Treaty on a Reinforced Economic Union**

in **Common Market Law Review**, vol. 49, issue 1 , 1-14

No abstract available

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**Howard Davies**

**Sorting fact from fiction on Europe's economic stagnation**

in **Europe's World**, Issue 21, Summer

The eurozone may be down, but it's not out. Howard Davies points to some of the bright spots in the European economy, and sets out possible policy solutions for countries beset by the sovereign debt crisis.

[http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home\\_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/ArticleView/ArticleID/22027/language/en-US/SortingfactfromfictiononEuropeseconomicstagnation.aspx](http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/ArticleView/ArticleID/22027/language/en-US/SortingfactfromfictiononEuropeseconomicstagnation.aspx)

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**Favero Carlo, Missale Alessandro**

**Sovereign spreads in the eurozone: which prospects for a Eurobond?**

in **Economic Policy**, volume 27 issue 70 , 231-273

In this paper, we provide new evidence on the determinants of sovereign yield spreads and 'market sentiment' effects in the eurozone in order to evaluate the rationale for a common Eurobond jointly guaranteed by eurozone Member States. We find that default risk is the main driver of yield spreads, suggesting small gains from greater liquidity. Fiscal fundamentals matter in the pricing of default risk but only as they interact with other countries' yield spreads; that is, with the global risk that the market perceives. More importantly, the impact of this global risk variable is not constant over time, a clear sign of contagion driven by shifts in market sentiment. This evidence points to a discontinuity in the disciplinary role of financial markets. If markets can stay irrational longer than a country can stay solvent, then the role of yield spreads on national bonds as a fiscal discipline device is considerably weakened, and issuing Eurobonds can be economically justified.



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Konitzer Andrew

**Speaking European: Conditionality, Public Attitudes and Pro-European Party Rhetoric in the Western Balkans**

in *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 63, n. 10, Special Issue: Unconditional Conditionality? The Impact of EU Conditionality in the Western , 1853-1888

No abstract available

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Buckel Sonja

**Staatsprojekt Europa**

in *Politische Vierteljahresschrift*, Heft 4, 2011

No abstract available

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Welfens Paul J.J.

**Stabilizing the Euro area and overcoming the confidence crisis**

in *International Economics and Economic Policy*, Volume 9, Number 1 / March 2012 , 7-12

No abstract available

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Dee Megan

**Standing together or Doing the Splits? Evaluating European Union Performance in the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty Review Negotiations**

in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 17, issue 2 , 189-211

ABSTRACT: There is a widely held belief that when the European Union (EU) stands together - when it 'speaks with one voice' - then it is at its most influential as an international actor. An assumption follows that, where the Member States are divided, doing the splits, and working towards their national objectives, effectiveness is then limited and the EU is marginalized. Very little however has been said on how not 'speaking with one voice' can in fact be an advantage to the EU. Evaluating EU performance in what is arguably a hard case - the most recent Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT RevCon) in May 2010 - this article argues that the EU not only challenged the low expectations traditionally afforded it in such a high politics negotiation but did so by both standing together and doing the splits. By maintaining a unified and visible EU presence coupled with the utilization of



Member States' own diplomatic relationships within other negotiation groupings, the EU was able to spread its voice, act as an information 'conveyor belt' and ultimately enhance its role, in fact performing creditably - at least as well as the other major players. This article thus challenges perceptions that it is only by 'speaking with one voice' that the EU can make a difference in multilateral negotiations: suggesting instead that the EU can perform well and make an impact not by always speaking with one voice but with many.

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**Daniel C. Thomas**

**Still Punching below Its Weight? Coherence and Effectiveness in European Union Foreign Policy**

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 50, Issue 3, May 2012 , 457-474

Although scholars and practitioners have long argued that greater political coherence will make the European Union a more effective international actor, the relationship between coherence and effectiveness has not been well defined or tested. This article defines the two concepts, proposes three hypotheses regarding the relationship between them, and examines the extent and consequences of EU coherence on an issue that the EU has highlighted as essential to its foreign policy mission: the good functioning of the International Criminal Court (ICC). It finds that the EU exhibited considerable coherence in its response to the United States' campaign for ICC 'non-surrender agreements', yet failed in its effort to shape the behaviour of other states. Coherence may be necessary for the EU to exert its influence abroad, but it is not sufficient in a multi-centric world order where many others do not share the EU's collective policy preferences and are ready to deploy vast resources in pursuit of their goals. The article also considers the implications of this study for future research on EU foreign policy actorness, coherence and effectiveness.

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**Thomas Horsley**

**Subsidiarity and the European Court of Justice: Missing Pieces in the Subsidiarity Jigsaw?**

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 50, Issue 2, March 2012 , 267-282

This article reviews the evolution of subsidiarity as a constitutional principle within the case law of the European Court of Justice. It argues that, to date, discussion of subsidiarity as a judicial principle remains narrowly focused on its impact as a restraint on the Union legislature. In an effort to steer debate in another direction, this article revisits and supports arguments in favour of applying subsidiarity as a brake on the Court's own interpretative functions. Thereafter, it isolates the Court's interpretation of the Treaty free movement provisions as an empirical example to test this underdeveloped dimension of subsidiarity.

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**P. Craig**

**Subsidiarity: A Political and Legal Analysis**

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 50, Issue s1, March 2012 , 72-87



The concept of subsidiarity was a notable addition to the Maastricht Treaty when it was first introduced. It continues to be of political and legal significance in the post-Lisbon world. This article considers subsidiarity from a political and legal perspective. It analyses the diverse rationales behind its inclusion in the Treaty, and the reasons why it has proven difficult to realize the objectives of subsidiarity. The focus then shifts to the legal dimension and considers the role played by the EU courts in monitoring subsidiarity and suggestions that the EU courts should review subsidiarity through a form of competence-proportionality control.

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**Seatzu Francesco**

**Sul ruolo della Banca europea di ricostruzione e sviluppo nell'attuale crisi finanziaria internazionale.**  
in *Diritto dell'Unione europea*, n. 3 , 741-759

No abstract available

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**Baratta Roberto**

**Sulle fonti delegate ed esecutive dell'Unione europea**  
in *Diritto dell'Unione europea*, n. 2 , 293-318

No abstract available

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**Fernando Becker**

**Superar la crisis desde Europa**  
in *Política Exterior*, Mayo / Junio, 147

La economía mundial está intentando digerir la crisis más intensa desde la Segunda Guerra mundial. Las regiones más afectadas han sido las economías desarrolladas, y entre ellas España. Iniciada en 2008 en forma de crisis financiera, posteriormente derivó en una crisis económica con efectos reales de grandes proporciones en términos de crecimiento y desempleo. Un factor adicional que se une a esta crisis financiera y económica es el deterioro experimentado por la gobernanza a la hora de resolver los problemas que tienen planteados el manejo de la economía y de la política en general. Este factor, como denominador común a escala nacional y supranacional, desempeña un papel determinante en la solución de la crisis que padecemos.

En el presente artículo, se revisa en primer lugar los orígenes y características propias de la crisis actual, explorando su vertiente financiera y los aspectos subyacentes referidos a la economía internacional. Posteriormente se abordan las peculiaridades de la crisis económica española, y se analiza con mayor detenimiento el papel que el diseño y ejecución





de la gobernanza de la unión monetaria europea tuvo en ese proceso. Por último, se realiza una reflexión sobre cómo una reforma en la gobernanza de la zona euro puede contribuir de forma significativa a la superación de esta crisis y a evitar otras en el futuro

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251–268

**Supranational Fundamental Rights or Primacy of Sovereignty? : Legal Effects of the So-Called Opt-Out from the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights**

in *European law journal*, Vol 18 Issue 2 - March , Belling Vojtech

This analysis explores in detail various aspects of the possible legal impact of ‘British’ Protocol No 30 (the so-called opt-out from the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights). On the basis of a legal appraisal, it concludes that the Protocol is not in any way to be understood as a substantial derogation from the standard of protection of fundamental rights in the EU or as an ‘opt-out’ from the Charter in a substantial sense. Nevertheless, its significance is definitely not to be underestimated. Its adoption as a source of primary law enshrines a legally binding interpretation of the Charter and, in particular, an interpretation of its horizontal provisions. In Article 1(2) and Article 2, the Protocol in fact confirms that the application of the Charter cannot lead to a change in the existing competencies framework. These provisions are of a declaratory nature and apply to all Member States. In Article 1(1), the Protocol is of a constitutive nature since it rules out an extensive interpretation of what can be considered national legal acts adopted in the implementation of EU law only for those States signed up to the Protocol. This specifically means that if, in the future, as part of the application of the Charter, the Court of Justice of the EU (ECJ) has a tendency to subsume a certain area of national legislation under the ‘implementation of Union law’ outside the field of implementing standards, in the spirit of the Ellinko Radiophonia Tileorassi judgment (and subsequently allow their reviewability with respect to their conformity with the Charter), such action would be admissible only for those Member States that have not acceded to the Protocol. However, the Protocol cannot exclude the continued application of the general principles of law instead of the positively constituted fundamental rights in the Charter by the ECJ.

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Ben Rosamond

**Supranational governance as economic patriotism? The European Union, legitimacy and the reconstruction of state space**

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 19, Issue 3 2012 , 324-341

‘Economic patriotism’ (EP) and ‘European integration’ might normally be regarded as antonyms. The argument is made for reading some actions and discourses of the EU in terms of EP. Two assumptions are relaxed: that EP is an exclusive property of nation-state space and that is necessarily associated with the suspension of economic liberalism. By relaxing the first, the article shows how many aspects of EU discourse and practice can be thought of as EP-like. The institutionalized economic liberal biases of the EU tend to constrain the possibilities for supranational EP in its two principal guises, labelled here as ‘Schmittian’ and ‘Listian’. The relaxation of the second assumption allows for a third variant of EP to be introduced: ‘market-making’ EP. This is shown to be a particular feature of Commission discourse



since the mid-1980s. The move to market-making EP discourse demonstrates the particular quality of legitimacy dilemmas faced by the EU.

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Parisi Nicoletta

**Tecniche di costruzione di uno spazio penale europeo. In tema di riconoscimento reciproco delle decisioni giudiziarie e di armonizzazione delle garanzie procedurali**

in *Studi sull'integrazione europea*, Anno VII, n. 1, gennaio-aprile, 33-58

Two pillars compose the European judicial cooperation in criminal matters: the principle of mutual recognition of judgments and judicial decisions and the approximation of the law and regulations of the Member States. These two pillars are influencing each other: approximation strengthens mutual trust of each Member State in the other domestic criminal systems; mutual trust improves the recognition and enforcement of foreign legal values.

On November 30, 2009 the EU Council adopted a "roadmap" with the aim to introduce a comprehensive set of procedural rights of suspected and accused persons. As of today, the EP and the Council adopted Directive 2010/64 (on the right to interpretation and translation in criminal proceedings) on the ground of Article 82 TFEU; they are discussing two directive proposals (on the right to information and translation in criminal proceedings and on legal advice and legal aid). The European Institutions will also face up to other issues: communication with relatives, employers, and consular authorities, special safeguards for vulnerable suspected and accused persons, pre-trial detention.

The European legal approach implies some limits and advantages. Although the "roadmap" is not exhaustive in listing the necessary measures, it is worth noting the lack of procedural safeguards in the pre-trial investigation stage. On the other hand the aforementioned

approximation's activity will be able to counterbalance the repressive approach that marked the first stage of construction of an area of freedom, security and justice, to set up a uniform minimum standard of procedural rights applicable both in domestic and in cross-border

situations, finally, to increase the rule of law within the European Union and its Member States.

The dialogue between the national judges and the two European international Courts is of paramount importance.

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Jan&#269;i&#263; Davor

**The Barroso Initiative: Window Dressing or Democracy Boost?**

in *Utrecht Law Review*, Vol. 8, issue 1, 78-91

This article carries out a multifaceted legal analysis of the so-called Barroso Initiative, which was commenced by the European Commission in September 2006 in order to involve national parliaments of the Member States in the process of EU policy making. The key motive underlying the Initiative is to enhance the parliamentary and democratic dimension of the Union. After examining the origins, nature, scope and purpose of the Initiative, we explain the distinction between the Barroso Initiative and the early warning mechanism. In an attempt to assess the practical effects of the Initiative, we probe into its operation and reception in the national parliaments of France, the United Kingdom and Portugal, as



systems which represent different constitutional and political traditions and which thus exhibit different attitudes to European scrutiny. In particular, we inquire about the constitutional impact of the Initiative on the national parliament in question. The paper concludes that the Barroso Initiative is a welcome commitment whose potential for eradicating the democratic deficit is modest but nonetheless one worth actively engaging in.

Full text available at: <http://www.utrechtlawreview.org/index.php/ulr/article/view/181>

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Hess Burkhard

**The Brussels I Regulation: Recent case law of the Court of Justice and the Commission's proposed recast in Common Market Law Review**, vol. 49, issue 3 , 1075-1112

ABSTRACT: The European law of civil procedure is a steady process of evolution and improvement. Marked by growing cooperation between the civil courts of EU Member States, this area of law is now increasingly dominated by judicial competition and by constitutional influences: on the one hand, the judicial systems of the Member States aspire to attract litigation of high value (often by plaintiff-oriented rules), and on the other hand, the European Court of Justice elaborates its case law on the principles of access to justice, free movement of judgments and fair trial in cross-border litigation. At present, the reform of the Brussels I Regulation (Reg. 44/2001) is on the legislative agenda. The main task of the European law-makers is to update the Regulation in order to maintain the sound administration of justice within the European Judicial Area by limiting competition between national judicial systems which does not necessarily correspond to the interests of private litigants. This article describes the ECJ's case law and takes stock of the present state of affairs for the Brussels I Regulation which is the cornerstone of the European law of civil procedure.

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Bicchi Federica, Carta Caterina

**The COREU Network and the Circulation of Information Within EU Foreign Policy in Journal of European Integration**, Volume 34, Issue 5 , 465-484

The COREU network is a little-studied but vitally important instrument of EU foreign policy, which in 2010 distributed nearly 8,500 messages on EU foreign policy to the 27 member states, the General Secretariat of the Council and the European Commission. This article presents an overview of its functioning and an analysis of its role, taking into account the creation of the European External Action Service. It argues that the COREU network has made it possible to achieve more cooperation on matters of EU foreign policy than would otherwise have been possible, by creating a 'thick virtual soup' of information within which officials based both in capitals and in Brussels can more easily participate in EU foreign-policy cooperation. After summarizing the COREU's early history, the article describes how the circulation of messages is currently organized and traces the spectacular rise and partial fall in numbers of COREU messages through EPC/CFSP. It then analyses how COREU messages contribute to the policy cycle of EU foreign policy and go beyond the remit of CFSP to include national foreign policies. Finally, the article shows how the system pre-dates the more recent surge in Brussels-based actors and has been a necessary condition for it, by tracing the development of the Political Committee/Political and Security Committee.



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**Cowley Philip, Stuart Mark**

**The Cambusters: The Conservative European Union Referendum Rebellion of October 2011**  
in *Political Quarterly* , Volume 83, Issue 2, April-June 2012 , 402-406

The backbench rebellion that hit the Coalition government in October 2011 was one of the largest Commons revolts of the postwar era, on any issue. But it was not just its size that was noteworthy. This article outlines ten points about the origins of the vote, its timing, its composition, and the nature of the divisions it revealed. Facilitated by recent procedural innovations in the Commons, the rebellion was both evidence of a longer-term rise in dissent amongst MPs of all parties, as well as other medium-and short-term factors within the Conservative party. It leaves the Prime Minister caught in an impossible triangle, attempting to satisfy his pro-European Liberal Democrat partners in the Coalition, while keeping his Euro-sceptic rebels happy, and yet retaining enough credibility in European capitals to negotiate successfully.

The full text is free:

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1467-923X.2012.02291.x/abstract>

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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**Meyer Hinnerk**

**The Christian Democratic EP Group as a Forum of Different Forms of Transnational Cooperation, 1965-1979**  
in *Journal of European Integration History*, vol. 17, n. 1 , 31-46

Like the liberal and socialist parties of Europe, parties have actively influenced the process of transnational cooperation. Yet, the way the Christian Democrats organized cooperation all over Europe in terms of different forms and forums is unique. This paper provides an overview on various Christian democratic cooperations across Europe, focusing on the years 1965 to 1976. The new European parliamentarism – a result of the rising influence of the European Parliament in these years – highly influenced Christian democracy. The Christian democratic parliamentary group became the driving force for the creation of a European party. However, its' involvement in different forums of cooperation (EUCD, EVP, EDU) lead over to problems within European Christian democracy and finally restricted the integrative character of the Christian democratic parliamentary group.

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**Burrell, Alison - Hubertus Gay, Stephan - Kavallari, Aikaterini**

**The Compatibility of EU Biofuel Policies with Global Sustainability and the WTO**  
in *World Economy*, volume 35 n.6 , 784-798

The EU's Renewable Energy Directive (2009/28) requires that by 2020, biofuels should account for at least 10 per cent of transport fuel consumption. EU legislation sets out sustainability criteria for biofuels to qualify for this target and procedures for verifying that they are met. Using the AGLINK&#8208;COSIMO model, we investigate the impacts of the



biofuel target on global trade flows and land use, both under the current biofuel tariff regime and assuming zero EU tariffs for biofuels. The EU's 2020 transport fuel target increases the global area of agricultural crops by 0.9 per cent. With zero tariffs, the extra global land requirement is 21 per cent smaller, but a larger share of it falls outside the EU. This outcome sharpens the issue of how the EU's unilateral sustainability criteria can be implemented given current international trade rules.

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Pickering Paula M.

**The Constraints on European Institutions' Conditionality in the Western Balkans**

**in *Europe-Asia Studies***, vol. 63, n. 10, Special Issue: Unconditional Conditionality? The Impact of EU Conditionality in the Western , 1939-1944

No abstract available

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Sebastiaan Princen

**The DEU approach to EU decision-making: a critical Assessment**

**in *Journal of European Public Policy*** , Volume 19, Issue 4 2012 , 623-634

This article discusses the strengths and limitations of the 'Decision-Making in the EU (DEU) approach' to EU decision-making, as exemplified by Robert Thomson's (2011) *Resolving Controversy in the European Union* and the article by Thomson et al. in this issue. It spells out six assumptions underlying the DEU approach and critically reviews each in light of alternative theories of decision- and policy-making. Based on this assessment, it argues for a clearer and more explicit demarcation of the conditions under which the DEU approach can be successfully applied, and suggests ways of combining the DEU approach with other theories in order to advance both theory development on and our empirical understanding of EU decision-making.

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Jessurun d'Oliveira Hans Ulrich

**The EU and Its Monarchies: Influences and Frictions**

**in *European Constitutional Law Review***, Volume 8, Issue 01 , 63-81

Monarchies in Europe — Monarchs as embodiments of sovereignty — Implications for monarchy of the EU as a limitation of sovereignty — Effects of Union law on the prerogatives of monarchs — Monarchs as heads of state in the Union

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Rieder Stefanie

**The EU and its Internal Outsiders. The French Deportation of Roma in the Summer of 2010 - an Infringement of the Lisbon Treaty?**

in *Oesterreichische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft* , 2012/2 , 125-140

This paper discusses the expulsion of non-national Roma by the French government in the summer of 2010. It does so by concisely portraying the social background of Roma as the biggest minority group in the EU and the lacking methods of integration within EU borders. The discussion therefore centers on the legal framework of the European Union, which is supposed to grant fundamental rights and the prohibition of discrimination to EU citizens. The actual method of control remains to be the infringement procedure initiated by the EU Commission. This paper consequently elaborates not only on its structure, but ultimately discusses the question of the infringement procedure's effectiveness in the context of the Roma deportation. In essence the paper highlights the dilemma of balancing the difficulty of integration within the EU and simultaneously upholding fundamental rights that were granted to all EU citizens.

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Kamil Zwolski

**The EU as an international security actor after Lisbon: Finally a green light for a holistic approach?**

in *Cooperation and Conflict*, March; 47 (1) , 68-87

This article argues that a holistic approach is important when studying the European Union's (EU) role as an international security actor, but at the same time it identifies problems in adopting such a comprehensive research agenda. The holistic approach entails that the research must include 'new' security problems, such as climate change, but also relevant policies and instruments outside the framework of the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP). However, owing to conceptual, legal and political obstacles, this has been difficult to achieve; as a consequence, existing research on the EU as an international security actor tends to narrow down the focus to just one framework: the CSDP and its operations. This may lead to a distorted image, because the EU's role in international security surpasses any single policy framework. The contribution of this article is twofold. First, it sets the framework for the comprehensive research agenda concerning the EU as an international security actor. Second, it identifies key obstacles that are making this holistic approach methodologically and conceptually difficult. In this context, the Lisbon Treaty, formally abandoning the pillar structure of the EU, provides an opportunity to mitigate at least some of these roadblocks.

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Levi Lucio

**The EU's Debt Crisis and the Long March toward a Federal Budget**

in *Federalist Debate (The)*, Year XXV, n. 1, March

<http://www.federalist-debate.org/index.php/current/item/742-the-eus-debt-crisis-and-the-long-march-toward-a-federal-budget>





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**Begg Iain**

**The EU's response to the global financial crisis and sovereign debt crisis**  
in *Asia Europe Journal*, Volume 9, Number 2-4 March , 107-124

Since the sovereign crisis erupted in the autumn of 2009 when the true scale of the Greek fiscal deficit was revealed, the European Union (EU), and especially the euro area, has staggered from crisis to crisis. Major initiatives have, however, been taken to improve economic governance and to put in place a more resilient framework for the euro. This article assesses how the EU has responded to the crisis and offers explanations for why the reform process has been slow and indecisive. It shows that potentially enduring solutions are on the table, but that they have been hard to introduce because of differing national perspectives and disagreements about how the burdens of adjustment should be shared. The article concludes by setting out plausible options and explaining what they entail.

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**Sanders David**

**The Effects of Deliberative Polling in an EU-wide Experiment: Five Mechanisms in Search of an Explanation**  
in *British Journal of Political Science*, vol. 42, issue 3, July , 617-640

ABSTRACT: Deliberative Polls simulate public opinion in a given policy domain when members of the relevant mass public are better informed about the issues involved. This article reports on the results of a three-day Deliberative Poll, conducted before the June 2009 European Parliament elections, to evaluate the effects of deliberation on a representative sample of EU citizens. Findings show that, compared with a control group, deliberators changed their views significantly on immigration (becoming more liberal), climate change (becoming greener) and the EU itself (becoming more pro-European). Five different explanations of why deliberation appears to work are tested: sampling bias, increased political knowledge, discussion quality, small group social conformity pressure and the influence of other Deliberative Poll actors, but none is satisfactory.

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**Gerard Strange**

**The Euro, EU Social Democracy, and International Monetary Power: A Critique of New Constitutionalism**  
in *Globalizations* , Volume 9, Issue 2 , 257-272

This article critically interrogates the principle claims of the 'new constitutionalist' thesis, particularly as applied to the evaluation of European monetary union (EMU). In doing so, it argues for the (continuing) efficacy of the euro as a vector for social democratic advance both at the EU and global levels. It is argued that new constitutionalism's exclusive focus on the internal and external 'neoliberal' constraints EMU imposes on social democracy is overdrawn. The article critically examines the internal and external dimension of EMU's alleged 'self-limitation'. Drawing on evidence from the recent eurozone crises as well as the SGP crisis of the early to mid-2000s, it is argued that EMU's internal self-limitation has



been consistently subject to successful challenge and reform through a process of 'permanent renegotiation'. This has played out in the context of ongoing tension within EMU between alternative models of integration and decision-making. In terms of the external dimension, the article focuses on the euro's structural power and the potential this provides for global leverage. It is argued that new constitutionalism exaggerates American dominance in the global monetary domain, deflecting attention from fundamental changes in the structure and politics of international money that have contributed to the diffusion of power in a new conjuncture marked by policy conflict, contestation and uncertainty. The 'presence' of euro is one such structural change.

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**Martinico Giuseppe**

**The Euro-Area Crisis: A First Legal Analysis**

**in Perspectives on federalism**, Vol. 3, issue 3 , N-1-15

What should the European Union do to challenge the Eurozone crisis? Examining the recent debate, one can identify the following options to overcome the EU's institutional crisis:

1. reform of the EU treaties;
2. enhanced cooperation;
3. the conclusion of an international agreement.

In this brief note, I am going to stress both the negative and the positive aspects of these options, trying to read them in light of the constitutional dynamics of the EU.

Full text available:

<http://www.on-federalism.eu/index.php/giuseppe-martinico/18-review-article/105-the-euro-area-crisis-a-first-legal-analysis>

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**Sigalas Emmanuel**

**The European Citizens' Initiative. A New Era for Democratic Politics in the EU**

**in Federalist Debate (The)**, Year XXV, n. 2, May , 32-34

<http://www.federalist-debate.org/index.php/current-issue/borderless-debate/item/776-the-european-citizen's-initiative>

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Stone Sweet Alec, Brunell Thomas

**The European Court of Justice, State Noncompliance, and the Politics of Override**  
in *American Political Science Review*, vol. 106, issue 1, february , 204-213

ABSTRACT: In an article previously published by the APSR, Carrubba, Gabel, and Hankla claim that the decision making of the European Court of Justice (ECJ) has been constrained—systematically—by the threat of override on the part of member state governments, acting collectively, and by the threat of noncompliance on the part of any single state. They also purport to have found strong evidence in favor of intergovernmentalist, but not neofunctionalist, integration theory. On the basis of analysis of the same data, we demonstrate that the threat of override is not credible and that the legal system is activated, rather than paralyzed, by noncompliance. Moreover, when member state governments did move to nullify the effects of controversial ECJ rulings, they failed to constrain the court, which continued down paths cleared by the prior rulings. Finally, in a head-to-head showdown between intergovernmentalism and neofunctionalism, the latter wins in a landslide.

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Spirova Maria

**The European Dimension of Minority Political Representation**  
in *East European Politics and Societies*, vol. 26, n. 1, February , 75-92

The political integration of ethnic minorities is one of the most challenging tasks facing the countries of post-communist Europe. The roads to their political representation in the mainstream political process are numerous and diverse. The EU accession of the Central and East European countries has expanded the scope of the political participation of minorities by adding an electoral process at the regional level: the elections for members of the European Parliament. This article presents a comparative study of the ways in which EU-level electoral processes affect the scope and quality of minority representation on the example of the participation of ethnic political parties in Bulgaria and Romania in the 2007 and 2009 electoral cycles of the European Parliament.

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Duke Simon

**The European External Action Service: Antidote against Incoherence?**  
in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 17, issue 1 , 45-68

ABSTRACT: The literature on coherence in European Union (EU) external action often fails to consider coherence at the level of services. This contribution aims to complement the existing literature by considering coherence in EU external action in the post-Lisbon Treaty institutional setting, with a specific emphasis upon the role of the European External Action Service (EEAS) and its responsibilities in this context. The core argument is that a number of practical steps can be taken to enhance coherence in both its vertical and horizontal domains and that there is some urgency to this. Failure to do so will only lead to incoherence, not only at the level of services but also beyond.

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Marchegiani Giannangelo

**The European Investment Bank after the Treaty of Lisbon**

in *European Law Review*, Vol. 37, issue 1 , 70 ff.

No abstract available

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Cuperus Rene

**The European Paradox: Brussels must become more 'European'**

in *Social Europe Journal*, Volume 6, Issue 2, Winter / Spring , 12-14

<http://www.social-europe.eu/wp-content/uploads/2012/03/SocialEurope-20.pdf>

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De Angelis Emma

**The European Parliament's identity discourse and Eastern Europe, 1974-2004**

in *Journal of European Integration History*, vol. 17, n. 1 , 103-116

This article provides a broad analysis of the European Parliament's construction of a European identity vis-à-vis Eastern Europe after the 1973 Declaration of European Identity through to the accession of eight former communist Eastern European countries in 2004. It highlights the main elements of this identity – political, cultural, and historical – tracing the development of the EP's discourse through the years and MEPs' attempts to adjust their identity discourse in a changing world. It then looks at how this identity was elaborated with regards to the Eastern European "other" during and after the Cold War. In particular, it analyses the EP's attempts to construct an identity based largely on the recent experiences of integration among Western European states by means of a common historical narrative, only to later attempt to bring Eastern Europe back into the fold after the end of the Cold War. The piece ultimately finds that the EP's effort to create a common narrative that could include Eastern Europe was only partially successful.

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The Federalist - Editorial

**The European Project Faces its Day of Reckoning**

in *Federalista (II)/Federalist (The)*, Year LIII, Single Issue , 3-12

[http://www.thefederalist.eu/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=614&lang=en](http://www.thefederalist.eu/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=614&lang=en)



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Fischer-Appelt, Dorothee

**The European Securities and Markets Authority: the beginnings of a powerful European securities authority?**  
in *Law and Financial Markets Review*, volume 5 n.1 , 21-32

This article discusses the powers of the newly created European Securities and Markets Authority (ESMA), which took over from the Committee of European Securities Regulators (CESR) on 1 January 2011, as well as its governance and functioning. Although initially modest in size, ESMA will play a significantly more important role than CESR has had in the past in shaping European financial regulation, by virtue of its involvement in regulatory and technical implementing rulemaking and its supervisory powers, which in certain cases allow it to issue binding decisions to competent authorities of Member States and to financial firms directly.

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Tim Van Rie, Ive Marx

**The European Union at Work? The European Employment Strategy from Crisis to Crisis**  
in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 50, Issue 2, March 2012 , 335-356

The European Employment Strategy (EES) emerged in the early 1990s under the influence of an acute rise in unemployment and the introduction of economic and monetary union (EMU). Its purpose is to foster convergence towards lower unemployment and higher employment. This article considers these outcomes over a longer time frame and in a broader geographical context than previous studies have done. Overall, outcomes in the EU-15 improved and converged since the introduction of EES. Comparisons suggest that these developments do not merely reflect long-term or international trends. The recent crisis, with deteriorating and divergent outcomes, might signal the start of a new EES cycle.

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Fontanelli Filippo

**The European Union's Charter of Fundamental Rights two years later**  
in *Perspectives on federalism*, Vol. 3, issue 3 , E- 22-47

After the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty, the European Union's Charter of Fundamental Rights has found a place among the formal sources of EU law, and has become a standard of review for the validity of EU acts. This article aims to analyse whether this momentous change is reflected in the judgments of the Court of Justice, and more precisely how the Luxembourg judges are dealing with this source. From an analysis of the cases, it emerges that there still are some uncertain issues, such as the extent of the competences of the EU, the paradigmatic function of the case-law of the European Court of Human Rights, the possibility to bypass the limits of the European Convention's direct effect through the application of the Charter's equivalent rights.



Full text available at:

<http://www.on-federalism.eu/index.php/filippo-fontanelli/80-essay/104-the-european-unions-charter-of-fundamental-rights-two-years-later->

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Van Biezen Ingrid, Molenaar Fransje

**The Europeanisation of Party Politics? Competing Regulatory Paradigms at the Supranational Level in West European Politics**, vol. 35, n. 3 , 632-656

ABSTRACT: This paper explores the process of Europeanisation of party politics by examining the regulation of political parties by supranational European organisations. Despite the increased relevance of the regulation of the activity, behaviour, organisation and finances of political parties in European democracies, the supranational dimensions of this phenomenon have hitherto received relatively little systematic scholarly attention. This paper adopts an interdisciplinary perspective, combining approaches from the Europeanisation literature with legal theory and party scholarship. For the purpose of this paper, the rulings and regulations of the European Union, the various organs of the Council of Europe, and the European Court of Human Rights are analysed. The paper highlights the horizontal and vertical patterns of norm creation and diffusion and demonstrates that, despite a certain convergence of European standards, conceptions of democracy and corresponding regulatory paradigms have not become so similar as to be virtually indistinguishable from one another.

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Katharina T. Paul

**The Europeanization of food safety: a discourse-analytical approach in Journal of European Public Policy** , Volume 19, Issue 4 2012 , 549-566

This article explores the evolution of food safety policy at the level of the European Union (EU) from a discourse-analytical perspective. First, the article traces the political saliency of food safety since the food scares of the late 1990s, such as 'mad cow disease', and explores the consequent breakdown of the historically sedimented policy approach. Specifically, I highlight key moments of institutional transformation at the EU level by considering the role of scientific expertise and the meaning of national borders in the overall policy approach. Subsequently, the paper uses discourse analysis to address the mobilization of Europeanization in food safety policy since the 1990s, and identifies the 'integrative nodal points' that have helped sustain this policy discourse: notions of being a member of the food chain, of being a stakeholder, and of being a consumer.

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Baimbridge Mark, Burkitt Brian, Whyman Philip B.

**The Eurozone as a Flawed Currency Area in Political Quarterly** , Volume 83, Issue 1, January-March 2012 , 96-107





#### Abstract

The European single currency system has come under unprecedented strain during the past three years and there is little reason to assume that this will diminish, in any significant way, in the near future. This article briefly explores the background to the current eurozone crisis before outlining a number of potential solutions. Specifically, we discuss how the credit crunch induced recession of 2008 triggered the problems within the eurozone regarding sovereign debt, looking at the issues of spill-over and free-rider effects, together with the implementation of EMU fiscal rules. The analysis is then extended by outlining a series of potential remedies. This consists of a critical evaluation of solutions that the EU has already instigated (i.e. moral persuasion, financial relief measures and debt default), together with a series of alternative propositions (i.e. fiscal federalism and a European Clearing Union) and even the collapse of the euro.

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Carrapiço Helena, Trauner Florian

#### **The External Dimension of EU Justice and Home Affairs after the Lisbon Treaty: Analysing the Dynamics of Expansion and Diversification**

in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 17, issue 1, 1-18

ABSTRACT: The article introduces a research framework for analysing the external dimension of EU Justice and Home Affairs after the Lisbon Treaty. The dynamics of expansion and diversification, discernable for both the EU policy-making and the scholarly work dedicated to it, are at the centre of the article and constitute a common reference point for the present Special Issue. These dynamics have been triggered through deliberate decisions of involved policy-makers as well as through unintended spillover effects from other policy areas and/or decisions. The article also engages with the theoretically informed literature on the subject, which struggles with the definition of what this dimension actually constitutes, as well as how to best capture the practices of this field. We take stock of the scholarly debates by comparing the diverse approaches and discussing how much they complement each other and/or present different dimensions of a single 'policy universe'.

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LB, JHR

#### **The Fiscal Compact and the European Constitutions: 'Europe Speaking German'**

in *European Constitutional Law Review*, Volume 8, Issue 01, 1-7

In between the writing of this editorial and the publication of this issue of EuConst, the Treaty on Stability, Coordination and Governance in the Economic and Monetary Union, in everyday parlance the 'Fiscal Compact', will have been signed by the representatives of the governments of the contracting parties — the member states of the European Union minus the United Kingdom and the Czech Republic. The Fiscal Compact is intended to foster budgetary discipline, to strengthen the coordination of economic policies and to improve the governance of the euro area.

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Dragomir Elena

**The Formation of the Soviet Bloc's Council for Mutual Economic Assistance: Romania's Involvement**  
in *Journal of Cold War Studies*, Volume 14, Issue 1 - Winter , 34-47

This article discusses Romania's role in the creation of the Soviet bloc's Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) in January 1949. The article explains why Romanian leaders, with Soviet approval, proposed the creation of the CMEA and why the proposal was adopted. An analysis of Romania's support for the creation of the CMEA sheds interesting light on the stance taken by Romania in the 1960s and 1970s against the Soviet Union's attempts to use the CMEA in forging a supranational division of labor in the Soviet bloc. Romania's opposition was largely in accord with the objectives originally envisaged by Romanian leaders when the CMEA was formed.

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Jørgen Drud Hansen, Roswitha M. King and Virmantas Kvedaras

**The International Reserves Issue in the EMU**  
in *Open Economies Review*, Volume 22, Number 1 , 143-161

This paper examines the effects of the Economic and Monetary Union on demand for foreign reserves. The traditional theory on demand for international reserves assigns a pivotal role to imports. However, in a currency union part of imports are settled in the common currency, leaving no incentive for keeping foreign reserves. Moreover, the pooling of the demand for reserves in the currency union and an increasing role of a currency as an international reserve currency may also influence, among other things, the union demand for reserves. Based on estimated demand functions for reserves it is shown that the Economic and Monetary Union has reduced the demand for reserves substantially. It is argued that an enlargement with new member countries of the European Union will result in further savings of reserves. A simple calculation at the end of the paper illustrates the welfare gain associated with the reduced need of reserves in the Economic and Monetary Union.

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De Bruyin Martyn

**The Irish Referendums on the Lisbon Treaty: Did the Recession Save Lisbon?**  
in *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* , vol. 20, issue 1 , 91-101

ABSTRACT: On 2 October 2009 Irish citizens voted in favour of the Lisbon Treaty, which they had rejected only sixteen months earlier. This article investigates the reasons for the shift from 'no' to 'yes' focusing on the economic recession and the legal guarantees provided to Ireland after the failed first referendum. The question this article tries to answer is: Did the recession save Lisbon? The recession is, however, not the only reason for the success of the yes-campaign. The legal guarantees provided to Ireland help the Government reduce fears about Lisbon in terms of sovereignty and military neutrality. The recession and the legal guarantees together defused the spirited no-campaign and put the yes-campaign on the road to success. In the conclusion I discuss the broader question of whether the failed referendums on Nice and Lisbon are a sign a growing Euroscepticism in Ireland. I conclude that the failed referendums do not forecast a growing Euroscepticism, but may point to a growing lack of trust in national elites.



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**Guerrieri Sandro**

**The Italian Delegates in the European Parliament, 1952-1979**

in *Journal of European Integration History*, vol. 17, n. 1 , 47-60

This article examines the selection and the role of the Italian members in the Community's Parliament from the phase of the Common Assembly of the ECSC to the passage, in 1979, to direct elections. After giving a significant contribution to the drafting of the project of a European political community, the Italian delegation contributed in a modest way to the ordinary activity of the Common Assembly. Its influence became stronger after 1958 in the Assembly of the three Communities. During the Sixties, the delegation suffered from the impossibility to renew it because of the refusal to include the communists. But, after the solution of this problem in 1969, it became more influential. On the eve of the direct election, Italian members were almost unanimous in asking a strengthening of the European integration on the institutional level and in the field of common policies as the social and regional ones.

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**Freyburg Tina**

**The Janus Face of EU Migration Governance: Impairing Democratic Governance at Home – Improving It Abroad?**

in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 17, issue 1 , 125-142

ABSTRACT: In the field of European Union (EU) migration policies, a large number of legal, administrative, and institutional tightening measures have been established in the name of domestic security since the early 1990s. These measures have been criticized because they allegedly lower the democratic quality of EU migration governance. Yet, the EU seeks to export its rules and regulations beyond its borders to neighbouring third states through its association policies. This article argues that what may be seen as a step back in terms of democratic governance inside the EU may present a step forward in its authoritarian Southern neighbourhood. It explores whether the rules of EU migration can constitute a step toward democratization of migration governance in neighbouring countries, where provisions of transparent, participatory, or accountable decision-making cannot be taken for granted. Taking the example of the Moroccan 2003 law on migration, the paper demonstrates that the EU was fairly successful in inducing the adoption of legislation in line with provisions of democratic governance. The contribution concludes with a discussion of the prospect of implementation of these provisions, in particular, against the background of the EU's extended external competences under the Lisbon Treaty.

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**Kuipers Jan-Jaap**

**The Law Applicable to Divorce as Test Ground for Enhanced Cooperation**

in *European law journal*, Vol 18 Issue 2 - March , 201–229



Enhanced cooperation was introduced in the Treaty of Amsterdam (1997). Despite a lot of academic ink being spilled, the instrument had, until recently, never been applied in practice. In June 2010, the Council reached consensus on authorising a group of Member States to pursue, in the framework of enhanced cooperation, common rules in the area of the law applicable to divorce. The present paper critically analyses this first precedent. For that purpose, the background to the policy area will be explored. Subsequently, the desirability of enhanced cooperation shall be assessed. Finally, the content of Rome III, and its effects upon Member States not participating in the initiative, will be analysed. The paper will attempt to formulate an answer to the question whether enhanced cooperation should be the new approach to harmonisation of family-related Private International Law.

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**Medrano Juan Diez**

**The Limits of European Integration**

in **Journal of European Integration**, Volume 34, Issue 2 , 191-204

This article summarizes the special issue's main findings and analytical contributions, challenges some of the arguments, and suggests ways of pushing the research agenda forward. The contributions to this special issue emphasize the penetration of European institutions by actors set on slowing down or reversing the process of European integration and the growing weight of Eurosceptic views in the public sphere. In general, however, they express optimism as to the European Union institutions' ability to contain this dissent. At the same time, two of the articles examine the role of contrasting visions of European integration in the explanation of the European Union's current financial and economic crisis. They emphasize Germany's change of heart with respect to the meaning and goals of European integration. This conclusion claims that diversity of visions on European integration matters because most states and their citizens are reluctant to further transfers of competences and sovereignty. Agreement has thus become more difficult. Furthermore, it argues that while Germany's discourse on European integration has become more assertive, it is difficult to ascertain whether this change reveals an overall change of heart or simply results from the specific nature of the problems that are the subject of political debate.

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**Meike Froitzheim, Fredrik Söderbaum, Ian Taylor**

**The Limits of the EU as a Peace and Security Actor in the Democratic Republic of the Congo**

in **Africa Spectrum**, Vol. 46, n°3

The European Union (EU) is increasingly aspiring to be a global peace and security actor. Using the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) as a test case to analyse such ambitions, this article reveals that the EU's attempts to build peace and security are severely compromised by its bureaucratic and organizational complexity as well as by its ineffective policies. In fact, the EU's state-centred approach in the DRC has resulted in the EU's inability to deal with 1) the realities of governance in the DRC and 2) the strong transborder dimensions of the conflict. As a result, the EU continues to lack a coherent strategy for the DRC, despite a large budget. The analysis concludes that the EU is more concerned with establishing a symbolic presence and a form of representation than with achieving specific goals.



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**Tziampiris Aristotle**

**The Macedonian name dispute and European Union accession**

**in *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, vol. 12, n. 1 , 153-171**

This essay assesses Greece role in determining the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia's (FYROM's) European Union (EU) accession process. Based on documentary evidence, extensive interviews with decision-makers and leaked diplomatic cables, it emerges that Skopje's path towards Brussels has consistently passed through Athens, linked to disputes concerning the republic's name and good neighbourly relations. When improvements in bilateral relations have been evinced (1995–2004, 2004–2006), FYROM signed a stabilization and association agreement and became an EU candidate state. During periods of diplomatic confrontation (1991–1994, 2006–2011), the new republic was non-recognized by Athens, did not accede to North Atlantic Treaty Organization and failed to get a date to begin accession negotiations. It is concluded that only if Greece's relative gain concerns are adequately assuaged will FYROM's Euro-Atlantic path be completed.

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**Kluth Michael**

**The Making of the EU's External Action Service: A Neorealist Interpretation**

**in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 17, issue 2 , 303-322**

ABSTRACT: Using neorealism, this article provides a theoretically driven explanation of the establishment of the European External Action Service (EEAS), with France and the United Kingdom providing the main thrust to compensate for their waning global influence. The transfer of authority from London and Paris to the EU makes sense when based on the expectation that the outlook of the coming EEAS will be closer to the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) and the Quai d'Orsay than to the foreign policy institutions of lesser EU powers. Potential risks for Paris and London are limited, given their dominance of existing EU foreign policy institutions and their privileged position in supplying the EEAS with high-caliber staff.

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**GARETH HARDING**

**The Myth of Europe**

**in *Foreign Policy*, January/February**

The euro crisis isn't really about money. It's about the fiction that Europeans ever existed at all.

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Besselink Leonard F.M , van Mourik Brecht

**The Parliamentary Legitimacy of the European Union: The Role of the States General within the European Union**  
in *Utrecht Law Review*, Vol. 8, issue 1 , 28-50

This article presents the state of play in the Netherlands with regard to parliamentary scrutiny in EU decision-making. Although the States General have all in all dealt with EU decision-making fairly actively, this contribution makes clear that Parliament's activity has not been able to offset the increased executive dominance in matters of European integration. The abolition of the consent requirement had immediate negative effects on the information position of Parliament, which is crucial for the attempts by Parliament to counteract the increased executive dominance. Furthermore, the aspect of Parliament's role in the legitimacy of the EU itself is discussed. The 'European instruments', such as the subsidiarity review, the Barroso initiative and the access of parliaments to the European Court of Justice have some general shortcomings. Practice shows, however, that most of these instruments have been used, though with different degrees of intensity and continuity in the two Houses of Parliament and their different parliamentary committees

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Walter Laqueur

**The Perils of Wishful Thinking: On Europe and the Middle East**  
in *World Affairs*, Vol. 16, n. 2, March / April

Forecasting political events is always risky because chance plays such a decisive role in what becomes history. In the case of the troubled European Union and the darkening Arab Spring, it is highly probable that, from the beginning, the optimism of even expert journalists, academics, and diplomats was misplaced, and that the odds against European progress toward a united and prosperous continent, and Arab progress toward liberty, peace, and democracy, were very heavy indeed. Why were these heavy odds ignored? Classical decision theory (that people usually react rationally) seems often to lose out to desirability bias in our thinking about foreign affairs. In the case of Europe, it has meant underrating the power of nationalism and exaggerating the willingness to surrender sovereign rights as well as the general feeling of listlessness that has affected the continent. The misapprehension of the European future has probably less to do with the true state of affairs in Europe and more to do, at least for some, with American intellectuals' dissatisfaction with their own country at present. At any rate, Europe's crisis is probably the less decisive of these two events. Europe's influence in world affairs has very much declined, whatever the fate of its "model." There are precedents for failed integration. Simón Bolívar dreamed of a Latin American Union, but all that has emerged so far is Mercosur, a common market of sorts. Nevertheless, the countries of the continent live in peace with each other and occasionally collaborate. And even without integration, the influence of Latin America is on the rise.

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Mittag Jürgen

**The Politicization of the Common Assembly of the European Coal and Steel Community: The Beginnings of Transnational Party Groups in the European Parliament**





in **Journal of European Integration History**, vol. 17, n. 1 , 13-30

The ECSC Treaty that came into force in 1952 did not include any references to party groups in the Common Assembly and thus no regulations whether its delegates should constitute according to their national or their political orientation. However, different from the Council of Europe party groups evolved after the first meetings and were set on a legal basis in the revised version of the rules of procedure in June 1953. Based on stenographical protocols of the Common Assembly and archival sources of individual as well as political parties the article scrutinises political ideas, structural frameworks and specific incentives that have fostered a party-related cooperation of parliamentarians already in the early days of ECSC. In addition to the rules of procedure special attention is paid to the role of some delegates and the political conflicts during the foundation phase.

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Turunç Hasan

**The Post-westernisation of EU–Turkey Relations**

in **Journal of Contemporary European Studies** , vol. 19, n. 4, december , 535-546

ABSTRACT: This article examines an overly optimistic portrayal of the EU and its relationship with Turkey within the context of an essentialist framework for the dynamics of Turkish politics. It critically scrutinises conventional understandings of the dynamics of Turkey's domestic politics. It professes that relying upon outdated models of domestic political cleavages is not sufficient to understand the key dynamics of Turkey's EU accession process. The article analyses Turkey's interaction with Europe by incorporating, but also moving beyond, the narrow confines of dichotomous thinking: the West–East divide, modern versus traditional, global–local and secular pitted against Islamicist. Drawing upon the contemporary academic literature in Europe and Turkey, the article advances an alternative analytical perspective in order to understand better the dynamic changes within Turkey and Europe.

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Marieke De Goede

**The SWIFT Affair and the Global Politics of European Security**

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 50, Issue 2, March 2012 , 214-230

This article examines the 'SWIFT affair', whereby United States security authorities acquired access to financial data of European citizens, and argues that it is a powerful lens through which to understand current shifts in European security governing. The affair demonstrates the institutional challenges produced by the deployment of private, commercial data for security, and analyzes the ad hoc innovations produced in European Union (EU) governing as a result. Furthermore, the SWIFT affair has allowed the EU to position itself in the global security landscape as a normative power that promotes the values of privacy and data protection. However, the development of a European Terrorism Financing Tracking System, coupled with the way in which the EU itself is keenly implementing risk-based and data-led internal security measures, means that critical attention to the EU's own security practices remains urgent.



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Salm Christian

**The Socialist Group, the European Parliament and the Development Policy of the European Community, 1968-75**

in *Journal of European Integration History*, vol. 17, n. 1 , 87-102

This article examines the role of the European Parliament (EP) in the debate on the European Community (EC) development policy in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Setting these discussions in the context of the North-South dialogue, it shows that the EP made a twofold contribution. The EP tried to operate as a moral authority in the EC arena and to set the demands of developing countries on the EC agenda. Focusing more specifically on the Socialist Group (SG), this study probes the parliamentary work of the SG between impulses for reshaping the EC's development policy and a consensus-oriented practice designed to strengthen the EP's moral authority in this policy field.

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Pentassuglia Gaetano

**The Strasbourg Court and Minority Groups: Shooting in the Dark or a New Interpretive Ethos?**

in *International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights*, Volume 19, Number 1 , 1-23

Construed around the broad areas of pluralism, identity and non-discrimination, the contemporary jurisprudence of the European Court of Human Rights on minority groups reflects a view of the 1950 Convention which is arguably more complex than the one projected onto the European legal landscape at the time of its adoption. This article takes stock of past and recent trends and reflects on a range of fundamental questions which are likely to define the Court's approach to the field. I argue that the Court's persuasiveness will hinge on a modicum of methodology - a new interpretive ethos - as to how to handle relevant claims, and what is at stake when it comes to considering them.

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Bastian Giegerich & Alexander Nicoll

**The Struggle for Value in European Defence**

in *Survival*, Volume 54, N. 1 , 53-82

If European countries are to build capabilities that match the significant amounts they spend on defence, effective cooperation on investments, force structures and equipment is necessary.

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Brunsbach Sandra, John Stefanie, Werner Annika

**The Supply Side of Second-Order Elections: Comparing German National and European Election Manifestos**



in **German Politics**, Volume 21, Issue 1 , 91-115

The second-order character of past European elections is a well-established hypothesis with respect to voter turnout and voting behaviour. This paper presents a conceptual framework for testing this hypothesis on the supply side of European elections. It includes three groups of indicators allowing for the comparison of national and European election manifestos to determine the latter's second-order nature: (1) resource allocation, measured by the number of actors involved in manifesto adoption and by the manifestos' length; (2) the manifestos' content, comparing issue congruence and framing; and (3) political competition, measured by the ideological distance between manifestos. Building on this, we analyse the manifestos of all relevant German parties in the 2009 European and national elections using Comparative Manifesto Project data as well as original, self-created data on election manifestos. We find major variations between parties which can neither be explained by government participation nor satisfaction with the European Union.

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**Pawlak Patryk**

**The Unintentional Development of the EU's Security Governance beyond Borders**  
in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 17, issue 1 , 87-107

ABSTRACT: New technologies for border control and surveillance are increasingly being applied in the field of justice and home affairs. The European Union (EU) has been particularly successful in promoting its approaches internationally despite the potentially negative impact of these technologies on civil liberties and fundamental freedoms. This article investigates why, despite a clear divergence between the EU's declarations and practice in balancing fundamental freedoms and security, the EU has faced little external criticism regarding its extraterritorial instruments. In the case of EU-US relations, the EU managed to optimize the outcome of the Passenger Name Record (PNR) negotiations by using the security-oriented US legislation as a pretext for advancing its own security-dominated agenda. At the same time, the EU managed to avoid criticism from the United States and international civil society regarding its flagship projects like the 'border package' or the creation of large-scale IT systems for collecting and processing personal information. In its relations with candidate countries, the EU has managed to escape criticism due to several factors: weak data protection institutions in those countries, different priorities set by the accession process, and rather weak civil society organizations (CSOs) dependent on EU funding. In the absence of external actors challenging the EU approach, recourse to the international judicial bodies is the last resort for taking action in this regard. This article argues that inconsistency and contradiction between the EU's various policy approaches has contributed to the unintentional development of an external governance model that maximizes the EU's position internationally.

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**Mosconi Antonio**

**The United States and Europe in a Multipolar World**  
in *Federalist Debate (The)*, Year XXV, n. 2, May

The United States, due to the right conservatives being always majoritarian in matters of foreign and military policy, has



been pursuing a unilateral power project. The parabola of such a project, deployed in the course of the last years, has produced a significant loss of its strategic, financial and political weight. The “world watchdog” did not prove able to guarantee collective security. The “world banker” has carried out a gigantic robbery of other countries' savings in order to finance its wars without its citizens paying the costs, adding to the public deficit spending the private one, up to catastrophe. The hegemonic power, in sum, has not been able to guarantee the public goods that are indispensable for not leaving globalization in the hands of international anarchy and for making the aspirations to supranational government forms prevail over the disintegrating dynamics of fear, fueled by nationalist, micro-nationalist and xenophobic forces.

<http://www.federalist-debate.org/index.php/editorial/item/766-the-united-states-and-europe-in-a-multipolar-world>

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Laski Kazimierz, Podkaminer Leon

**The basic paradigms of EU economic policy-making need to be changed**  
in *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, Volume 36 Issue 1 January 2012 , 253-270

The anaemic growth of the European Union/euro area derives from its economic paradigms. The principle ‘one size fits all’ behind European Central Bank policy activates centrifugal forces. Diverging trends in unit labour costs, external competitiveness and external balances follow. German policy actively supports this. ‘Excessive external surplus procedures’ against countries generating large surpluses at the expense of domestic consumption (and the partners’ rising debt) should be instituted. The Stability and Growth Pact needs modification. The 3% fiscal deficit/GDP mark may prevent automatic stabilisation. Insistence on the budgetary positions being ‘close to balance or in surplus’ lacks rationale. When the private sector’s propensity to save is larger than its propensity to invest, that requirement cannot be observed. A permanent fiscal deficit may be a secular necessity. Problems related to rising public debt may also need to be addressed. For the euro area these problems could be rendered far less serious than often believed.

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Anna Visvizi

**The crisis in Greece and the EU-IMF rescue package: Determinants and pitfalls**  
in *Acta Oeconomica*, vol. 62 n.1 , 15-39

The sovereign debt crisis in Greece represents a very interesting case in which the Greek government succeeded in transforming domestic fiscal deficit problem, overspending and fear of free market reforms into a European challenge consistent with justifiable concerns about the sustainability of the euro-project and its likely future. In this paper, the roots of the crisis and the way of addressing it are discussed. In particular the features, drawbacks, missed opportunities and pitfalls of the €110 billion EU/IMF rescue package granted to Greece are examined. It is argued that the government’s focus on taxation rather than on politically costly privatization and cutbacks in the public sector undermined economic activity in the country, decreased the government’s revenue, and spawned disincentives for investment, without generating growth and without improving competitiveness. In brief, rather than contributing to economic recovery, the



opposite was achieved as a result of the measures implemented by the government.

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**Benoit Kenneth**

**The dimensionality of political space: Epistemological and methodological considerations in European Union Politics**, Vol. 13, n. 2, June, 194-218

Spatial characterizations of agents' preferences lie at the heart of many theories of political competition. These give rise to explicitly dimensional interpretations. Parties define and differentiate themselves in terms of substantive policy issues, and the configuration of such issues that is required for a good description of political competition affects how we think substantively about the underlying political space in which parties compete. For this reason a great deal of activity in political science consists of estimating such configurations in particular real settings. We focus on three main issues in this article. First, we discuss the nature of political differences and from this construct an interpretation of the dimensionality of the political space needed to describe a given real setting, underscoring the essentially metaphorical and instrumental use of this concept. Second, we contrast *ex ante* and *ex post* interpretations of this dimensionality. Third, we illustrate potential hazards arising from the purely inductive estimation of political spaces using a spatial example from the physical world and political competition in the European Parliament as a political example.

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**Parker Owen**

**The ethics of an ambiguous cosmopolitics: citizens and entrepreneurs in the European project in International Theory**, Volume 4, Issue 02, July, 198-232

This paper reflects on the ethical possibilities and limitations of cosmopolitanism as practice, with particular reference to the contemporary European project. It begins with an exploration of the relationship between what I term a 'market' and a 'legal' cosmopolitics in the European context. Inspired by Foucault's recently published work on liberal government, the paper argues that these cosmopolitics and the subjectivities that they seek to produce variously overlap, reinforce one another, and conflict in practices of contemporary post-national government: in short, they co-exist in an inherently ambiguous relationship. Animating this argument, the paper considers the politics of European citizenship; it highlights what is at stake, ethically and politically, in the recognition of an ambiguous cosmopolitics. It focuses in particular on the European Union (EU)'s 2004 Directive on the free movement of EU citizens and its relevance in the context of the high-profile deportations of Roma from France in summer 2010. The paper makes the case that the recognition and ongoing identification of an ambiguous cosmopolitics – and, essentially, an ambiguous European identity or 'us' – offers the prospect for ongoing resistance by and with those who find themselves designated as the 'other' of the European project in particular or of a cosmopolitics in general.

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Mody, Ashoka - Sandri, Damiano

**The eurozone crisis: how banks and sovereigns came to be joined at the hip**  
in *Economic Policy*, volume 27 issue 70 , 199-230

The eurozone sovereign and banking crisis evolved in three phases. Following the onset of the subprime tremors in July 2007, the risk premia (spreads) on bonds issued by eurozone sovereigns rose from historically low levels; but they rose largely in tandem across the eurozone membership along with global banking stresses. The rescue of the US investment bank, Bear Stearns, in March 2008, oddly enough, marked the start of a distinctively European banking crisis accompanied by increased differentiation of countries within the eurozone. With the greater expectation of public support for distressed banks, the spreads that a sovereign paid tended to rise following evidence of stress in its domestic financial sector. This was especially so in countries with lower growth prospects and higher debt burdens. But there was as yet no feedback from banks to sovereigns. Finally, as the limits of fiscal support for domestic banks became clearer, and coinciding with the nationalization of Anglo Irish in January 2009 but gathering steam with evidence of the Greek sovereign's distress in May 2010, sovereign weaknesses also came to be quickly transmitted to a more pessimistic assessment of the financial sector's prospects, creating the potential of mutual destabilization.

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Viatcheslav Morozov, Bahar Rumelili

**The external constitution of European identity: Russia and Turkey as Europe-makers**  
in *Cooperation and Conflict*, March; 47 (1) , 28-48

The view of identities as always situated in a relationship with the Other underlies contemporary constructivist social theory. Taking a step further, and combining constructivist approaches to identity with insights from post-colonial studies, this article argues that the Other, far from being a mere presence, often plays an active role in identity politics. By tracing the historically varying ways in which Turkey and Russia have engaged in European identity construction, it demonstrates that this is an interactive process of negotiation between the European Self and its external Others in which agency of the Other is revealed. In particular, Russia and Turkey exercise agency by challenging, each in its own manner, the EU's power to define the normative meaning of Europe. While Turkey has contributed to a decentring of European identity by challenging the self-perception of Europe as a multicultural space, Russia's uncompromising stance tends to consolidate the EU-centred image of Europe as a political community based on liberal democratic values.

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de Wijk Rob

**The geopolitical consequences of the €-crisis**  
in *Europe's World*, Issue 21, Summer

The eurozone crisis has so far focussed attention on Europe's internal economic and political weaknesses. But Rob de Wijk warns that its wider significance threatens to be a weakening of the EU's power to shape future developments in an increasingly multipolar world.





[http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home\\_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21997/language/en-US/Default.aspx](http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21997/language/en-US/Default.aspx)

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Kyriacou Andreas P, Roca-Sagalés Oriol

**The impact of EU structural funds on regional disparities within member states**  
in *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, Volume 30, Issue 2, April , 267-281

We examine the impact of structural and cohesion funds on regional disparities within EU countries over the period 1995 – 2006. We find that structural funds have reduced regional disparities over this period. Our empirical estimates also suggest that the effect of structural funds on regional disparities is potentially reversed above some level of transfer intensity (approximately 1.6% of country gross domestic product). This has implications for the desirable allocation of the funds across countries especially since, in the current programming period (2007 – 13), all the new member states of the Union except for Cyprus and Malta have a transfer intensity which exceeds this threshold.

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Cole Alistair, Pasquier Romain

**The impact of European integration on centre/periphery relations. A comparison France/United-Kingdom**  
in *Politique européenne* , n. 36, 2012/1 , 160-182

The core research question in this article is a straightforward one : has EU regional policy, interpreted as a form of Europeanisation, produced policy change ? What explanatory variables might explain such change, or resistance to change ? These questions give rise to consideration of three main hypotheses to explain change : those of misfit, convergence and mobilisation. The three hypotheses are “tested” with reference to two cases, France and the United Kingdom. The research thus captures two distinct state types that represent contrasting liberal democratic poles and yet contain sufficient variation to allow internal, as well as cross-national comparison. The cases considered offer some evidence of inertia (the management of structural funds reaffirming pre-existing national patterns of centre-periphery relations), some evidence of policy recalibration (in the UK devolved nations and the French regions), but none of policy transformation as a result of EU cohesion policy. As a more general point, structural funds policy is perhaps not the most appropriate instrument to measure policy change ; from this survey, structural funds are an epiphenomenon of deeper explanatory variables rooted mainly (but not exclusively) in domestic institutional orders and change.

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Solana Javier, Kemal Dervis

**The issue: Could the euro destroy the EU? Our verdict: Only “more Europe” can avoid a deeper crisis**  
in *Europe’s World*, Issue 21, Summer

It’s not just the Eurozone that’s in danger, but the European Union itself, say Kemal Dervis<sup>351</sup>; and Javier Solana. They argue that only the emergence of a European “political space” and further sharing of sovereignty can overcome the



crisis.

[http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home\\_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21996/language/en-US/Default.aspx](http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21996/language/en-US/Default.aspx)

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Mörsdorf Oliver

**The legal mobility of companies within the European Union through cross-border conversion**

in **Common Market Law Review**, vol. 49, issue 2 , 629-670

ABSTRACT: Over the last decade, the case law of the ECJ on the freedom of establishment for companies has led to a high degree of corporate mobility within the EU. As a result of that case law it is nowadays common sense among academics that companies which have been founded under the law of a Member State may transfer their real seat to another Member State with no change of legal form as far as the Member State of incorporation allows for such an operation. However, it remains to be clarified whether EU law also grants - besides said right of physical establishment - a right of legal establishment by allowing companies to convert into a legal form of another Member State. In the first part of the article, there is an analysis of whether companies may invoke primary law, notably the right of establishment, in order to conduct such an operation. In this context, two forms of cross-border conversion are addressed separately: cross-border-conversion with an attendant transfer of real seat and, far more problematic, isolated cross-border conversion. The second part of the article contains an outlook on a possible secondary measure enabling and regulating the cross-border conversion of EU companies. Although the Commission has stopped working on a 14th directive on the transfer of registered seat, it will be demonstrated that there is actually a strong need for such a measure. Special focus will also be on the question whether the EU has competence to take any steps in that direction, a problem which is often overlooked, particularly with regard to isolated cross-border conversion.

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Cafaro Susanna

**The missing voice of the euro. Legal, technical and political obstacles to the external representation of the euro area.**

in **Diritto dell'Unione europea**, n. 4 , 895-913

No abstract available

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Pavlos Eleftheriadis

**The moral distinctiveness of the European Union**

in **International Journal of Constitutional Law**, Vol. 9, issue 3-4 , 695-713

his article is a comment and reflection on Joseph Weiler's essay, The Political and Legal Culture of European



Integration: An Exploratory Essay. The article responds to Weiler's argument by sketching a philosophical framework within which we may understand the moral distinctiveness of the EU. The argument is informed by the international political theories outlined by Kant and Rawls, according to which the domain of international institutions is distinct from that of domestic politics. If the European Union is an international project for the achievement of international and cosmopolitan objectives, then the virtues that it ought to promote are not those of the state. Instead, the relevant virtues are outward looking in that they require respect to other nations and citizens as equal members of the society of peoples.

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Amie Kreppel

**The normalization of the European Union**

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 19, Issue 5 2012 , 635-645

This article reviews the development of European Union (EU) Studies from a comparative perspective to explain why and how scholarship on the EU has changed over time. In particular, this work strives to explain the shift away from a US-centered field of research focused on a few core theoretical concepts to an academic field toward an increasing level of scholarship by European academics on across an extremely broad variety of topics. The core explanation is that as the EU has evolved toward an increasingly 'state like' entity scholarship focused on the EU has evolved as well. The evolution has led the field of EU studies to resemble much more closely other state focused fields such as American or French politics, suggesting a normalization of the EU and EU studies.

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Weiler J. H. H.

**The political and legal culture of European integration: An exploratory essay**

in *International Journal of Constitutional Law*, Vol. 9, issue 3-4 , 678-694

No abstract available

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Peter Kraus

**The politics of complex diversity: A European perspective**

in *Ethnicities*, Vol. 12 n. 1

No abstract available

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Wong Reuben, Sonntag Albrecht



**The relativity of decline: a reappraisal of French leadership and influence in a time of global crisis**

in *Asia Europe Journal*, Volume 9, Number 2-4 March , 179-196

This article is an attempt, in the context of the Eurozone crisis that has shaken Europe since 2008, to explore and deconstruct two pieces of conventional wisdom on French leadership in Europe and the world. The stereotypical image of a country in decline and denial, out of touch with today's globalised world, is reproduced so often in the Anglo-American media and even in scholarly discourse, that it has become a self-evident truism. The article examines this truism in two different perspectives: there is, on the one hand, the axiom that France has lost influence in Europe and that the balance of power has shifted inexorably to Germany and, on the other hand, the axiom that Europe does not matter in the global 'power shift' and that, as part of Europe, France does not count any more either. In questioning the origins and validity of these axioms, the authors argue that a strong perception bias persists and is constantly perpetuated even though reality has changed. Not only has France rather successfully adapted to globalisation in both political and economic terms, but it has also found new ways and discourses about its role as Germany's partner in leadership in the European Union. The paper goes on to show that both France and the EU retain and use significant levers for action in three dimensions of power—coercion, agenda-setting and attraction. It concludes that going into 2012, France remains an active and important actor, both in the EU and on the global scene. It is present and influential in major international institutions, effectively builds international coalitions and floats important ideas on reforming laissez-faire capitalism.

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**Bouchoucha Meriem**

**The transfer effect: A comparative perspective between the European monetary union regime and fixed and floating regimes**

in *Economie internationale*, 2011/1 (n° 125) , 105-131

We examine the determinants of the real effective exchange rate for several countries over the 1980-2007 period according to their exchange-rate regime. Based on panel cointegration techniques, we estimate the long run relationship between the exchange rate and a number of fundamental variables, often considered by the theoretical and empirical literature as important exchange rate determinants, namely relative productivity, net foreign assets and terms of trade. Our results show that the exchange-rate regime influences the real exchange rates determinants, and that the "European Monetary Union" fixed exchange rate regime type differs substantially from the "traditional" fixed exchange-rate regime and the floating one.

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**Glengross Andrew**

**The uses of ambiguity: representing 'the people' and the stability of states unions**

in *International Theory*, Volume 4, Issue 01, March , 107-132

The European Union (EU) and the antebellum US represent attempts to overcome anarchy without substituting hierarchy. Understood as 'states unions', these two systems are shown here to share foundational indeterminacy over sovereignty and the constitution of the people (i.e. the boundaries of the political community). Existing scholarship



appreciates the EU's resulting democratic deficit but fails to problematize how dual ambiguity is sustained. The contrast between both states unions is used to probe this mutually constitutive relationship between sovereignty and democracy in an anti-hierarchical order. Defining the boundaries of the people by invoking popular sovereignty led in the antebellum, the paper argues, to a bifurcated debate over where the hierarchy of democratic legitimacy resided, destroying ambiguity. The contrast further shows that the EU has avoided the development of such rival, mutually exclusive constitutional visions that seek to make the people and sovereignty congruent at either the unit or union level. Instead, the EU has sustained dual constitutional ambiguity by allowing for multiple accountability claims reliant on overlapping notions of the people. Democratizing international cooperation thus should focus on the form democratic accountability can take rather than seeking to use popular sovereignty to establish some decision-making level where sovereignty and the people are congruent.

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Vaubel Roland, Klingen Bernhard, Müller David

**There is life after the Commission: An empirical analysis of private interest representation by former EU-commissioners, 1981–2009**

in *Review of International Organizations (The)* , vol. 7, n. 1, march , 59-80

ABSTRACT: Our sample includes 92 former EU commissioners who left the seven Commissions serving from 1981 to 2009. We find that 36 (39%) became private interest representatives after leaving the Commission—14 with registered institutions, 22 with non-registered institutions. Our probit analysis shows that an ex-commissioner is significantly more likely to turn lobbyist if he or she is still young and has been in charge of competition, the internal market, industry or taxation. At the 10% level of significance, the probability is lower if the commissioner has been proposed by a left wing government, has stepped down after the introduction of the code of conduct (1999) or has retired from the Delors I Commission, and the probability is higher for commissioners from central Europe. The descriptive statistics reveal in addition that the share of private interest representatives in all ex-commissioners is largest for Portuguese, Austrian, Bulgarian and Maltese commissioners and zero for Scandinavians. With regard to the commissioners' training, 48% of the lawyers but only 35% of the economists have become lobbyists. Commissioners who have turned private interest representatives have on average stayed somewhat longer (6.3 years) with the Commission than the others (5.5 years). Registered lobbying is significantly more likely than non-registered lobbying if the ex-commissioner is a lawyer, has been in charge of competition, the internal market, industry or taxation and—at the 10% level—has been proposed by a left wing government.

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Leigh Michael

**Time to demolish the myths about EU enlargement**

in *Europe's World*, Issue 21, Summer

Enlargement is not as some claim the cause of Europe's ills, but has instead brought with it many advantages. Michael Leigh explains how the carrot of enlargement offers the EU the way out of the political impasse, economic stalemate and identity crisis it now faces.



[http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home\\_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/22005/language/en-US/Default.aspx](http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/22005/language/en-US/Default.aspx)

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Watt Andrew

**To Be or not to Be: the State of the Euro in 2012**

in **Social Europe Journal**, Volume 6, Issue 2, Winter / Spring , 7-11

<http://www.social-europe.eu/wp-content/uploads/2012/03/SocialEurope-20.pdf>

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Majocchi Alberto

**Towards a European Federal Fiscal Union**

in **Federalista (II)/Federalist (The)**, Year LIII, Single Issue , 13-29

[http://www.thefederalist.eu/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=616&lang=en](http://www.thefederalist.eu/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=616&lang=en)

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Castaldi Roberto

**Towards a Federal Democracy in Europe?**

in **Perspectives on federalism**, Vol. 3, issue 3 , E- 126-154

The paper endorses a dynamic rather than a static analysis of the EU at super-systemic level of analysis. It sketches a toolkit to analyse the actors and contents of constitutional politics, exploiting the insights of the main grand theories, based on the interpretative scheme of crisis-initiative-leadership, and the distinction between unification, integration and construction. Applying this toolkit, a trend towards an increase of the EU federal features can be discerned. Eventually, to overcome the current crisis more steps in this direction are needed.

Full text available at:

<http://www.on-federalism.eu/index.php/roberto-castaldi/3-essay/110-towards-a-federal-democracy-in-europe->

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de Vreese Claes H., van der Brug Wouter, Hobolt, Sara

**Turkey in the EU?: How cultural and economic frames affect support for Turkish accession in Comparative European Politics**, vol. 10, n. 2, april , 218-235

ABSTRACT: Turkey's bid to join the European Union (EU) is more contentious than any previous enlargement of the EU. With the prospect of a predominantly Muslim country joining the Union, religious differences are often argued to be at the heart of public opposition to Turkish membership, whereas economic reasoning seems to dominate arguments in favour. Yet, public opinion on this issue is also highly volatile. This raises the question of the extent to which elite framing of the debate on Turkish accession can shape public opinion. Using a survey-embedded experimental study, we examine the differences in support between people exposed to – positive and negative – cultural and economic arguments. Our results show that the economic frames are persuasive across the board, whereas cultural (religious) frames are strongly conditioned by individual predispositions on religious diversity.

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Icoz Gulay

**Turkey's Path to EU Membership: An Historical Institutionalist Perspective** in *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* , vol. 19, n. 4, december , 511-521

ABSTRACT: Scholars have drawn heavily on new institutionalist approaches in the study of comparative European politics and European integration. However, these approaches have been neglected in the study of Turkey–EU relations, resulting in a significant gap in the academic literature. In particular, the extant literature fails to question the significance of domestic political institutional settings and also fails to ask what role Turkey's National Security Council (MGK) played in shaping Turkey's path towards EU membership. The Historical Institutionalist approach, and the associated concepts of path dependence and punctuated equilibrium, can help address these failures by highlighting the importance of two significant phases of Turkey's European policy: the MGK's tendency to rule through states of emergency and its incompatibility with EU membership criteria (1983–1997); and the curtailment of the MGK's powers and the EU's decision to begin accession negotiations (1997–2004). To substantiate the value of historical institutionalism, I will first discuss the utility of the approach and justify its selection as a framework for explaining Turkey–EU relations. I will then discuss, in general terms, the ways in which institutions shape political action and maintain long periods of stasis. I will then demonstrate the utility of the concept of path dependence in researching the interaction between the MGK's use of state of emergency legislation and Turkey's path towards EU membership. The final part argues that the changes in the MGK and in Turkey–EU relations can be best understood with the historical institutionalist concept of punctuated equilibrium

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Dosemeci Mehmet

**Turkish Opposition to the Common Market: An Archaeology of Nationalist Thought, 1967–1980**



in **South European Society & Politics**, Volume 17, Issue 1, March , 87-107

This article examines the history of Turkish opposition to the then European Economic Community (EEC) between 1967 and 1980. It traces how and why an overwhelming majority of the Turkish elite during these years was opposed to integration with Europe and why this opposition was experienced and performed through a national imagination. It argues that anti-EEC sentiment was informed by, and in turn formulated, a reassertion of nationalist thought that cut across Turkey's extant political and ideological spectrum.

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Minkenberg Michael, Boomgaarden Hajo G., de Vreese Claes H., Freire André

**Turkish membership in the European Union – The role of religion**

in **Comparative European Politics**, vol. 10, n. 2, april , 133-148

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Pertti Joenniemia

**Turning into a Sovereign Actor? Probing the EU Through the Lens of Neighbourhood**

in **Geopolitics**, Volume 17, Issue 1 , 25-46

A central goalpost characterising the European Union has consisted of escaping Europe's notorious past, and this aspiration has then also profoundly impacted the Union's approach to the construction of political space. Sovereignty has for the EU subsequently been off limits. However, the more recent claim of the Union having succeeded in reaching its initial goal of leaving the past behind radically alters the situation. It does not merely set the EU free but also compels it to reconsider the underlying generative grammar. Does this then also mean that the EU is bound to return to more sovereignty-gearred approaches premised on clear distinctions between self and other or does it still aspire to stay with the previous script by refraining from adopting the rather strict organising principles characteristic of modern states? This is the issue that the article sets out to explore by focusing on the concept of a neighbour which has recently been added to the EU's repertoire of key constitutive departures through the recent coining of the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP).

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Chaltiel Florence

**Un Conseil européen d'amorce de sortie de crise?**

in **Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne**, n. 557, avril , 221-222

No abstract available

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Rekacewicz Philippe

**Un Vieux Continent à géographie variable**in **Monde Diplomatique (Le)**, mars

Difficile aujourd'hui de se repérer sur la mappemonde : déplacement des centres d'activité et de pouvoir vers de nouveaux territoires, alliances inédites, recompositions géopolitiques... Toutes nos grilles de lecture sont à revoir. C'est ce défi que « Le Monde diplomatique » relève en publiant, le 6 mars, la quatrième version de son atlas géopolitique. Cet ouvrage grand format de deux cents pages mêle des analyses rédigées par des spécialistes reconnus et une approche cartographique originale pour mettre en lumière cette mutation historique. Comprendre le monde, c'est aussi montrer les visions que les peuples ont d'eux-mêmes et de leur place sur la planète. L'Europe est un cas d'école : nul ne sait la définir, dire où elle commence et où elle finit.

Les lycéens lillois qui, ce jour-là, pénètrent dans le bureau du cartographe attendent une réponse simple à une question simple : « Où donc finit l'Europe à l'est ? » A l'ouest, c'est clair, disent-ils, il y a de l'eau. Mais à l'est ?

Des experts définissent des lignes de partage qui n'existent pas : l'Europe et son « identité chrétienne » (?), l'Europe continentale, l'Europe « blanche » (?), l'Europe culturelle (?), l'Europe géographique (?), l'Europe administrative (?), l'Europe et son « ventre mou », l'Europe et sa frontière naturelle... L'Europe ! l'Europe ! l'Europe !

« Ceux qui se disent européens trouvent que l'Europe des patries [?], ce n'est pas assez, et que l'Europe de l'Atlantique à l'Oural, c'est trop. Et vous, vous sentez-vous européen ? », demande le journaliste Michel Droit à Charles de Gaulle. Nous sommes en décembre 1965... « Alors, répond le président, prenons les choses comme elles sont ! Car on ne fait pas de politique autrement que sur des réalités : bien entendu, on peut sauter sur sa chaise comme un cabri en disant : "L'Europe ! l'Europe ! l'Europe !" , mais ça n'aboutit à rien, et ça ne signifie rien ! Alors les choses, comment sont-elles ? »

Le général de Gaulle était pourtant plus précis, au début des années 1950, lorsqu'il affirmait que l'Europe allait « de l'Atlantique à l'Oural », c'est-à-dire qu'elle intégrait au moins la Russie dite « blanche ». Cette définition mythique ne reposait sur rien de tangible ; elle était en fait le cadre dans lequel de Gaulle développait sa vision européenne — et la « belle et bonne alliance » avec Moscou contre l'Allemagne.

Les limites de l'Europe sont multiples et variées : avec ou sans la Turquie, avec ou sans Israël, avec ou sans l'Arménie... Il y a ceux qui attendent juste derrière les portes de l'espace Schengen, comme la Roumanie et la Croatie ; ceux qui en rêvent la nuit, comme l'Albanie ou la Géorgie ; ceux qui, comme les Grecs, s'interrogent sur une Europe qui les a trahis. Puis il y a nos lointains voisins des « royaumes des steppes », en Asie centrale, membres à part entière d'institutions très européennes. De tous ceux-là, qui sont les plus européens ?

Et si, simplement, l'Europe à l'est était sans fin ? Et si l'Europe venait juste se fondre dans l'Asie en une immense étreinte ?

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Dubois Jean-Pierre



### **Un décalage franco-allemand sous-estimé**

in *Revue des deux mondes*, Avril

Dans les débats franco-allemands de ces dernières années, les commentateurs ont souvent relevé le décalage entre l'impétuosité française et la lenteur allemande et l'ont attribué aux personnalités des dirigeants ou à leurs formations. Ces différences dépassent, en réalité, les personnalités politiques concernées et traduisent des différences culturelles profondes entre les deux pays à l'égard de l'information, de son contenu, de sa collecte et de sa diffusion...

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**Blumann Claude**

### **Un nouveau départ pour la comitologie. Le règlement n° 182/2011 du 16 février**

in *Les Cahiers de droit européen*, Vol. 47, n. 1 , 23-52

No abstract available

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### **Section C) Regional integration processes**

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**Napolitano Giorgio**

### **Un salto di qualità per l'Unione Europea**

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLIV, numero speciale, n. 166 , 14-28

No abstract available

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### **Section C) Regional integration processes**

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**Frontoni Giulia**

### **Una coppia per l'Europa**

in *Critica liberale*, volume XIX, n.195 - gennaio

No abstract available

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### **Section C) Regional integration processes**

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**Cangelosi Rocco Antonio**

### **Una forte iniziativa dell'Italia per l'unità dell'Europa**

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLIV, numero speciale, n. 166 , 58-64

No abstract available



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Jordan Andrew , van Asselt Harro, Berkhout Frans, Huitema Dave, Rayner Tim

**Understanding the Paradoxes of Multilevel Governing: Climate Change Policy in the European Union in Global Environmental Politics**, Volume 12, Number 2, May , 43-66

The European Union (EU) has sought to lead the world in the adoption of ambitious climate change mitigation targets and policies. In an attempt to characterize and broadly explain the resulting pattern of EU climate governance, scholars have employed the term “multi-level reinforcement.” This term does help to account for the paradoxical situation whereby the EU seeks to lead by example but is itself a relatively leaderless system of governance. Drawing on a much fuller empirical account of the evolution of EU climate governance, this article finds that the term captures some but not all aspects of the EU's approach. It identifies four other paradoxical features of the EU's approach and assesses the extent to which they exhibit “multi-level reinforcement.” It concludes by looking forward and examining the extent to which all five features are expected to enable and/or constrain the EU's ability to maintain a leading position in climate governance.

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Carruba Clifford J., Gabel Matthew, Hankla Charles

**Understanding the Role of the European Court of Justice in European Integration in American Political Science Review**, vol. 106, issue 1, february , 214-223

ABSTRACT: In 2008 we published an article finding evidence for political constraints on European Court of Justice (ECJ) decision making. Stone Sweet and Brunell (this issue) argue that our theoretical foundations are fundamentally flawed and that our empirical evidence supports neofunctionalism over intergovernmentalism “in a landslide.” We respectfully disagree with Stone Sweet and Brunell regarding both their conclusions about our theoretical arguments and what the empirical evidence demonstrates. We use this response to clarify our argument and to draw a clearer contrast between our and their perspective on the role the ECJ plays in European integration. Finally, we reevaluate their neofunctionalist hypotheses. Ultimately, we do not find support in the data for Stone Sweet and Brunell's empirical claims.

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Chang Michele

**Understanding the rules of European economic governance: Economics, politics, and wishful thinking in Journal of European Integration**, Volume 34, Issue 3 , 297-303

<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/07036337.2012.659070>

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Alméras Guillaume

**Une fracture Nord/Sud au sein de l'UE**

in *Confluences Méditerranée*, n. 80 , 99-113

Quant à l'€, on ne se livrera ici à aucun pronostic. À ce stade (début 2012), l'incertitude est totale. On soulignera donc tout à la fois les échecs de la monnaie unique et le fait que des demi-mesures, après tout, pourraient bien suffire à la sauver ! Toutefois, la crise de la zone € a fait apparaître une fracture Nord/Sud au sein de l'UE qui oblige à un certain scepticisme face aux solutions prônant plus de fédéralisme. Au vu de cette fracture et derrière les désordres monétaires actuels, la construction européenne paraît réclamer aujourd'hui une refondation sans doute plus radicale.

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Maité JAUREGUY-NAUDIN

**Une électricité européenne sobre en carbone : l'impasse ?**

in *Politique Etrangère*, Vol. 77, n°1 printemps

Le « paquet énergie et climat » de l'UE préconise l'élargissement de la part des énergies renouvelables dans la consommation globale d'énergie : énergie d'origine éolienne ou photovoltaïque. Le bilan des énergies renouvelables est pourtant mitigé – en termes de coûts, d'emploi, de transport – et l'accroissement de leur part de marché complexe à mettre en oeuvre. Les décisions nationales compliquent encore le problème, et au premier chef la décision allemande de sortie du nucléaire.

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McEvoy Caroline

**Unequal Representation in the EU: a multi-level Analysis of Voter-Party Congruence in EP Elections**

in *Representation*, Volume 48, Issue 1 , 83-99

This article analyses unequal representation in the EU by using a multi-level model to examine voter-party congruence across three policy dimensions in EP elections. Taking data from the European Election Study and the Chapel Hill expert surveys, I find that congruence is weaker amongst citizens who don't vote in EP elections, who switch party preferences between national and EP elections and who have low political knowledge but find limited evidence that smaller and ideologically extreme parties are more congruent with their support base.

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Maubernard Christophe

**Vers une possible démocratie "transnationale" européenne? Du discours à la méthode dans l'établissement d'une démocratie européenne**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 556, mars , 185-191





The idea of a European democracy appears at most as reasonable utopia but most often, it is seen as nonsense, or even as an unbearable contradiction. Indeed though Europe was gradually built around common values and policies, only the states and their people, in a plural form, make up that cooperation space. The impossibility of distinguishing a European people, reluctance of states to give up some claims, difficulties by European Union institutions to raise immediate political adherence, contribute to the apparent lack of a European democracy. Actually, thinking the democracy at a European scale cannot be limited to taking stock of the costs and benefits of the European political and democratic construction since the start. Because in the meantime, the states themselves have gone through a democracy perception crisis (absence, diverse claims, weakening of the welfare state, etc.), whereas in the same time, others are considering the meaning of international cosmopolitanism. At the crossroads of those two spaces (state and international), the European Union could at this point of the history of democracy, offer a renewed concept or represent, at least, a relevant thinking space.

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Potacs Michael

**Vom Wert des Rechtes in der Europäischen Union**  
in *Journal für Rechtspolitik*, vol. 20, n. 1, march, 23-30

ABSTRACT: Rechtsvorschriften üben herkömmlicher Weise eine gewisse „Konservierungsfunktion“ aus. Vor dem Hintergrund der jüngst getroffenen Maßnahmen zur Bekämpfung der Schuldenkrise geht der vorliegende Beitrag der Frage nach, inwieweit diese Funktion im Recht der Europäischen Union gewährleistet wird.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Kopp Robert

**Vous avez dit littérature européenne ?**  
in *Revue des deux mondes*, Avril

Dans l'indigeste pavé de Luuk Van Middelaar, *Le Passage à l'Europe. Histoire d'un commencement*, traduit en français grâce au Nederlands Letterenfonds (Gallimard, 2012), la culture et, a fortiori, la littérature ne sont abordées qu'en fin de parcours, plus exactement dans le chapitre vii, intitulé « La stratégie allemande ou l'art de fabriquer une nation ». Il s'agit d'une quarantaine de pages (sur 473), placées – les épigraphes sont d'importance dans ce livre – sous l'invocation de Julien Benda et de son *Discours à la nation européenne* :

« L'Europe ne sera pas le fruit d'une simple transformation économique, voire politique ; elle n'existe vraiment que si elle adopte un certain système de valeurs, morales et esthétiques ; si elle pratique l'exaltation d'une certaine manière de penser et de sentir, la flétrissure d'une autre ; la glorification de certains héros de l'Histoire, la démonétisation d'autres. [...] Ce n'est pas le Zollverein qui a fait l'Allemagne, ce sont les Discours à la nation allemande de Fichte, ce sont les professeurs de morale qui en sont issus. »



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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Kundnani Hans

**Was für ein Hegemon? Berlins Politik führt zu keinem deutschen, sondern einem chaotischen Europa in Internationale Politik**, 67 Jahrgang, n. 5-6, Mai-Juni

ABSTRACT: „Zögerlicher Hegemon“, „Hegemon wider Willen“ – viele Beobachter sehen Deutschland seit Beginn der europäischen Schulden- und Währungskrise in der Rolle eines Hegemonen. Doch das führt in die Irre. Ob unwillig oder unfähig: Statt hegemoniale Politik zu betreiben, hält Berlin an der Wirtschaftspolitik eines Kleinstaats fest – auf Kosten Europas.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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de Saint Salvy Anne-François

**We must merge our 23 navies to safeguard the EU's security in Europe's World**, Issue 21, Summer

The efficiency of Europe's maritime surveillance urgently needs to be improved, warns Anne-François de Saint Salvy, arguing that the 23 European navies should pool their resources and expertise and come up with a common European action plan.

[http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home\\_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/22000/language/en-US/Default.aspx](http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/22000/language/en-US/Default.aspx)

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Volk Tina, Rednak Miroslav, Erjavec Emil

**Western Balkans agriculture and European integration: unused potential and policy failures? in Post communist economies**, Volume 24, Issue 1, 2012, pages 111-123

The objective of this article is to provide an analysis of the development and current situation in agriculture and agricultural policy in Western Balkan countries (WBs) in relation to the EU accession process. Most WBs have quite high but unused potential for agriculture. The small-scale and fragmented nature of private farming remains a general characteristic of agriculture in all WBs. After a decline in the volume of agricultural production due to transition and armed conflicts an increase seems to have set in for WBs since 2000. However, yields still lag behind the EU average in all WBs, particularly in the livestock sector. In general, agricultural producer prices are rather high, mostly above the EU average, indicating weak price competitiveness for most WB products. Serbia is the only net exporter of agricultural and food products. Budgetary transfers to agriculture have been at a low level, except in Croatia, but mostly are increasing rapidly. The WBs lack a stable agricultural policy and a true strategy of reforms and adjustment to EU requirements.



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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Spinelli Barbara

**What if Europe Has to Face its Own Mortality?**

in *Federalist Debate (The)*, Year XXV, n. 1, March

<http://www.federalist-debate.org/index.php/current/item/744-what-if-europe-has-to-face-its-own-mortality?>

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Nicole Scicluna

**When Failure isn't Failure: European Union Constitutionalism after the Lisbon Treaty**

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 50, Issue 3, May 2012 , 441-456

The Constitutional Treaty's attempt to turn the peoples of Europe into a much more coherent citizenry, bound together by a common identity, was not successful. Moreover, its failure greatly damaged the federalist cause. Member States retain significant power to constrain supranational agendas in the post-Lisbon Treaty European Union.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

De Vries Catherine E., Hobolt Sara B.

**When dimensions collide: The electoral success of issue entrepreneurs**

in *European Union Politics* , Vol. 13, n. 2, June , 246-268

Theories of issue evolution and issue manipulation suggest that 'political losers' in the party system can advance their position by introducing a new issue dimension. According to these theories, a strategy of issue entrepreneurship, that is the attempt to restructure political competition by mobilizing a previously non-salient issue dimension, allows political losers to attract new voters and reap electoral gains. In this study, we examine the extent to which these expectations hold by exploring issue entrepreneurial strategies of political parties when applied to the issue of European integration. Using multi-level modelling to analyse European Election Study data, we first show that voters are more likely to cast their ballot for parties that are losers on the extant dimension based on concerns related to European integration. Secondly, a time-series cross-sectional analysis demonstrates that parties that employ an issue entrepreneurial strategy are more successful electorally. Put differently, voters are responsive to the issue entrepreneurial strategies of parties. These findings have important implications for our understanding of party competition and electoral behaviour in multi-party systems.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Rovny Jan

**Who emphasizes and who blurs? Party strategies in multidimensional competition  
in *European Union Politics* , Vol. 13, n. 2, June , 269-292**

Most studies of party competition consider the presentation of ambiguous positions a costly strategy. This literature, however, does not study party strategies in multiple issue dimensions. Yet multidimensionality may play an important role in parties' strategic calculus. Although it may be rational for a party to emphasize a certain issue dimension, it may be equally rational to disguise its stance on other dimensions by blurring its position. This article argues that parties employ strategies of issue emphasis and position blurring in various dimensional contexts. Who emphasizes and who blurs thus depends on the actors' relative stakes in different issue dimensions. The paper makes its case by performing cross-sectional analyses of 132 political parties in 14 West European party systems using Comparative Manifesto Project data, the 2006 Chapel Hill expert survey and the 2009 European Election Study.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***

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Jürgen Neyer

**Who's Afraid of Justice? A Rejoinder to Danny Nicol**

**in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 50, Issue 3, May 2012 , 523-529**

Danny Nicol argues in this journal that my effort to devise a realistic normative conception of the European Union is unconvincing. I respond to his objections by correcting a number of misunderstandings of my original argument. I also use a more principled standard for providing evidence that the EU is indeed structurally unfit for democracy and emphasize the argument that the supranational layer of the EU is in need of a normative standard that is independent from the idea of democracy. The last section explicates the strength of normative realism.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***

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Van Esch Femke

**Why Germany Wanted EMU: The Role of Helmut Kohl's Belief System and the Fall of the Berlin Wall**

**in *German Politics*, Volume 21, Issue 1 , 34-52**

In light of the current Euro-crisis and seemingly erratic German response to it, the question of why Germany wanted EMU has gained new relevance. While EMU entailed economic and political benefits for Germany, this article indicates that taking into account the German shared historical consciousness, and the combined effect of Chancellor Kohl's beliefs and 1989 Eastern European revolution provides a more adequate answer to this question. More specifically, such an explanation provides an answer to remaining questions concerning the timing of the German acquiescence, and the ambiguous and inconsistent behaviour of the Kohl government on the road to Maastricht.

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***Section C) Regional integration processes***

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Van Hoof Lieve

**Why the EU is Failing in its Neighbourhood: The Case of Armenia**  
in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 17, issue 2 , 285-302

ABSTRACT: As the Arab Spring has made clear, the EU's strategic aim of being surrounded by a ring of secure, democratic, and prosperous friends has not yet materialized. While most previous analyses have found fault with inconsistent application of conditionality, this article locates the root of the problem with an the EU's institutional set-up. Starting from interviews and documentary analysis, it uses Armenia as a case study to demonstrate how competition within and between the European Parliament, the Council, and the Commission has led to internal, horizontal, and vertical inconsistencies that have seriously hampered the EU's capacity to promote reforms. If recent institutional reforms have been designed to address precisely these problems, sociological rational choice and historical institutionalism suggest that it remains to be seen to what extent these recent reforms and initiatives will be able to bring about a change substantial enough to make the EU more successful in its neighbourhood.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Ohr Renate

**Wie viel Euro braucht Europa?**

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 13, 2012

Damit Europa nicht so viele Euros braucht, dürfen nicht so viele EU-Länder den Euro als eigene Währung gebrauchen. Selbst wenn der Euro scheitern würde, scheitert nicht die EU.

The full text is free:

<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/126021/wie-viel-euro-braucht-europa>

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Nettesheim Martin

**„Euro-Rettung“ und Grundgesetz Verfassungsgerichtliche Vorgaben für den Umbau der Währungsunion**

in *Europarecht*, Heft 6, 2011

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Asselborn Jean, Sikorski Radoslaw

**„Führen heißt nicht dominieren“. Wie Deutschland seinen Part in Europa spielen sollte**

in *Internationale Politik* , 67 Jahrgang, n. 5-6, Mai-Juni , 8-13

ABSTRACT: Dass Deutschland eine besondere Verantwortung für die Gestaltung der europäischen Politik hat, ist unstrittig. Doch wie lässt sich diese Führungsrolle wahrnehmen, ohne alte Ängste bei den Partnern zu wecken, wo kann,



wo sollte Berlin vorangehen? Radoski, Außenminister Polens, und sein luxemburgischer Amtskollege Jean Asselborn im Gespräch.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Legendijk Vincent

**'To Consolidate Peace'? The International Electro-technical Community and the Grid for the United States of Europe**

in *Journal of Contemporary History*, Volume 47, n. 2, April, 402-426

Why did engineers and policy-makers together argue for a European electricity network? This article shows, first, how ideas of European cooperation were conceived in both circles, and second, how the two came together in an alliance that brought the idea for European grid into the League of Nations (LoN) and International Labour Organization. Non-government organizations in the field of electricity acted as intermediary platforms, and close links between some engineers and politicians enabled a next step. It argues furthermore that such an alliance was made possible through a set of shared ideas, stressing technical networks as an extension of international politics, viewing 'Europe' as an obvious unit of optimization, and relying on a 'technical' approach rather than political consultation.

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Cantore Carlo Maria

**"We're one, but we're not the same: Enhanced Cooperation and the tension between unity and asymmetry in the EU"**

in *Perspectives on federalism*, Vol. 3, issue 3, E- 1-21

The aim of this article is to analyse one of the main features of asymmetry in the EU legal order: enhanced cooperation. After the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty, two enhanced cooperation schemes (on divorce and patent) have already seen the light of the day. The paper first focuses on the evolution of the rules on "closer cooperation"/"enhanced cooperation" from the Treaty of Amsterdam onwards, then it analyses the first two cases. Enhanced cooperation is a unique test to understand how the EU manages to balance unity and asymmetry, thus an analysis of the rules and the relevant practice is very useful to this extent. The last section of the paper compares asymmetric integration at the EU and the WTO level, in order to understand how different legal orders deal with sub-unions and what degree of asymmetry can a system tolerate.

Full text available at:

<http://www.on-federalism.eu/index.php/carlo-maria-cantore/79-essay/103-w-e-re-one-but-we-re-not-the-same-enhanced-cooperation-and-the-tension-between-unity-and-asymmetry-in-the-eu>

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Andreas Voßkuhle





## **Über die Demokratie in Europa**

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 13, 2012

Es wäre fatal, wenn wir auf dem Weg zur Rettung des Euro die Demokratie verlieren. Denn unter allen denkbaren Herrschaftsformen bleibt die Demokratie trotz aller Unzulänglichkeiten die mit Abstand beste.

The full text is free:

<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/126012/ueber-die-demokratie-in-europa>

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### **Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

**Philomena Murray & M. Bruna Zolin**

#### **Australia and the European Union: conflict, competition or engagement in agricultural and agri-food trade?**

in *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 66, Issue 2 , 186-205

Many scholars have mounted convincing cases that the engagement of Australia and the European Union (EU) has been characterised by skirmishes regarding the Common Agricultural Policy and its distortion of world markets, and lack of Australian access to EU markets. This article illustrates that agricultural and agri-food trade constitutes a relatively small portion of Australia–EU trade flows; that Australia exports more goods to the EU than in the past; and that, in some agri-food sectors, it exports more goods to the EU than the EU does to Australia. Further, it argues that conflict and competition regarding the Common Agricultural Policy need to be understood in the broader context of world trade and in the context of a new and deeper engagement between the two interlocutors.

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### **Section C) Regional integration processes**

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**Marco Pinfari**

#### **A Changing Mediterranean: Regional Organisations and North Africa during the Arab Spring**

in *International Spectator (The)*, Vol. 47, No. 1, March

This article discusses the role played by the European Union, African Union and Arab League in the recent revolutions in Tunisia, Egypt and Libya. It focuses in particular on the use and impact of political and economic conditionality, the decision-making processes within each organisation and the inter-regional forums created to deal with the crisis. The analysis acknowledges the increasingly active and vocal role played by regional organisations in the so-called 'Arab spring', but it highlights not just that they had few legal powers to intervene in these crises, but also that they seemed very reluctant to use any form of political or economic conditionality. It also reveals that the main purpose of inter-regional forums was arguably not to generate consensus internationally but rather to manage dissent. As such, the article encourages a reflection on the specific challenges and opportunities that North Africa and the Mediterranean region pose to regional conflict management.

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### **Section C) Regional integration processes**

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**Bert Jacobs**



## **A Dragon and a Dove? A Comparative Overview of Chinese and European Trade Relations with Sub-Saharan Africa**

in *Journal of Current Chinese Affairs*, Vol 40, No 4

As China's footprint in African trade grows larger by the day, the need to contextualize this rise through comparative analysis becomes ever more necessary. This paper contrasts the sub-Saharan trade relations of both China and Europe with their respective designated stereotypes: those of a dragon and a dove. The article compares the trade dynamics on four levels: the policies and institutional mechanisms that shape the relationship; the composition of the trade flows; the geographic distribution of trade dominance; and the influence of norms and values on the trade pattern. It concludes that although there are empirical grounds behind these stereotypes, Chinese and European trade relations with sub-Saharan Africa are becoming more similar, partly due to a more hawkish European stance.

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### **Section C) Regional integration processes**

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**Bartelt Sandra**

#### **ACP-EU Development Cooperation at a Crossroads? One Year after the Second Revision of the Cotonou Agreement**

in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 17, issue 1 , 1-25

**ABSTRACT:** The article presents the second Revision of the African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP)-European Union (EU) Partnership Agreement (Cotonou Agreement (CA)) and contains an outlook on the future of the relations between the EU and the ACP Group of States, taking also into account the restructuring of the EU's external relations under the Lisbon Treaty and the establishment of the new European External Action Service (EEAS). The second Revision of the CA was signed in June 2010. Ten years after the conclusion of the CA, its second revision sought to find a balance between the increasing trend towards differentiation within the ACP Group and the unity of the ACP Group of States. The EU side felt that developments in the regional dimension had to be addressed, such as the relations with the African Union as a key interlocutor for peace and security in the pan-African dimension and the conclusion of (interim) Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs). Moreover, the 2010 Revision coincided with the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty on 1 December 2009. The restructuring of the EU's external relations under the Lisbon Treaty and its impact on the relations between the EU and ACP also influenced the 2010 Revision, as the ACP were concerned about the loss of their special status under the new treaty regime. In addition, at the administrative level, the bilateral relations with the ACP countries will be dealt with by the EEAS and not by the former Commission's Directorate-General for development, which means a potential loss of exclusivity for the ACP Group.

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### **Section C) Regional integration processes**

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**Chevallier-Govers Constance**

#### **Antiterrorism Cooperation between the EU and ASEAN**

in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 17, issue 1 , 133-156

**ABSTRACT:** This article not only studies the cooperation between the European Union (EU) and Association of



Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) in the fight against terrorism but also shows the interactions between the fight against terrorism within the EU and within ASEAN. It starts with an analysis of EU's and ASEAN's respective terrorist threats and a comparison of the EU and ASEAN as counterterrorist actors. Regional cooperation within ASEAN is still at its infancy stage, as ASEAN is profoundly attached to the principles of state sovereignty and non-interference, whereas the EU has developed a real strategy in order to pursue and prevent terrorism. Thus, the EU has been brought to integrate its fight against terrorism into all aspects of its foreign policy and has recognized that south-east Asia is a critical factor for its security agenda. Inter-regional cooperation is slowly emerging, notably through the ASEAN Regional Forum and the Asia-Europe Meeting.

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*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

**Barroso Jose Manuel Durao**

**Building Europe-New Zealand links**

in *New Zealand International Review*, January 2012

Since the last visit to New Zealand by a European Commission president 30 years ago, the world has been transformed. The old division in the geo-political order between developed and developing nations has faded. Today there are multiple poles of economic influence. Sharing values with like-minded countries will be increasingly important. Commonality of basic principles and long-term objectives will carry more weight in foreign policy than geographical proximity. In this context, New Zealand and the European Union have a close and enduring relationship, based on the Joint Declaration of 2007. They have convergent interests in many areas, most notably Afghanistan.

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**Oh Jennifer S.**

**Business Interests and US–China Relations on Climate Change**

in *Pacific Focus*, Volume 27, Issue 1, April , 36-61

Cooperation between the USA and China serves as the lynch pin for the creation of an effective international climate regime. Recent US–China relations on climate change exhibit the contrasting pattern of active collaboration at the bilateral level and hostile relations at multilateral climate negotiations. This article argues that domestic politics, in particular business interests, largely explain the variation in US–China relations at the bilateral and multilateral levels. Due to the fragmented and decentralized structure of the climate policy community in the USA and China, business interests wield a disproportionately large influence over climate politics in both countries. Unlike multilateral climate negotiations that focus on universal benefits, bilateral collaborations on climate change projects deliver targeted benefits to business sectors through various government funding, support and favorable policies. As a result, business interests in the USA and China are quite supportive of bilateral climate change projects, while they oppose any endeavor to implement binding regulations in multilateral climate negotiations. Such observation implies that meaningful US–China cooperation on climate change will have to occur through bilateral projects that induce active private sector partnerships and private–public partnerships.

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*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Grossman Claudio

**Challenges to Freedom of Expression Within the Inter-American System: A Jurisprudential Analysis**  
in *Human Rights Quarterly*, vol. 34, number 2, may , 361-403

ABSTRACT: Freedom of expression is a "cornerstone upon which the very existence of a democratic society rests" [citation omitted]. Its importance takes on a special meaning in the Western Hemisphere where numerous societies are building and developing democracies while coping with the legacy of authoritarianism, which exercised a profound institutional and cultural influence in the region. This article critically examines the Inter-American system of Human Rights, systematizing its jurisprudence while providing an analytical framework designed to fully realize this essential human right. Finally, this article proposes a series of measures to help achieve that important objective.

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*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Gachúz Juan Carlos

**Chile's Economic and Political Relationship with China**  
in *Journal of Current Chinese Affairs*, Vol 41, No 1

China's foreign policy has been characterized in the last decade by a heightened interest in reaching out to Latin America, particularly to countries rich in natural resources and with potential markets for Chinese exports, and Chile is one of these countries. The paper shows that even though the Chilean economy has benefitted from the signing of the FTA, it also faces potential risks. To continue to benefit, Chile needs to boost exports in other potential export sectors (value-added products or services) and should attempt to attract more Chinese FDI to Chile's export industry. The export of raw materials (particularly non-renewable ones) is not always sustainable in the long term. The roles of the Chilean state and the private sector in attracting Chinese investment and enhancing diversification of exports of value-added products are crucial for the future of the economy of Chile and its relationship with China.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Jenkins Rhys

**China and Brazil: Economic Impacts of a Growing Relationship**  
in *Journal of Current Chinese Affairs*, Vol 41, No 1

The paper analyses the economic impacts of China's re-emergence on Brazil, looking at both the direct effects of China on Brazil in terms of bilateral trade and investment flows and the indirect effects through increased competition in export markets for manufactured goods and higher world prices for primary commodities. Despite a surge in Chinese FDI in Brazil in 2010, the main driver of bilateral relations is trade. While bilateral trade has grown rapidly, the pattern that has emerged has given rise to concern because Brazil's exports are concentrated in a small number of primary products while imports from China are almost entirely of manufactured goods that are becoming more technologically sophisticated over time. Brazil has benefitted in the short term from the high prices of primary commodities (partly caused by growing Chinese demand), but has lost export markets to China in manufactures, contributing to the "primarization" of the country's export basket.



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Hearn Adrian H.

**China, Global Governance and the Future of Cuba**

in *Journal of Current Chinese Affairs*, Vol 41, No 1

China's deepening engagement with Latin America has been accompanied by concerns about the Chinese government's regard for international conventions of economic governance. Critics claim that across Latin America and the Caribbean, Chinese aid and trade are characterised by excessive state intervention. This article argues that, for two reasons, the rationale for these misgivings is dissipating. First, since the onset of the global financial crisis, China has gained influence in multilateral institutions, prompting them toward greater acceptance of public spending in developing countries. Second, recent developments in Cuba show that China is actively encouraging the Western hemisphere's only communist country to liberalise its economy. China sits at the crossroads of these local and global developments, prompting Cuba toward rapprochement with international norms even as it works to reform them.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Stahl Anna Katharina

**Contrasting Rhetoric and Converging Security Interests of the European Union and China in Africa**

in *Journal of Current Chinese Affairs*, Vol 40, No 4

In recent years, both the European Union (EU) and the People's Republic of China (PRC) have considerably stepped up their presence in Africa, including in the field of peace and security. This article discusses how the EU's and China's understanding of governance and sovereignty affects their respective security strategies in Africa. It argues that although European and Chinese rhetoric significantly differs in terms of the doctrines of sovereignty and governance, the conventional wisdom of two competing security models is inaccurate. As a matter of fact, Brussels and Beijing pursue converging security interests in Africa, a fact that can open the door for coordinated Sino-European crisis management efforts.

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Hamilton Daniel

**Das große Sowohl-Als-Auch. Die Europapolitik der USA unter Obama**

in *Osteuropa*, 62. Jahrgang, Heft 2, Februar, 27-36

ABSTRACT: U.S. European policy under President Barack Obama is following essentially the same course set by previous administrations. Differences in individual points are motivated by a more diffuse global security situation on the



one hand and by economic constraints at home on the other. This leads to calls for a more even distribution of burdens among alliance partners. Another innovation was the “reset” in relations with Russia. The impression that emerged in some Central European countries at the outset of Obama’s tenure – namely that the United States has “turned away from Europe” – is incorrect. At a number of levels, the United States is still trying to cooperate with Europe and to ensure the continent’s security.

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**Mattlin Mikael**

**Dead on arrival: normative EU policy towards China**

in *Asia Europe Journal*, Volume 10, Numbers 2-3 / July , 181-198

The European Union’s (EU) normative roles in global politics have in recent years been a hotly debated topic. The EU promotes its political values outside of the Union, especially with regard to prospective accession countries and small developing countries. However, a normative foreign policy approach encounters considerable challenges when confronted with major powers, such as China and Russia that do not share the political values promoted by the EU. Attempts at pursuing a normative policy towards these countries often come across as halfhearted. This article discusses EU normative policy towards China. It identifies loss of the moral high ground, conflicting positions of EU members and lack of leverage as the three main factors hampering it. It needs to be recognised that these problems are fundamental and stem from the very nature of the EU itself. The article argues that instead of a halfhearted offensive normative approach towards China or ubiquitous dialogues with partners, the EU may be better off with a more determined policy of defensive normativity. This would entail being more insistent in upholding European values within our own community rather than seeking to export them outside of the Union, and favouring demand-driven cooperation. The choice stands between altering the self-image of the EU to make it better correspond to reality, or making reality live up to the self-image.

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**Vedovato Giuseppe**

**Dialoghi di Europa e Cina con le varie Afriche**

in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Volume 79, n. 1, gennaio-marzo , 97-105

No abstract available

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**Bénassy-Agnès Quéré, Fan He, Kawai Masahiro, KimTae Joon, Park Yung-Chul, Pisani-Ferry Jean, Vines David, Yongding Yu**

**Don't Let the Eurozone Crisis Go East**

in *Lettre du CEPII*, n. 318, January 2012 , 1-4

While the sovereign debt crisis continues worsening in the Euro area, European partners are still hesitating in offering





some help, considering that Europe must rely primary on its own resources and fix its failed governance. Still, this crisis constitutes a new, major risk for other countries, especially in Asia. Not only is Europe a large market that needs to be kept solvent, but Asian countries could have a stake in the survival of the euro that, for the next decade, is likely to provide the only credible complement to the US dollar as an international currency. Financial assistance would best be channelled through the International Monetary Fund in exchange for further reforms in the governance of the Fund. Additionally, Asian countries can contribute to solve the Euro area crisis by offering dynamic markets to European firms through faster rebalancing of Chinese growth and further opening up of local markets. This Lettre du CEPPII draws on the seventh meeting of the Asia-Europe Economic Forum held in Seoul on 9 December 2011.

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Castaldo Massimo

**Dopo la Primavera araba**

in **Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali**, Volume 79, n. 1, gennaio-marzo , 35-47

No abstract available

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Rodt Annemarie P., Whitman Richard G.

**EU-Brazil Relations: A Strategic Partnership?**

in **European Foreign Affairs Review**, vol. 17, issue 1 , 27-44

ABSTRACT: The global distribution of power is changing. Western dominance is declining, and new actors are entering the international stage. In response to the changing global context the European Union (EU) is seeking to further develop strategic partnerships to promote its interests and influence beyond Europe's borders. In 2007, the EU established a strategic partnership with Brazil. The purpose of this initiative was to strengthen the Union's ties with the country, which is becoming an increasingly important regional and international player. This article investigates the EU's relationship with Brazil since the end of the Cold War. In particular, it focuses on the nascent strategic partnership and its three priority areas for cooperation: enhancing bilateral relations, environmental sustainability and energy security. The article concludes that the strategic partnership lacks clearly defined purpose, direction and content. As a result, the Union's Brazil-related activities have been ad hoc rather than strategic so far. However, there may be room for joint leadership in mutual priority areas, if the EU and Brazil engage in a truly strategic partnership in the future.

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Wu Qianlan

**EU-China Competition Dialogue: A New Step in the Internationalisation of EU Competition Law?**

in **European law journal**, Vol 18 Issue 3 - May , 461-477

EU has been the protagonist in promoting the internationalization of competition laws based on EU competition law norms. The development of China's Antimonopoly Law shows that EU has succeeded so far in establishing itself as the



main reference point for China's competition regulation. The success can be mainly attributed to the EU-China Competition Dialogue (Dialogue), a new initiative set up by EU and China in 2004. The paper reviews the internationalization of EU competition law and its characteristics. It then examines the Dialogue and how EU exported its competition law norms to one of the latest AML secondary legislations on Antimonopoly Pricing. It argues that the Dialogue's informal nature, EU's routinized technical assistance to Chinese competition authorities and its China-oriented strategy in communication have been highly important in ensuring that the EU Competition Law becomes the main reference point for the AML. However, the paper argues that it is for the same reasons that EU faces weakness in controlling the reception of EU competition law norms by China. Based on this, the paper further illustrates that EU's understanding of competition law internationalization as reflected under the Dialogue has not undergone fundamental changes.

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**Bensassi Sami, Márquez-Ramos Laura, Martínez-Zarzoso Inmaculada**

**Economic Integration and the Two Margins of Trade: The Impact of the Barcelona Process on North African Countries' Exports**

in **Journal of African Economies**, Volume 21 Issue 2 March 2012 , 228-265

According to recently developed models of trade based on imperfect competition and heterogeneous firms, lower trade costs increase bilateral trade, not only through a rise in the mean value of individual shipments (the intensive margin of trade), but also through an increase in the number of exporting firms (the extensive margin of trade). The main aim of this paper is to provide new empirical evidence on the effects of the Euro-Mediterranean (EuroMed) agreements on both margins of trade. Using highly disaggregated export data for four North African countries (Algeria, Egypt, Morocco and Tunisia) over the 1995–2008 period, we estimate the impact of the EuroMed agreements on both trade margins, thus providing empirical evidence about the validity of theoretical predictions. Our results show that North African countries enjoyed significant positive returns from the Barcelona Process, through increased exports of manufactured products to the four most populated continental countries in the European Union.

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**Hernández Roberto Hernández**

**Economic Liberalization and Trade Relations between Mexico and China**

in **Journal of Current Chinese Affairs**, Vol 41, No 1

This paper analyses the commercial relationship between Mexico and China in the context of the liberalization policies enacted by both countries. The policies were developed in the framework of economic globalization and worldwide strategic military power, starting from the end of the Cold War. Against this backdrop, the paper analyses the current trade relations between China and Mexico. The text emphasizes the public policy of both countries, presenting similarities and asymmetries along with the results of their commercial policies and specific business practices.



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Johannes F. Linn

**First Eurasia Emerging Markets Forum 'Connecting Central Asia with the World'**  
in *Global Journal of Emerging Market Economies*, volume 1 n.2 , 241-258

Eurasia, along with Africa, is the last big frontier of global integration. While the last two centuries were marked by rapid economic integration across the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, there is still need for a catch-up across the vast continental space encompassing Europe and Asia (Eurasia). Central Asia is centrally located in this super-continent. Its development will be one of the critical factors for the effective integration of Eurasia. At the same time, Eurasian economic integration represents a major opportunity for Central Asia, as it moves from being a land-locked region far from markets to one positioned at the core of a dynamic and rapidly connecting economic space with access to the major new markets and sources of finance, knowledge and power in the world.

The article explores six issues: (i) How severe is the current global financial and economic crisis and its impact on Central Asia? (ii) What are the implications of the Eurasian economic integration process? (iii) What are Central Asia's need and potential for economic integration and cooperation? (iv) How to reap maximum benefits from Central Asia's energy and water resources for the countries in the region? (v) How to facilitate trade and transit within the region and with the major neighbours? And, what can be done to improve the private business climate in Central Asia?

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Aybet Gülnur, Bieber Florian

**From Dayton to Brussels: The Impact of EU and NATO Conditionality on State Building in Bosnia & Hercegovina**

in *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 63, n. 10, Special Issue: Unconditional Conditionality? The Impact of EU Conditionality in the Western , 1911-1937

No abstract available

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Agramont Daniel, Aliaga Lordemann Javier

**Ganancias potenciales para Bolivia de la suscripción de un acuerdo con la Unión Europea**

in *Latin American Journal of Economic Development*, No. 14, Noviembre 2010

The liberalization trading has become a really important factor to determine both, the economic growth and the level of poverty in a country. It can be observed that in developed countries, international trading is essential, while in most of the developing countries do not get the same benefits. Although commercial openness could not raise the economic welfare in the same proportion in all of the countries where it was applied, it is still a model used in order to achieve development.



The following paper looks for determining, theoretically and empirically, the impacts of an Association Agreement with the European Union over the economy in general and the poverty levels. Then, a specific case is used, when talking about the impacts on the exports of quinoa and the benefits that the raise in the exports of this product can bring to the rural communities that produce it. The paper concludes that the only way to get the benefits of the Association Agreement with the European Union is to diversify the products that Bolivia exports and use more modern technology that can give the products a higher aggregate value.

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Chaban Natalia

**Image-ing the EU as an International Leader: A Survey of Asian Newsmakers' Perceptions from a Public Diplomacy Perspective**

in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 17, issue 1 , 69-92

ABSTRACT: With the implementation of the Lisbon Treaty and the launch of the European External Action Service, the European Union (EU) has embarked on a new phase of international diplomacy, which includes renewed attention to EU public diplomacy (PD) efforts. This article aims to contribute to EU PD scholarship and practice by studying the images and perceptions of the EU among news media professionals in Asia (findings from twelve Asian locations in the north-east, south, and south-east of the continent). A systematic analysis of the newsmakers' perceptions of the EU is doubly beneficial - firstly, it displays an insight into the world view of a powerful cohort of stakeholders in the region, and secondly, it explores the visions and attitudes that may stand behind choices in EU news selection and news writing. Findings of this survey of EU external images are discussed using basic typology of PD and its category of listening in particular.

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Locatelli Catherine

**Interdépendances et conflictualités russo-européennes en matière de gaz naturel**

in *Revue internationale et stratégique*, 2011/4 (n° 84) , 95-103

La Russie, dont la compagnie Gazprom détient le monopole d'exportation de gaz naturel, est un fournisseur majeur de l'Union européenne (UE). De la même manière, l'Europe est le marché d'exportation privilégié de la Russie. En dépit de ces intérêts convergents, les relations entre les deux partenaires s'avèrent depuis le début des années 2000 extrêmement conflictuelles, largement...

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Jokela Juha, Gaens Bart

**Interregional relations and legitimacy in global governance: the EU in ASEM**

in *Asia Europe Journal*, Volume 10, Numbers 2-3 / July , 145-164

This article explores the ramifications of the European Union's (EU) internal legitimacy debate for its external relations. It applies the Asia–Europe Meeting (ASEM) as a case study to examine the EU's attempts to promote legitimacy in global governance, more specifically in interregional institutions. The article's theoretical framework draws from the EU's legitimacy debate. It identifies three key sources of legitimacy, namely, (i) input legitimacy or democratic control and accountability, (ii) output legitimacy or performance and achievement of core purposes, and (iii) the degree of common identity as externalised through collective representation and the articulation of shared norms and values. The empirical analysis thereafter leads to three observations. First, the EU's presence has contributed to an increased democratic involvement by ASEM's different stakeholders including parliaments and civil society. Second, purely from an institutional legitimacy perspective ASEM achieves its purpose as a forum to 'constructively engage' with Asian countries and address issues relating to global governance. Third, ASEM reveals the EU's dual identity as an intergovernmental grouping and an organisation with a gradually increasing capacity of collective representation. However, the advancement of the EU's normative objectives through ASEM has been problematic, leading to a more interest-based and pragmatic policy path. The article concludes that the EU's legitimacy debate has had a bearing on relations with Asia and, in particular, with ASEM. Importantly, and given the EU's setbacks, some elements of the 'EU's way' have proven successful in promoting democratic notions of legitimacy beyond the state.

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Meidad Kissinger, William E. Rees, Vanessa Timmer

**Interregional sustainability: governance and policy in an ecologically interdependent world**

in *Environmental Science & Policy* , Vol. 14, n°8 , 965-976

This paper develops a theoretical interregional approach to sustainability in an interconnected world. We make the case that achieving sustainability – living equitably within the limits of living systems – requires the recognition of our ecological interdependence and interconnectedness across regions and the resultant need for supra-regional policy to shape local resilience and global sustainability. Approaching sustainability conscious of interregional connections reveals that: (1) virtually every significant human population or country lives, in part, on energy/material flows to and from distant places elsewhere around the world, (2) production, consumption and policy decisions in any given locale have the potential to create unseen unsustainable burdens on connected productive ecosystems in distant locales, (3) ecological change in one region has the potential to jeopardize the sustainability of other regions, and (4) society in almost any region has interests in sustaining the vitality of ecosystems in other regions. We highlight a range of supra-regional ecological linkages and discuss the types of interregional feedback and policy responses needed. We highlight how such a quasi-global focus not only provides further insight into the social and ecological challenges global society is facing, but also reveals places for positive human intervention and leadership in the name of sustainability and resilience.

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Ravenel Bernard

**L'alternative méditerranéenne à la spirale du krach**

in *Confluences Méditerranée*, n. 80 , 133-141

Les politiques imposées par la troïka (FMI, UE et BCE) détruisent la société grecque et aggravent les problèmes économiques et sociaux des pays de l'Europe du Sud. Même si ces politiques seront appliquées, la dette ne sera pas soutenable. La Grèce semble devenir un laboratoire où seraient expérimentées des politiques qui seraient appliquées dans d'autres pays. En tout état de cause, l'écroulement possible ou probable de l'économie grecque risque d'alimenter un climat négatif dans le reste de l'Europe. Une spirale de krach semble s'installer en Europe. Cette situation ne peut être découplée de ce qui se passe sur la rive Sud de la Méditerranée et qui renvoie à la politique méditerranéenne de l'Union européenne et à ses responsabilités dans sa politique de constitution d'une zone de libre échange dans le bassin méditerranéen. Si l'Europe ne veut pas être marginalisée, elle doit contribuer à la construction, avec les peuples arabes, d'une sorte de méso-région méditerranéenne entamant une politique commune de dé-globalisation qui lui permette de s'assurer la « souveraineté » dans des secteurs stratégiques pour la survie des sociétés concernées... Même si l'Allemagne hésitera... Tout ceci se passe dans un contexte de transformation du statut international de plusieurs grandes puissances et de confrontation monétaire impliquant l'euro, le dollar, le yuan, le yen et la nouvelle valeur unifiée des pays du Golfe.

PLAN DE L'ARTICLE

L'échec complet de l'UE et l'hégémonie de l'Allemagne  
L'UE n'est plus un pôle d'attraction pour le Sud méditerranéen  
La fin sans gloire du projet euro- méditerranéen  
L'UE a voulu coopter « ses » Arabes  
Une nécessaire alternative pour l'Europe et la Méditerranée

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Boutayeb Chahira

**Les nouveaux axes de la politique européenne de voisinage face au printemps arabe - Conditionnalité et différenciation**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 557, avril , 270-280

The democratic and political process underway in the Mediterranean since early 2011 cannot go unnoticed by the Union as such sudden regime changes result in significant consequences for Europe, due to the immediate geostrategic situation of the countries in transition. The relationship between the Union and the Mediterranean states has deeply changed in the past years, both in terms of objectives and action methods. Its main leverage means were two tools: the Barcelona process and the Union for the Mediterranean, this second tool being more in the framework of a regional integration perspectives that refers to another previous and more extensive tool, the European neighbourhood policy, set up in 2003-2004 to redefine and supervise the relationships between the Union and adjacent countries. In the aftermath of the Arab revolutions, the ENP now has to find a booster, and be revised in its approach to the many transitions that Arab countries are going through. Thus the Arab spring splits the history of the Euro-mediterranean relationship in two phases, the phase of paradox (I), a period that elapsed and prevailed until the Arab awakening, and





that featured a multiple-form partnership, mainly of a business nature, and secondly, in a new era since the Mediterranean awakening, the phase of rupture (II), which sets two main requirements as principles, conditionality and differentiation, which principles are yet familiar with Union law. Now, they will have a more central place in the definition and implementation of the partnership towards the Mediterranean shore.

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Valerio Bosco

**L'ONU tra Unione africana e Lega araba**

in **CeMiSS - Osservatorio Strategico e Quarterly**, Anno XIV numero 1 gennaio , 91-100

Le prime settimane del 2012 sono state segnate da importanti sviluppi sul tema delle relazioni tra Nazioni Unite e due organizzazioni regionali, l'Unione Africana (UA) e la Lega Araba (LA). In relazione al dibattito del 12 gennaio sulla partnership tra ONU e Unione Africana e, in particolare, tra CdS e Consiglio di pace e sicurezza dell'UA (CPS-UA), è indubbiamente emersa la volontà degli Stati membri di ricucire i dissensi legati all'interpretazione della risoluzione 1973 sulla Libia e di rilanciare altresì la cooperazione tra le due organizzazioni su una serie di dossiers sensibili. A pochi mesi dal deadlock verificatosi il 4 ottobre 2011, il nuovo veto cinese e russo sul più recente progetto di risoluzione sulla Siria presentato dai Paesi occidentali d'intesa con la Lega Araba, oltre a confermare la paralisi del palazzo di vetro sul capitolo più cruento dell'Arab Spring, sembra aver invece gettato qualche ombra sulle capacità dell'organizzazione araba di porsi come partner efficace e credibile delle Nazioni Unite nel promuovere il mantenimento della pace e della sicurezza nella regione mediorientale.

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Gromyko Alexey

**Only closer EU-Russia links can halt Europe's global decline**

in **Europe's World**, Issue 21, Summer

Russia shares many of the challenges and interests of the EU and its member states, says Alexey Gromyko, yet



progress towards a closer and improved relationship is painfully slow. He warns that unless a new partnership is forged, both sides will lose out to the emerging powers across the world.

[http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home\\_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/22004/language/en-US/Default.aspx](http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/22004/language/en-US/Default.aspx)

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**Boccaro Paul**

**Pour une autre construction euro-méditerranéenne  
in Pensée (La), n. 369, Janvier-mars 2012**

À la suite de la chute des dictatures en Tunisie, en Égypte et du choc au sud de la Méditerranée, la question est soulevée d'une autre construction euro-méditerranéenne. Deux orientations opposées sont possibles, soit une démocratisation pour un co-développement, soit une domination financière néo-libérale renouvelée qui l'emporte actuellement. Un progrès social éventuel se relie à une autre utilisation de la Banque centrale européenne.

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**Van Hoeymissen Sara**

**Regional Organizations in China's Security Strategy for Africa: The Sense of Supporting "African Solutions to African Problems"**

**in Journal of Current Chinese Affairs, Vol 40, No 4**

African regional organizations play a significant role in maintaining peace and security on their continent. This article looks at how China, as an emerging power in Africa, has incorporated these organizations into its policies on African security crises. It asserts that China has explicitly endorsed regional conflict resolution mechanisms, which it perceives as having a less intrusive impact on third world countries' sovereignty than have initiatives taken under the global collective security system led by the UN Security Council. Moreover, China strengthening cooperation with African regional organizations and aligning its stance with the views emerging from these regional bodies is an important way in which China has tried to respond to the rising security challenges and political demands it is faced with in Africa. The article briefly considers what influence China's increased attention to African regional bodies is having on efforts by Africa's traditional donors to help build – but also shape – Africa's emerging peace and security architecture.

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**Hornig, Der-Chin**

**Reshaping the EUs FTA Policy in a Globalizing Economy: The Case of the EU-Korea FTA  
in Journal of World Trade, volume 46 n.2 , 301-326**



On 3 October 2006, the European Union (EU) initiated a new generation Free Trade Agreement (FTA) policy in Global Europe: Competing in the World. Market potential and protection level were set out as the key economic criteria for new FTA partners. Based on these criteria, South Korea emerges as one of the EU's priorities. The EU-Korea FTA, signed on 6 October 2010, is the first of a new generation of FTAs. The Agreement is very comprehensive with regard to trade liberalization in a number of fields, including services, investment, competition, enforcement of intellectual property rights (IPRs), government procurement, sustainable development, cultural cooperation, and so on. Many of these policy areas are still not well regulated by the World Trade Organization (WTO). Under the Lisbon Treaty, EU trade policy shall be conducted in the context of the principles and objectives of EU foreign policy. Leveraging trade and foreign policy is expected to strengthen the EU's position in negotiating new FTAs. This article takes the EU-Korea FTA as a case study to examine the following core issues: the historical background of the EU's trade policy, legal basis and decision-making procedure of the new generation FTA, the main contents and special features of the EU-Korea FTA, and the impacts of the EU-Korea FTA on the WTO and third countries. For the future development of EU's FTA policy, this article also proposes an open regionalism approach to make the FTA compatible with the WTO.

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McKercher Asa

**Southern Exposure: Diefenbaker, Latin America, and the Organization of American States**  
in *Canadian Historical Review (The)*, Volume 93, Number 1, March , 57-80

For the first four years of his premiership, Canadian Prime Minister John Diefenbaker took an immense interest in Canada's relations with Latin America. Diefenbaker and his two foreign ministers, Sidney Smith and Howard Green, actively expanded Canadian links to the region and flirted with joining the Organization of American States. In turn, many Latin American political leaders welcomed Ottawa's focus on their region. However, us President John F. Kennedy's own interest in an expanded role for Canada in the Western hemisphere alarmed many Canadians, including the prime minister. This article examines the Canadian government's formulation of Latin American policy and analyzes the interplay between foreign and domestic policy on this question.

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Nocera Raffaele

**Stati Uniti e America Latina dopo l'89**

in *Ventunesimo Secolo. Rivista di Studi sulle Transizioni*, Anno XI, n. 27, "L'America Latina dopo la guerra fredda (1989-2009)", febbraio

This essay analyses the evolution of the relationship between the U.S. and Central and Latin American countries after the Cold War. The focus is on the policies developed by the White House – from the presidency of George H.W. Bush to that of Barack Obama – in order to maintain its position as «leading country» on the continent. Particular attention is given to the fact that, with the end of the conflict, the relationship between the U.S. and the other countries entered a new phase which brought about the gradual downsizing of U.S. supremacy, the subsequent rise of subregional actors and the penetration of extra-continental actors.

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Delputte Sarah

**The ACP-EU Joint Parliamentary Assembly Seen by its Members: Empowering the Voice of People's Representatives?**

in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 17, issue 2 , 241-260

ABSTRACT: This article examines the role of the European Union's (EU) Joint Parliamentary Assembly (JPA) with the Africa-Caribbean-Pacific (ACP) group of states. Bringing together 105 countries from four different continents and characterized by a more than forty-five-year long continuity and a high degree of institutionalization, the JPA is a unique institution in the EU's network of inter-parliamentary diplomacy. Despite its increased importance in the past decade, the role of the JPA remains understudied in academic literature. The analytical framework for examining this role consists of two parts. While the first part is based on a document analysis and expert interviews, the second part investigates the JPA members' own role conceptions by means of semi-structured interviews with delegates from the European Parliament and national ACP parliaments. We argue that the role of the JPA is (1) to advocate the empowerment of the ACP national parliaments, (2) to socialize parliamentarians towards a democratic culture, and (3) to monitor the implementation of the Cotonou agreement. The conclusion reads that, while the role of the JPA has been strongly extended, there are some serious endogenous and exogenous problems that have a major impact on its activities and its influence.

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Santini Ruth Hanau

**The Arab Spring and Europaralysis in the Levant and the Gulf**

in *Swiss Political Science Review - Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft - Revue suisse de science politique*, Volume 18, Issue 1, March 2012 , 120-123

Europe has never had a comprehensive approach towards the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) and the Arab Awakening has not significantly altered the calculations behind the existing policy fragmentation.

Despite framing political and economic relations with MENA through collective diplomatic frameworks, either multilateral (such as the 1995 Barcelona process) or bilateral (as the European Neighbourhood Policy), the Union has never developed a fully-fledged strategy of engagement with the region, but it has fostered partially complementary and partially mutually exclusive policy goals (such as the simultaneous promotion of democracy and security).

The lack of a comprehensive vision is a consequence of at least three factors: the persistence of political and economic post-colonial interests by many big European states, the weakness of the European External Actions Service, -still not fully operational and under-staffed- and the lack of leadership at the European level able to offer strategies if not grand visions of what Europe could and should become for its neighbourhood, and viceversa.

Europe has dealt with the MENA region tacitly endorsing a threefold sub-regional division between North Africa, the Levant and the Gulf, without however clearly spelling out the different goals and rationales of its actions and inactions...

The full text is free:



<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1662-6370.2012.02059.x/full>

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Fraser Malcom

**The Contemporary Commonwealth**

in *Round Table (The): the Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs*, volume 101, Issue 1 , 71-79

No abstract available

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Men Jing

**The EU and China: mismatched partners?**

in *Journal of Contemporary China*, Volume 21, Issue 74 , 333-349

Why does the EU–China partnership encounter so many problems? What are the causes of these problems? Can they be overcome? What kind of partners are the EU and China? Can the partnership be maintained despite the increasing problems? To answer these questions, the paper will first look at the differences between the EU and China in terms of history, economic development levels, their nation-building trajectories, and their understandings on some key concepts such as sovereignty. In the second section, the paper will then study their strategic visions, economic and trade cooperation, and climate change policies. It will then analyze the challenges in EU–China relations. While there is no doubt that both sides wish for stable bilateral cooperation, the different interests in many areas may interrupt development in one way or another. It is not easy for a genuine partnership to be established between the two.

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Hurt, Stephen R

**The EUSADC Economic Partnership Agreement Negotiations: locking in the neoliberal development model in southern Africa?**

in *Third World Quarterly*, volume 33 n.3 , 495-510

This article focuses on the negotiation of Economic Partnership Agreements (epas) which form the central focus of the commitments made in the Cotonou Agreement, signed in 2000 by the European Union and the African, Caribbean and Pacific (acp) states. epas are part of a much wider trend witnessed since the creation of the World Trade Organization (wto), characterised by the proliferation of bilateral free trade agreements. The article argues that both the material and ideational interests of the EU need to be considered alongside the historical context of EUacp relations. The EU is making a concerted effort to lock in neoliberalism across the seven different sub-regions of the acp group by negotiating epas that include both reciprocal trade liberalisation and various trade-related issues. In this way epas will go beyond the requirements for wto compatibility, resulting in a reduction of the policy space for acp states to pursue alternative development strategies. The article then considers the potential developmental impact of epas with reference to the negotiations with seven of the 15 member states of the Southern African Development Community (sadc). It is argued



that the EU is promoting open regionalism, which poses a threat to the coherence of the regional project in southern Africa.

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MacKanzie Alex, Servent Ardiana Ripoll

**The European Parliament as a 'Norm Taker'? EU-US Relations after the SWIFT Agreement**  
in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 17, issue 1, 71-86

ABSTRACT: EU-US relations in internal security demonstrated a tendency to be turbulent. As a result, EU-US cooperation has not evolved into a partnership but into an asymmetrical relationship within which the EU has become a 'norm taker' - a recipient of US security norms. With this perspective in mind, it is time to take stock of the changes in the institutional configuration of the EU brought about by the Lisbon Treaty. In particular, the European Parliament (EP), often a vocal critic of the transfer of US security norms to the EU in the past, has been empowered to consent to international agreements. We therefore examine whether the EU remains a recipient of US security norms after Lisbon through the first case of its kind: the EU-US (SWIFT) Agreement. By rejecting the first of the two agreements, the EP generally acted contrary to the preferences of the Council and United States, who were mostly in favour of the agreement. Despite this opposition, the EP gained few concessions from the United States and Council in the second round of negotiations for a permanent SWIFT Agreement, with their emphasis on security trumping most of the EP's data protection concerns. In sum, the use of theories on norm internalization allows us to conclude that, after Lisbon, the EP has abandoned its previous critical stances and is now becoming a new 'norm taker' within the EU-US relationship.

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Hengari Alfredo Tjiurimo

**The European Union and global emerging powers in Africa: Containment, competition or cooperation?**  
in *South African Journal of International Affairs*, vol. 19, issue 1, 1-24

ABSTRACT: The past decade witnessed the intensification of the commercial and political activities of emerging powers in Africa. These activities are analysed in terms of their impact on Africa, but also how they have potentially displaced the European Union and its leading member states as the key policy interlocutors in Africa. In many domains, the EU and its member states have now been normalised to strategic partners among other strategic partners. This has not been without implications for EU policymaking in Africa. This paper claims that the complexity and multifaceted nature of interaction between the European Union and emerging powers, notably China, in trilateral cooperation in Africa suggest that these actors have mutually accepted cooperation in Africa as a necessary end to be pursued. They have as a result of their respective presence and engagement in Africa modified their policies. While cooperation is a stated end, China is seen not only as a driver of certain EU objectives, including development, but it is perceived as a brake on the codification of certain EU norms such as democracy and human rights. Similarly, the willingness of China to pursue and deepen trilateral cooperation in Africa does not appear to be an urgent policy priority. Thus, this paper contends that in addition to an understanding of trilateral cooperation, a study of individual bilateral strategies and policy adaptation sheds more light through which relations between these actors should be analysed. In the main, the paper seeks to go beyond zero-sum analyses by arguing the relationship between the EU and emerging powers, particularly China, as deserving more nuanced and fuller analyses than it currently receives, in order to understand the impact on EU





policymaking on Africa.

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Ruiz-Chiriboga Oswaldo

**The Independence of the Inter-American Judge**

**in Law and Practice of International Courts and Tribunals (The)**, vol. 11, n. 1 , 111-135

ABSTRACT: This article describes and analyzes several safeguards of the independence of the Inter-American judge. It concludes that the system enshrined in the American Convention on Human Rights, the Statute of the Inter-American Court of Human Rights and the Court's practice are not enough to guarantee the appearance of independence of the Court's judges. The major problem is the process of nomination and election of judges. At both national and international levels the process is not clear, transparent, or accountable. Women and ethnic and cultural groups are underrepresented. Judges' terms of office and the re-election possibilities should be revised. Lastly, some guidelines should be adopted in order to regulate judges' outside activities, incompatibilities, and disqualifications. All these issues should be addressed by the Organization of American States, States Parties to the Convention, and the Court itself, and this article gives some recommendations in this respect.

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*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Laura Gómez-Mera, Beverly Barrett

**The Political Economy of Preferential Trade Agreements: Latin America and Beyond**

**in Latin American Politics & Society**, volume 54 n.1 , 183-196

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Gonzalez-Vicente Ruben

**The Political Economy of Sino-Peruvian Relations: A New Dependency?**

**in Journal of Current Chinese Affairs**, Vol 41, No 1

This article reviews dependency postulates and examines whether they are applicable to explain the political economy of China's contemporary relations with Peru. It argues that the dichotomy between Peru as a commodity-providing periphery and China as a core manufacturing centre is insufficient to explain the ways in which power is embedded in the international economic system, and particularly inadequate to identify winners and losers in the international division of labour. Thereby, in line with some recent international political economy discussions of power, the article proposes that China should not be understood as a self-contained economic entity, but as a hub where natural resources are mobilized for transnational production. Furthermore, contending that a focus on nation-states fails to capture the



complexity of (under)-development dynamics, it suggests that notions of internal colonialism, flexible sovereignties and postcolonial analyses of representation provide fresher perspectives from which to understand the distribution of power along the political economy of Sino-Peruvian relations.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

**Boserup Rasmus Alenius, Tassinari Fabrizio**

**The Return of Arab Politics and Europe's Chance to Engage Anew  
in Mediterranean Politics**, Volume 17, Issue 1, March , 97-103

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

**Hsieh, Pasha L.**

**The Roadmap for a Prospective US-ASEAN FTA: Legal and Geopolitical Considerations  
in Journal of World Trade**, volume 46 n.2 , 367-396

This article examines the legal framework governing economic relations between the United States and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and outlines a roadmap for a US-ASEAN Free Trade Agreement (FTA). Notwithstanding ASEAN's emerging centrality in Asian regionalism, America remains the only Pacific power that has not concluded any form of FTA with ASEAN. This article explains that limited progress in Washington's efforts stemmed from the domestic politics of the US Trade and Investment Framework Agreement (TIFA) approach and the Myanmar dilemma. It further analyses the challenges that the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) Agreement negotiations have encountered and contends that the TPP cannot be a substitute for a US-ASEAN FTA. Finally, a 'Plan B' roadmap to reinvigorate US-ASEAN trade ties is proposed. This roadmap calls for an enhanced TIFA that incorporates the building block features of ASEAN's framework agreements, thereby laying a solid yet gradual foundation for an FTA. This research therefore provides a valuable study of a region-based FTA under the multilateral trading system.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

**Farnell John**

**Time for a reality check on EU-China economic relations  
in Europe's World**, Issue 21, Summer

China isn't the unstoppable economic superpower that many in Europe fear, says John Farnell. And its dynamism could also be of great benefit to EU countries.

[http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home\\_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/22003/language/en-US/Default.aspx](http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/22003/language/en-US/Default.aspx)



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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Chan-Hyun Sohn, Hongshik Lee

**Trade Structure, FTAs, and Economic Growth**

*in Review of Development Economics*, Volume 14, Issue 3 , 683–698

What is the relationship between trade and economic growth? Does trade positively affect economic growth? Owing to the ambiguity of this relationship, the empirical relationship has remained open (Rodriguez and Rodrik, 2001; Baldwin, 2003). This paper introduces “trade structure” variables, borrowed from the paper of Lederman and Maloney (2003), and applies them to the relationship. A dynamic panel estimation for the data of 66 countries during 1991–2004 is used to verify the validity and robustness of the relationship. Trade structure variables show strong evidence of positive effects on growth. Free-trade agreements/areas (FTAs) also enhance economic growth. East Asia shows a different relationship between trade and growth than the world and reflects a weaker role of FTAs in its growth.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Puig Gonzago Villalta

**Trade and Investment Relations between the European Union and Australia: For a Bilateral Economic Integration Agreement'**

*in European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 17, issue 2 , 213-239

**ABSTRACT:** The European Union (EU) is Australia's largest economic partner. It has been so for more than twenty-five years. Yet, the EU remains the only major trading and investment partner with which Australia does not have an Economic Integration Agreement, either in force or under negotiation. This article analyses the legal and policy issues that affect their trade and investment relations.

Despite the existence of an EU-Australia Partnership Framework, a declaration in the process of revision into an agreement, the article considers that attention diversion from larger trading and investment partners, for the EU, and opposition to the distortive effects of the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP), for Australia, are the two main reasons for the low priority that each party attaches to bilateral trade and investment liberalization with the other. Nonetheless, an Economic Integration Agreement is, it argues, a mutually beneficial strategy: there remain duties and other restrictive regulations of commerce on trade between the EU and Australia that are amenable to bilateral elimination in the interest of further trade creation without the subsequent potential for any significant trade diversion.

This article, aware of the difficulty of compromise over agriculture, makes a flexible and pragmatic call for a bilateral agreement on trade in services and trade-related investment measures. Services trade and investment are not sensitive areas for either party and an agreement to facilitate them would duly recognize the EU as Australia's largest partner for trade in services and its largest source and destination of foreign direct investment. It concludes that barrier reductions, if not their elimination altogether, in these two non-sensitive areas are likely to make up a significant proportion of the likely benefits of a comprehensive agreement. Their delay (or even loss) might outweigh the possible benefits from barrier reductions to sensitive sectors. Agriculture and other sensitive sectors that require further negotiation over a longer period of time could be the subject of built-in agendas.



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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

**Kopi&#324;ski Dominik**

**Visegrad Countries' Development Aid to Africa: Beyond the Rhetoric**

**in Perspectives on European Politics and Society**, vol. 13, n. 1, Special Issue: From Aid Recipients to Aid Donors?:

Development Policies of Central and Eastern European States , 33-49

The Visegrad Countries (the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia, also called the V4) have formally agreed to gradually shift the focus of their development policy and aid allocation to Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA). Yet, contrary to their official rhetoric, African countries continue to find low priority in aid policies. Development cooperation policy in the V4 is largely focused on the close neighbourhood and current political and business stakes triumph over the 'needs and merits' logic of aid allocation. The V4 policy also runs counter to the various international obligations for which the countries have signed up. Officially, a number of African states are classified as priority countries, but in practice, they serve merely as fig leaves masking a true disinterest. This article demonstrates that in most cases, the official message coming from the governments significantly diverges from reality. It also shows that many arguments traditionally used to explain the marginal position of SSA do not hold any longer and the current stance towards African countries is more the result of a lack of strategic vision and ad hoc formulation of foreign policy.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

**Kennedy Peter**

**Whither Brussels? Peter Kennedy reflects on the European Union-New Zealand relationship**

**in New Zealand International Review**, March 2012

New Zealand and Europe have a longstanding and many-faceted relationship--political, economic and cultural. Apart from the dreadful cost to New Zealand of participation in two world wars that originated in Europe, the continent was the focus of New Zealand's economic diplomacy for many years, as it sought to protect itself from the impact of Britain's entry to the European Union. Today, Europe remains vitally important to New Zealand's economy, despite much diversification of its trade in the last 40 years. New Zealand is also closely tied to Europe in its involvement in the Afghanistan War, not least in police training projects in Bamyan province.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

**Majumdar Margaret A.**

**'Une Francophonie à l'offensive'? Recent Developments in Francophonie**

**in Modern and Contemporary France**, Volume 20, Issue 1, February , 1-20

This article traces recent developments in Francophonie in the light of the establishment of the Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie and a new institutional framework, examining how these may have changed the Francophone discourse and the nature and focus of its institutions and programmes. It also considers whether what was primarily an ideology has evolved to something more practical. It then analyses shifts in France's approach to



Francophonie in the context of the Sarkozy presidency, before briefly summarising some of the strengths and weaknesses that could impinge on its future development.

Cet article trace l'évolution de la Francophonie dans le contexte de la création de l'Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie et de l'établissement de ses nouvelles structures. Il examine les effets de ces changements sur le discours francophone et sur la nature et les objectifs de ses institutions et programmes. Ensuite, il considère si la Francophonie, qui à ses débuts était surtout un discours idéologique, s'est transformée en vecteur d'une action plus pratique et effective. Plus spécifiquement, il analyse la nouvelle approche de la France envers la Francophonie sous la présidence de Sarkozy, avant de résumer brièvement les forces et faiblesses qui pourraient influencer son évolution ultérieure.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 1. Federalism*

Rossi Marcello

**Federalismo, regionalismo o autonomie locali?**

in **Il Ponte**, Numero 2-3 - Febbraio-Marzo 2012

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 1. Federalism*

Weymans Wim, Hetzel Andreas

**From substantive to negative universalism: Lefort and Habermas on legitimacy in democratic societies**

in **Thesis Eleven**, vol. 108, n. 1, February , 26-43

This article shows how Jürgen Habermas and Claude Lefort try to explain the relationship between universality and particularity in modern democratic societies, politics and civil society. It will demonstrate that Habermas defends a substantive kind of universality that is opposed to particular positions and thus to real politics. This article further argues that Lefort's lesser known theory of negative universality is better at combining a universal and a particular perspective. It claims that where Habermas requires citizens to transform their particular interests, Lefort emphasizes that individual actors should acknowledge their particular position and interests when invoking universal principles. The article further argues that their disagreement leads to a different interpretation of ideology, politics, power, civil society, human rights, popular sovereignty, elections and the state.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 1. Federalism*

Masini Fabio

**Il federalismo come principio giuridico-costituzionale**

in **Il Ponte**, Numero 2-3 - Febbraio-Marzo 2012

No abstract available



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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 1.Federalism*

Levi Lucio

**La crisi del paradigma realistico e il paradigma federalistico**

in **Il Ponte**, Numero 2-3 - Febbraio-Marzo 2012

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 1.Federalism*

Vitale Marco

**La prospettiva del federalismo democratico: spunti da due letture**

in **Il Ponte**, Numero 2-3 - Febbraio-Marzo 2012

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 1.Federalism*

Cagiano De Azevedo Raimondo, Vaccaro Mauro

**Personalismo e federalismo integrale: l'esperienza francese**

in **Il Ponte**, Numero 2-3 - Febbraio-Marzo 2012

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 1.Federalism*

Lachapelle, Erick - Borick, Christopher P. - Rabe, Barry

**Public Attitudes toward Climate Science and Climate Policy in Federal Systems: Canada and the United States Compared**

in **Review of Policy Research** , volume 29 n.3 , 334-357

Multilevel governance poses several challenges for the politics of climate change. On the one hand, the unequal distribution of power and interests can serve as a barrier to implementing coherent policy at a federal level. On the other, these features also enable policy leadership among sub-federal units. In the context of wide variation in climate policy at both national and sub-federal levels in Canada and in the United States, this paper utilizes an original data set to examine public attitudes and perceptions toward climate science and climate change policy in two federal systems. Drawing on national and provincial/state level data from telephone surveys administered in the United States and in Canada, the paper provides insight into where the public stands on the climate change issue in two of the most carbon-intensive federal systems in the world. The paper includes the first directly comparable public opinion data on how Canadians and Americans form their opinions regarding climate matters and provides insight into the





preferences of these two populations regarding climate policies at both the national and sub#8208;federal levels. Key findings are examined in the context of growing policy experiments at the sub#8208;federal level in both countries and limited national level progress in the adoption of climate change legislation.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 1. Federalism*

Castaldi Roberto

**Un'agenda di ricerca sui temi del federalismo**

in *Il Ponte*, Numero 2-3 - Febbraio-Marzo 2012

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 1. Federalism*

Vanin Erminio

**'Appunti sul federalismo'. Il federalismo in Germania**

in *Diritto della regione (il)*, ed. 2 - ottobre 2011

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Dal Lago Enrico

**La Guerra Civile americana, il Risorgimento italiano e i nazionalismi europei dell'Ottocento: histoire croisée e histoire comparée**

in *Giornale di storia costituzionale*, n. 22, 2/2011

Recently, there has been a growing interest by American historians toward the historiography of European nationalisms, with a view to relating the American Civil War (1861-1865) to the wider context of nineteenth-century nation-building. In exploring the possibilities of such a connection, it is useful to refer to two particular research methods in the "transnational" analysis of historical phenomena in Europe and America: *histoire croisée* – or "entangled history", centred upon the investigation of links and contacts – and *histoire comparée* – or "comparative history", focused on the study of similarities and differences.

In relating both the causes of the American Civil War and the war to nineteenth-century nationalisms, we can start from the acknowledgement that the North-American restructuring following a warfare of continental scale led to the new foundation of a national American state based upon principles and ideals analogous – and therefore suitable to an investigation through the *histoire croisée* method – to those of contemporary European nations, and thus comparable to them through the use of the *histoire comparée*. With particular reference to Italy in the age of Risorgimento,



we can see, for example, how, among American Abolitionists and Italian Democrats, William Lloyd Garrison and Giuseppe Mazzini had a lot in common in terms of ideals; also in the past, historians had already noted a certain ideological affinity between Abraham Lincoln's Republican Party and Camillo Cavour's Moderate Liberals. All in all, the American Civil War represented a crucial episode in the phenomenon concerning the advancing of liberal and democratic nationalisms, which shook the western world, Europe and Italy, between 1848 and 1870; thus, the Civil War was an event whose significance in political terms can only be defined by using the adjective "global".

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

**Dembinska Magdalena**

**(Re)framing identity claims: European and state institutions as opportunity windows for group reinforcement in Nations and Nationalism**, Volume 18, Issue 3, July 2012 , 417-438

Abstract

How do we account for the reinforcement of identity particularisms despite transnational integration? This paper addresses the question by comparing two ethnolinguistic groups, Silesians and Kashubs in Poland. It is argued that in order to obtain state protection and tools to develop and survive, ethnic entrepreneurs adjust to institutions and discourses. Census politics, state laws' elaboration, transnational institutions represent openings to which groups adjust by reframing identity claims. In doing so, they re-imagine and reinforce their communities. Following Rogers Brubaker, group-making is presented as an eventful process where ethnic elites invest identity categories with groupness by taking advantage of opportunity windows at hand. Further, tracing changing political opportunities, strategic adjustments and groups' boomerang effect bid, the paper embeds identity groups within the social movement literature.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

**Lachen T. Chernyha and Steven L. Burg**

**Accounting for the Effects of Identity on Political Behavior: Descent, Strength of Attachment, and Preferences in the Regions of Spain**  
**in Comparative Political Studies** , 45 (6) , 774-803

This article examines the determinants of identification within the autonomous communities (ACs) of Spain and explores whether "activated identities" guide behavior. The authors test this hypothesized effect empirically and demonstrate that regional and especially (non-Spanish) national activated identity affect preferences for exclusionary policies and for greater autonomy or independence for the AC. Both preferences and activated identities increase the likelihood of voting for regional, rather than statewide, political parties. The authors argue that the strength of attachment to identity (i.e., to the AC to or Spain) and the effect of identities on preferences constitute the mechanisms that link identity to behaviors. Thus, the authors contribute to, and help to clarify, both the theoretical and empirical literatures focused on the relationship between identity and behaviors.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2.Nationalism*

Mousseau Demet Yalcin

**An inquiry into the linkage among nationalizing policies, democratization, and ethno-nationalist conflict: the Kurdish case in Turkey**

in *Nationalities Papers*, Volume 40, Issue 1, 2012 , 45-62

Abstract

This article analyzes the effects of nationalizing policies of the state, processes of democratization, and uneven socio-economic development on the rise of Kurdish ethno-mobilization led by the PKK terrorist organization since the 1980s in Turkey. Three features of the Turkish modernization context are identified as conducive for the rise and continuation of Kurdish ethno-mobilization: a) a nation-building autocratic state that resisted granting cultural rights and recognition for the Kurds; b) democratization with the exclusion of ethnic politics and rights; c) economic regional inequality that coincided with the regional distribution of the Kurdish population. It is argued that autocratic policies of the state during nation-building accompanied the development of an illiberal democracy and intolerance for cultural pluralism. These aspects of Turkish democracy seem to be incompatible with both the liberal and consociational models of democracy that accommodate ethnicity within multiculturalism.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2.Nationalism*

Matthew C. Benwella, Klaus Dodds

**Argentine territorial nationalism revisited: The Malvinas/Falklands dispute and geographies of everyday nationalism**

in *Political Geography*, volume 30 n.8 , 441-449

This paper is concerned with expressions of Argentine territorial nationalism with a specific focus on the Malvinas/Falklands dispute. Billig's (1995) notion of banal nationalism has been widely applied as a means to understanding the ways in which national identities are learnt and reproduced by the populace, through a multitude of 'mundane' representations. More recently Billig's (1995) thesis has been critiqued (Jones & Merriman, 2009) for its rigidity and inability to take account of the different ways these nationalisms are produced and received (Müller, 2008) within and outside of the nation-state. We build on these interventions by arguing that research into territorial nationalism should not ignore the wider temporal, spatial, political and everyday contexts in which such discourses emerge and are consumed. To illustrate this diversity we contend that territorial nationalism and, more specifically, the attention placed on the Malvinas dispute by the Argentine government has varied in its intensity, depending on wider political events and agendas in the South West Atlantic and Latin American regions. Secondly, through the use of interview extracts from a pilot study conducted with 20 young people in Buenos Aires, we suggest that Argentine territorial nationalism is not received uniformly across the nation-state and, rather, should be explored in its everyday contexts. These contexts take into consideration things like respondent's geographical location, personal/familial relationships and generation, amongst other variables, in order to more sensitively appreciate Argentine territorial nationalism's multifarious reception.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2.Nationalism*



Fiol Stefan

**Articulating Regionalism through Popular Music: The Case of Nauchami Narayana in the Uttarakhand Himalayas**

in *Journal of Asian Studies (The)*, Volume 71 - Issue 02 , 447 - 473

As regionalism has become a politically and economically advantageous policy across much of Asia, vernacular popular music has concomitantly become an important arena for articulating and codifying shared regionalist sentiment. This article explores the reasons for the emergence of subnational regionalism within post-independence India, and its more recent resurgence since the 1990s, arguing that expansion and diversification of popular music (in combination with other media) industries have been central to these processes. Examining the case of the protest song “Nauchami Narayana” from the Uttarakhand Himalayas, the article then investigates how vernacular popular music can blend local signs of devotion and cultural identity in order to effect political change and articulate a space of regional belonging.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Law Alex, Mooney Gerry

**Competitive nationalism: state, class, and the forms of capital in devolved Scotland**

in *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, Volume 30, Issue 1, February , 62-77

Devolved government in Scotland actively reconstitutes the unequal conditions of social class reproduction. Recognition of state-led class reconstitution draws upon the social theory of Bourdieu. Our analysis of social class in devolved Scotland revisits theories that examine the state as a ‘power container’. A range of state-enabling powers regulate the legal, economic, social, and cultural containers of class relations as specific forms of what Bourdieu called economic, social, and cultural ‘capital’. The preconditions of class reproduction are structured in direct ways by the Scottish state as a wealth container but also, more indirectly, as a cultural container and a social container. Competitive nationalism in the devolved Scottish state enacts neoliberal policies as a class-specific worldview but, at the same time, discursively frames society as a panclass national fraternity in terms of distinctive Scottish values of welfare nationalism. Nationalism is able to express this ambiguity in symbolic ways in which the partisan language of social class cannot.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Loza Jorgelina

**Consideraciones sobre la cuestión de la nación. Los proceso de construcción de ideas nacionales en Argentina, Uruguay y México**

in *Foro Internacional*, VOLUMEN LII - NÚMERO 1

This article reviews a number of theoretical contributions to the concept of the nation. Given these theorizations were influenced by the social and political moments in which context they emerged, these contributions are discussed with a view to reflecting on the current Latin American context. Furthermore, a review of how the nation is constructed in the south and north of this region – in Argentina, Uruguay and Mexico – allows application of these ideas about the nation to be put to the test in concrete examples

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Evansa Alexander

**Continuity and change in Pakistani politics**

**in Contemporary South Asia**, Volume 20, Issue 2 , 213-224

Pakistan's political system is anchored around a series of patronage networks that favour continuity over radical change. These networks are not immune from social, economic and political change, although these tend to reshape rather than restructure the system. Pakistani nationalism will likely influence Pakistani politics more than Islamism.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Amiran Revital

**Cultural Nationalism and the Formulation of the Political: Reflections on the Jewish National Movement in the Works of D. Frishman and M. J. Berdichevski**

**in Nationalism and Ethnic Politics**, Volume 18, Issue 2, 2012 , 193-215

Abstract

Regarding culture as the very basis of the concept of a nation, this article reflects on cultural nationalism's attitude towards the idea of a nation-state and national-political life. I will suggest that cultural nationalism is a concept that inevitably invokes the aspiration that art will overcome political life, undermining its role to provide the soon-to-be citizens with an adequate arena on which to contest their ethics. Thus, cultural nationalism might prevent politics from being involved in questions of identity and may imply some questionable consequences regarding democratic values such as individual autonomy. Hence, cultural nationalism keeps open the option to contradict its own intrinsic postulation that aims for self-sovereignty. This claim will be demonstrated with the case study of the Jewish national movement and more specifically through the examination of the writings of two important literary personae within it: David Frishman and Micha Joseph Berdichevski.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Mazohl Brigitte

**Das Kaisertum Österreich und die italienische Einheit**

**in Giornale di storia costituzionale**, n. 22, 2/2011

The conviction, so powerfully efficacious, of the political necessity of national States, homogenous on an ethnic basis, which, starting from 1848, had become the "political guide idea" everywhere in Europe, could ideally connect with the process of transformation of political participation (from the juridical order according to social classes to parliamentary constitution) that was affirming itself at the same time. This brought, as a consequence as it happened in Germany and Italy, to the construction of "exemplary" national States. Where, as in the case of Germany and Italy, an apparently homogenous people not only claimed rights of participation on the basis of citizenship, but also pretended to have them inserted in a well-defined national State, the pretension of a national State and of a parliamentary



constitution – of “unity” and “freedom” as the contemporaries said – could proceed side by side. Where, instead, as in the case of the Austrian empire, ten different peoples fought for political equality, remaining however “imprisoned” in territorial traditions which expressed themselves in sixteen different ways, the possibilities of reaching a constitutional parliamentary State, based on popular sovereignty, presented themselves in a much more complicated way, a part from the fact that the actual Austrian situation of a multi-people State, made up in such an heterogeneous way, ipso facto diametrically opposed the “political guide idea” of the national State. In such a meaning, the Italian movement of independence determined the first decisive passages towards the national disintegration of the Habsburg monarchy, which was multi-ethnic and therefore opposed the paradigm of the national State. Even admitting the understandable Italian euphoria for its “success story”, the juridical-structural presuppositions of a completely different nature of the multi-people Austrian State – it seems to me – should not be neglected. They, in the 19th century, seemed definitely overcome, but they have surprisingly recovered their actuality in the 21st century within the process of European unification.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Jan Penrose

**Designing the nation. Banknotes, banal nationalism and alternative conceptions of the state in Political Geography**, volume 30 n.8 , 429-440

This paper explores the relationship between national iconography, banal nationalism and conceptions of the state. It begins by reviewing scholarship on visual culture associated with official products of the state: namely, stamps and money. This reveals a preoccupation with content analysis and a tendency to assume state control over the symbolic content of money (and stamps) without clarifying the nature of design processes, the nature of state involvement in these processes, or how ‘the state’ is being conceptualized. The paper addresses these lacunae, beginning with an examination of approaches to banknote design and clarification of the role of the state in these processes. This analysis reveals that non-state actors and institutions are frequently responsible for this key mechanism of official iconographic representation and this, in turn, supports calls for a reassessment of the concept of the state. After outlining an alternative conception of the state, as an idea that produces ‘state effects’ rather than an empirical entity separate from society, the value of this concept is illustrated by showing how it can explain banknote production in the stateless nation of Scotland. The revelation that commercial banks can be co-constitutive of state effects – things like banknotes, national institutions, iconography and identity – challenges presumptions of a discrete state that controls its own representation and the regulation of society.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Chen Dingding

**Domestic Politics, National Identity, and International Conflict: the case of the Koguryo controversy in Journal of Contemporary China**, Volume 21, Issue 74 , 227-241

This article seeks to explain both China's motivations in, and South Korea's response to, the Koguryo controversy. It





argues that it is necessary to take into account the role of national identity and domestic politics in explaining the controversy. China's claim is neither defensive nor offensive toward the two Koreas; rather, it is a logical consequence of a particular historiography in China that was developed in the twentieth century. Given the centrality of national identity construction in both countries, the conflict over Koguryo will be difficult to resolve in the future. To prevent future conflicts from reoccurring, both sides need to adopt a new perspective on history to move toward a shared history and cultural community.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Churchill David S.

**Draft Resisters, Left Nationalism, and the Politics of Anti-Imperialism  
in Canadian Historical Review (The)**, Volume 93, Number 2, June , 227-260

The politics of Canadian left nationalism, opposition to the war in Vietnam, and critiques of us imperialism occupied shared, overlapping, and in many cases intersecting intellectual and cultural space in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Principally centred in Toronto as they were – though not exclusively – this article traces the ways that us draft resisters and expatriates became both advocates of left nationalism and contentious subjects within nationalist debates. For some, left Canadian nationalist draft resisters and other expatriates represented a symbol of independence and defiance vis-à-vis the United States. In turn this iconographic representation was challenged by some Canadian nationalists who saw American expatriates as yet another unwanted us import, part of American political influence and cultural, embodied representations of us hegemony on Canadian soil.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Knörr Jacqueline

**Einheit in Vielfalt? Zum Verhältnis ethnischer und nationaler Identität in Indonesien  
in Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte**, Band 11-12, 2012

In postkolonialen Gesellschaften mit ethnisch heterogenen Bevölkerungen werden nationale Identitäten anders konstruiert, als es das europäische Modell des Nationalstaates vorsieht. Ethnische Diversität schließt nationale Einheit keinesfalls aus.

The full text is free:

<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/75764/einheit-in-vielfalt-zum-verhaeltnis-ethnischer-und-nationaler-identitaet-in-indonesien>

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Müller Ulrike Anne

**Far Away So Close: Race, Whiteness, and German Identity  
in Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power**, Volume 18, Issue 6 , 620-645

Race and nation have been difficult concepts in Germany since the Holocaust. Although race has seemingly



disappeared from public discourse, the concept is very present in the narrative construction of white German national identities. In fact in Germany, race, and more specifically whiteness, disappears into a national naming. On the basis of a qualitative study on women activists, I examine to what extent the research participants struggle with the racialized discourse on German identity and what this struggle looks like. Using John Hartigan's (2000)41. Hartigan, John Jr. 2000. Object lessons in whiteness: Antiracism and the study of white folks. *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power*, 7 (3): 373 – 406.

[Taylor & Francis Online], [Web of Science ®], [CSA]

View all references) approach to analyzing ethnographic accounts of whiteness, I show how a racialization of German identity plays out in complex and complicated ways. On the one hand, the narratives are complicit with a racialized Germanness, yet on the other hand, the idea of a unified, white, cultural community is being challenged. To move toward a postcolonial narrative of Germanness that includes Germany's history of colonialism as well as fascism, we need to move away from race, but we also need to move toward race. A starting point would be provided by focusing on racism, not as a fringe issue of German society but rather as an urgent matter that is located at the centre of German politics and is actively shaping its history.

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#### **Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

##### *Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Zavatti Francesco

#### **Forma stalinista, contenuto nazionale. Il nazional-comunismo romeno**

in **Il Ponte**, Numero 5-6 - maggio 2012

No abstract available

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#### **Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

##### *Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Emanuele Masetti, Giulia Sandri

#### **Francophone Exceptionalism within Alpine Ethno-regionalism? The Cases of the Union Valdtaïne and the Ligue Savoisiennne**

in **Regional and Federal Studies**, volume 22 n.1 , 87-106

In their book *Challenges to Consensual Politics: Democracy, Identity, and Populist Protest in the Alpine Region*, Daniele Caramani and Yves Mny argue that the Alpine region displays a political culture characterized, among other things, by marked conservatism, nativism and Euroscepticism. Such transnational political culture manifests itself throughout the Alpine arch by the presence of successful ethno-regionalist, right-wing populist and Eurosceptic parties. In the same book, however, Michael Keating proposes a more nuanced thesis. While the above-mentioned characteristics are, indeed, predominant in the Germanic-speaking area of the Alps (with some spill-over effects in the Italian-speaking area), the French-speaking area boasts a more progressive political culture. The paper aims to explore this alternative thesis by analysing the ideological identities of two ethno-regionalist parties operating in the Francophone Alpine areathe Union Valdtaïne in Italy and the Ligue Savoisiennne in France. The analysis substantiates Caramani and Meny's thesis, revealing how most ideological aspects present in other Alpine areas, such as localism, traditionalist conservatism, work ethics and reluctance to share wealth with others, are very strong in Savoy and Aosta valley too. However, the lack or weakness of crucial populist radical-right ideological elements, such as open xenophobia, racism and Euroscepticism, appears to support Keating's alternative thesis.



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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2.Nationalism*

Cheng Yinghong

**From Campus Racism to Cyber Racism: Discourse of Race and Chinese Nationalism  
in China Quarterly (The), Vol. 207 , 561-579**

As Sino-African engagement keeps developing, racial relations have emerged to concern people on both sides. The recent Chinese cyber discussions on Africans have shown a blatant racialism against Africans. Comparing this with the campus racism in the 1980s and contextualizing it in China's modern history and, more importantly, China's recent rise as a global power, the article argues that racial discourse has become an important component in Chinese nationalism without public awareness of it.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2.Nationalism*

Ariely Gal

**Globalisation and the decline of national identity? An exploration across sixty-three countries  
in Nations and Nationalism, Volume 18, Issue 3, July 2012 , 461–482**

Abstract

The relationship between globalisation and national identity is puzzling. While some observers have found that globalisation reduces people's identification with their nation, others have reached the opposite conclusion. This article explores this conundrum by examining the relationship between globalisation and people's feelings towards national identity. Using data from the International Social Survey Program National Identity II () and the World Values Survey (), it analyses these relations across sixty-three countries. Employing a multilevel approach, it investigates how a country's level of globalisation is related to its public perceptions towards different dimensions of national identity. The results suggest that a country's level of globalisation is not related to national identification or nationalism but it is related negatively to patriotism, the willingness to fight for the country and ethnic conceptions of membership in the nation. An examination of alternative explanations indicates that globalisation has a distinct impact on national identity.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2.Nationalism*

Calchi Novanta Gian Paolo

**In Africa è nato un nuovo Stato: il Sud Sudan e l'esperienza dell'Eritrea  
in Il Ponte, Numero 4 - aprile 2012**

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2.Nationalism*



Lucic Iva

**In the service of the nation: intellectuals' articulation of the Muslim national identity**  
in *Nationalities Papers*, Volume 40, Issue 1, 2012 , 23-44

Abstract

This article explores the emerging national narratives about Muslim national identity in the period of the 1960s and 1970s. After the national recognition of a Bosnian Muslim nation, which was proposed by the members of the Central Committee of Bosnia and Herzegovina, it was the intellectuals' task to endow the national category with cultural repertoire. Hereby affirmative as well as negating discursive practices on the national status of Muslims entered the debates, which geographically expanded the republican scope of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The author examines internal discussions of the LCY on that issue as well as the intellectuals' engagement in the public spheres in Socialist Yugoslavia. By integrating the nation-building activities of intellectuals outside Yugoslavia, the author postulates for a trans-national dimension of nation-building processes.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2.Nationalism*

Hemple Danielle

**Introduction: Forging the Nation through Performance and Ritual**

in *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism* , vol. 12, n. 1, april - Special Issue: Forging the Nation: Performance and Ritual in the (Re)production of Nation , 1-5

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2.Nationalism*

Kalaycıoğlu Ersin

**Kulturkampf in Turkey: The Constitutional Referendum of 12 September 2010**

in *South European Society & Politics*, Volume 17, Issue 1, March , 1-22

The referendum of 12 September 2010 saw the resurfacing of the main cultural cleavages in Turkish society, resulting in a major kulturkampf between the more socio-cultural liberal and secular coastal provinces and the more religious conservative hinterland. The AKP and some Islamist and Turkish nationalist fringe parties supported the 'yea' vote, the rest of the political parties supported 'nay', and the Kurdish nationalists boycotted the referendum. Individual-level statistical analysis of the vote indicates that partisanship, ideological splits, economic satisfaction and religiosity played a major role in influencing vote choices. A highly divided society, producing a 60–40 divide across a host of political issues, seemed to have emerged, helping the governing AKP get its way through heightened conflict.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2.Nationalism*

Bidussa David

**La memoria della rivoluzione. Nazione e socialismo nella riflessione storiografica in Francia (1920-1940)**



in **Il Ponte**, Numero 5-6 - maggio 2012

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

**Magalhães Fernando**

**Landscape and Regionalism in Portugal: The Case of the Leiria Region**

in **Journal of Contemporary European Studies** , vol. 20, issue 1 , 55-76

ABSTRACT: This article aims to explore the landscape appropriation process in the affirmation of the Portuguese region of Leiria. National and foreign leaders cultivated the landscape as a metaphor of the nation. Like other European countries, in the nineteenth century, the landscape was fundamental to understanding the building process of the Portuguese national community. Nowadays aside from the nation, the regional communities also seek cultural affirmation both in the national space as well in the global space. So, local and regional leaders claim the landscape particularities to affirm their regions in the global space.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

**Montali Edmondo**

**Lavoro e nazione nella cultura sindacale alla nascita dell'Italia repubblicana**

in **Il Ponte**, Numero 5-6 - maggio 2012

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

**Daniele Conversi**

**Modernism and nationalism**

in **Journal of Political Ideologies** , Volume 17, Number 1 / February , 13-34

Various scholars have addressed nationalism as a distinctive political ideology. The majority of them recognize it as a product of modernity and as inseparable from it. This article begins by accepting this view, identifying the spread of nationalism as part of a broader process of Westernization. However, the all-encompassing ideological dimension and common thread hovering above nationalism is identified here as modernism—that is, the sum of ideological discourses, artistic expressions and political practices gravitating around the 'need to be modern'. Modernist notions like 'progress', 'growth', 'advancement' and 'development' have been largely conceived within national frameworks and applied within a world of 'nation-states'. Moreover, given the selective ways in which ruling elites used the vocabulary of modernity, the very 'perlocutionary' effect of labelling opponents as 'anti-modern' often became a sufficient condition for their exclusion. The article discusses whether modernism can be identified as an ideology on its own and whether its triumph was



indissociable from nationalism. It concludes that nationalism belonged to a broader modernist discourse that thoroughly accompanied the expansion of modernity.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

**Suvarierol Semin**

**Nation-freezing: images of the nation and the migrant in citizenship packages**

**in Nations and Nationalism**, Volume 18, Issue 2, April 2012 , 210-229

ABSTRACT. New nationalism differs from classical nationalism in terms of its content and focus. Whereas classical nationalism distinguishes itself from other nation-states in defining its national identity, new nationalism distinguishes the 'native' national identity from that of its current and prospective citizens of migrant origin. The terms of integration thus become conditions of membership in the national community. Citizenship and integration policies emerge as central arenas where the discourse of new nationalism unfolds. This study looks into the discourses of cultural citizenship by studying the content of the official 'citizenship packages' – materials designed to welcome newcomers and assist them in their integration – in three Western European countries: The Netherlands, France and the UK. What images are depicted of the nation-state and the migrant in citizenship packages, and (how) do these images freeze the nation?

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

**March Luke**

**Nationalism for Export? The Domestic and Foreign-Policy Implications of the New 'Russian Idea'**

**in Europe-Asia Studies**, vol. 64, n. 3, Special Issue: Russia and the World , 401-425

Focusing on diverse state approaches to nationalism provides a more nuanced view than that of Russian domestic and foreign policies driven directly by revanchist nationalism. The Russian authorities' 'official nationality' is moderate in aspiration. However, the effect is less benign because the Kremlin both mobilises extreme nationalism for regime goals and suppresses it when it becomes destabilising. This approach prevents nationalism either of extreme or moderate orientation becoming an influential, independent force in Russian politics. Such conflicting imperatives make Russia a more unpredictable international partner than if its policies were founded on a consistent ideological nationalism.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

**Hellström Anders, NilssonTom, Stoltz Pauline**

**Nationalism vs. Nationalism: The Challenge of the Sweden Democrats in the Swedish Public Debate**

**in Government and Opposition** , Vol. 47, n. 2, April , 186-205

In the 2010 Swedish general elections the nationalist party Sverigedemokraterna (SD) crossed the threshold and entered parliament. The other parties in parliament reacted with strong antagonism; the mainstreaming of the 'radical right' had finally come to Sweden. This article analyses the media coverage of the SD following the 2006 elections, when it emerged as a high-profile party in the public arena. The presence of the SD in Swedish politics encourages both SD allies and opponents to emphasize their views on what constitutes social cohesion in Sweden. We see the public





debate surrounding the SD as a rhetorical struggle between different nationalist claims.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Djoki&#263; Dejan

**Nationalism, Myth and Reinterpretation of History: The Neglected Case of Interwar Yugoslavia**  
in *European History Quarterly*, Volume 42, No. 1, January, 71-95

This article discusses and challenges some popular myths and perceptions about interwar Yugoslavia in post-socialist (and post-Yugoslav) Serbia. These include discourses that blame 'others' – 'treacherous' Croats and other non-Serbs, the 'perfidious' west, especially Britain – and that are also self-critical, of Serbs' 'naivety' as exemplified in their choosing to create Yugoslavia at the end of the First World War, and of, later, embracing communism. The article also offers a reassessment of the interwar period, often neglected by scholars of former Yugoslavia.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Miccichè Andrea

**Nazionalismo e immigrazione: il caso basco**  
in *Il Ponte*, Numero 5-6 - maggio 2012

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Cigliano Giovanna

**Nazione e impero nella Russia zarista (1904-1907)**  
in *Ricerche di Storia Politica*, numero 1, marzo

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

JIN WOONG KANG

**North Korea's Militant Nationalism and People's Everyday Lives: Past and Present**  
in *Journal of Historical Sociology*, Volume 25, Issue 1, 1-30

North Korea's anti-American state power has operated in individuals' everyday practices by focusing on its post-war militant nationalism. Existing studies have neglected an aspect of North Korea's nationalist power that has been neither necessarily top-down nor violent, but rather productive and diffusive in people's everyday lives. While the regime's anti-American mobilization has come from above, people's politics of hatred, patriotism, and emotion have been reproduced from below. Along this line, I examine the historical and social changes in North Korea's militant nationalism



and people's ways of life through a comparison between two periods: from the 1950s through the 1980s and from the 1990s through the present. I focus on how the state's anti-American power was legitimated by people's solid micro-fascism from the 1950s through the 1980s, and how it has been contested and recreated through both change and persistence in people's micro-fascism from the 1990s through the present.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Adugna Fekadu

**Overlapping nationalist projects and contested spaces: the Oromo–Somali borderlands in southern Ethiopia** in *Journal of Eastern African Studies* , Volume 5, Issue 4, Special Issue: "Ethiopia's revolutionary democracy, 1991–2011" , 773-787

Over the past few decades the inhabitants of the Oromo–Somali borderlands of southern Ethiopia have encountered three competing nationalisms: Ethiopian state nationalism (patriotism), Somali ethno-nationalism (irredentism), and Oromo ethno-nationalism. The territories and peoples claimed by each competing nationalism overlap. In the 1960s and 1970s Somali irredentist claims predominated, and generated a severe Ethiopian response. In the post-1991 period, claims and counter-claims over territories around the borders of the Oromia and Somali ethno-national regional states of Ethiopia became the centre of conflicts. These claims specifically contest water points, tracts of land, ritual sites and towns. The ethno-territorial contestation and negotiation between the Oromia and Somali ethno-national regional states are mirrored and explained at the local level by disputes and conflicts between the Borana and Garri pastoralists, who have reformulated their longstanding competitions over pastoral resources along the new political dispensation. This article examines the multifaceted interactions between state patriotism, ethno-nationalisms, irredentism and ethno-federalism in these borderlands from the 1960s to the present.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Anna Brigevich

**Peeling Back the Layers: Territorial Identity and EU Support in Spain** in *Regional and Federal Studies*, volume 22 n.2 , 205-230

How do regional and European identities fit together? Building on extant identity theory I formulate three expectations on how territorial identities may relate. I test these using Spanish survey data by constructing a new measure that distinguishes between nested, inclusive and exclusive regional identity, and also accounts for minority nationalism. Consistent with the literature, my findings indicate that nested and inclusive identities are associated with greater European attachment, while exclusive regionalism leads to less attachment. However, counter to the literature, exclusive regionalism dampens European attachment more than exclusive nationalism, and minority nationalism is also associated with less attachment to Europe.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Sandovici Maria Elena, Jakobsen Tor Georg, Strabac Zan

**Political Nationalism and Attitudes towards Immigration: The Interaction of Knowledge and Policy**



in *International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights*, Volume 19, Number 2 , 115-127

The issue of immigration is highly salient to citizens of industrialised democracies. Globalisation and the emergence of an international human rights regime, among other reasons, led to high levels of immigration to industrialised countries in recent decades. Immigrant-receiving states have shown only limited ability to control the size and composition of their immigrant population. Immigration has therefore emerged as a prominent political issue in practically all economically developed countries, and there are raising concerns over anti-immigration sentiments and nationalist tendencies that seem to be taking hold among modern publics. We argue that anti-immigration attitudes are not merely a response to increased immigration, but rather that these attitudes mirror governments' nationalistic and anti-immigration stance. In addition, people who are interested in politics are expected to be more influenced by their governments' policies than those who show less interest. We use data from the European Social Survey and the Comparative Manifesto Project to test these claims. Results from our multilevel models show that people living in countries where the government is right wing are more opposed to immigration than people living in countries where the government exhibits less right-wing tendencies. The effect of government policy positions is also found to be conditioned by political interest at the individual level.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2.Nationalism*

**Sheldon Nicola**

**Politicians and History: The National Curriculum, National Identity and the Revival of the National Narrative**

in *History*, Volume 97, Issue 326, April , 256-271

Sometime in the twenty years after 1960, the national story disappeared from English state schools. The creation of the first National Curriculum between 1989 and 1994, itself a novelty in English educational history, was seen by many on the right as the opportunity to restore the traditional national story. What actually resulted was a typical British compromise. The reasons for this outcome are explored here in the light of research evidence from the History in Education Project and in the face of renewed public discussion in recent months about the history curriculum in schools, and the impending national curriculum review.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2.Nationalism*

**Kumarappa Joseph C.**

**Quale "nazionalismo"**

in *Quaderni Satyagraha*, n. 20, Joseph C. Kumarappa - Economia di condivisione. Come uscire dalla crisi mondiale , 105-111

Italian translation of an excerpt in "Kumarappa Papers" in J. C. Kumarappa, "Back to Basics: J. C. Kumarappa Reader", edited by P. Bandhu, Udhagamandalam, the Nilgiris District of Tamil Nadu (India), Odyssey, 2011 pp. 147-154 (speech held by the Gandhian economist Kumarappa in Bombay at the assembly of the Nationalist Christian Party on 30 July 30, 1930)

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2.Nationalism*



Panaccione Andrea

**Religione, società, nazione nel caso polacco**

in *Il Ponte*, Numero 5-6 - maggio 2012

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Lawrence Adria

**Rethinking Moroccan nationalism, 1930–44**

in *Journal of North African Studies*, Volume 17, Issue 3, 475-490

Historians and social scientists studying the French protectorate era in Morocco have suggested that nationalist resistance began by the 1930s, if not earlier. Accordingly, the efforts to reform French rule in the 1930s have been called 'proto-nationalism' or 'early nationalism' in histories that portray nationalism as an evolutionary process, one that grows in a linear, unidirectional fashion. This article explores the tensions between nationalist and reformist demands, and stresses the distinctiveness of these mobilisation platforms. It argues against subsuming calls for reform into the nationalist narrative, proposing instead that calls for reform constituted an alternative to nationalist demands for independence. Proponents of reform emphasised equality and opposed the authoritarian nature of French rule. In contrast, the Independence Party, founded in 1944, challenged the foreign nature of imperial rule. Attention to these differences points to the diversity of responses to French rule. Moroccan anti-colonialism took multiple forms and did not always espouse nationalist goals. Labelling all opposition 'nationalist' inhibits our understanding of how actors come to seek national independence. Further, recognising that activists espoused different goals over time is important because it helps make sense of the different visions of the post-colonial order that elites espoused in the years after independence.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Mycocka Andrew

**SNP, identity and citizenship: Re-imagining state and nation**

in *National Identities*, vol. 14, n. 1, 53-69

The Scottish National Party (SNP) has been strongly critical of attempts to resuscitate British national identity and has sought to present an alternative Scottish cultural and political identity that is projected as 'wholly civic'. However, questions persist as to how the SNP understand concepts such as citizenship and nationality and the extent to which their civic nationalism is reflected empirically in speeches and policies, particularly since forming a minority Scottish government in 2007. This article seeks to explore how the SNP and other Scottish separatists construct an independent Scottish state, nation and people. In particular, it will assess how Scottish separatists address Scottish nationality, multi-nationality and also its transnational imperial legacy.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*



Lal Priya

**Self-Reliance and the State: The Multiple Meanings of Development in Early Post-Colonial Tanzania in Africa: The Journal of the International African Institute**, Volume 82, Number 2, May , 212-234

This article uses a key principle of the Tanzanian ujamaa project – self-reliance – as an analytical lever to open up the historical landscape of development politics in that national context during the 1960s and early 1970s. Throughout this period Tanzanians understood and experienced self-reliance in a variety of ways: as a mandated developmental strategy or a collective developmental aspiration, a condition of dignity or privation, a hallmark of national citizenship or a reflection of local survivalism, a matter of luxury or necessity. I trace these multiple meanings through three distinct but overlapping fields of inquiry: first, by cataloguing the plural ideological registers indexed by self-reliance within official development discourse vis-à-vis domestic and international politics; second, by illuminating a diverse range of rural elders' accounts of ujamaa villagization and self-reliance policy in the south-eastern region of Mtwara; and third, by examining the ambivalent position of self-reliance within public debates about regional development in relation to the national scale. In doing so, I expose the dialectical friction between competing constructions of citizenship and development at the heart of ujamaa, and suggest new avenues forward for conceptualizing the afterlives of 'self-reliance' and the changing meaning of development in contemporary Tanzania and beyond.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Chen, Songchuan

**Shame on you!: competing narratives of the nation in the Laoxikai incident and the Tianjin anti-French campaign, 1916&#8208;1917**

**in Twentieth-Century China (Official Journal of the Historical Society for Twentieth-Century China)**, Vol. 37, n°2 , 121-138

This article examines the anti-French campaign triggered by the Laoxikai incident — a dispute in 1916&#8208;17 over lands bordering the French concession in Tianjin. The incident was a focal point for competing narratives of the nation, each drawing on traditions and inspirations that implied divergent futures for China. Constitutional monarchism, true monarchism, republicanism, and Christianity all played into the power struggles of the 1910s. This article also addresses the role of violent coercion in the incident, in which nationalism began to legitimate “punishment” of Chinese who continued working with the French. The nationalists felt shame on behalf of their nation, and through public humiliation they forced Chinese who appeared indifferent to the nation to share in the national shame. This development accelerated a trend of nationalistic violence and the discourse of “national humiliation”.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Zucca Lorenzo

**Shedding Light on the Conspiracy: A Reply to ‘The Sacred Conspiracy: Religion, Nationalism, and the Crisis of Internationalism’**

**in Leiden Journal of International Law**, Volume 25 - Issue 01 , 55 - 66

Religion plays a central role at the global political level despite being often portrayed as dead, marginal, or irrelevant. The way in which it plays that role, however, is not always immediately apparent or transparent. Professor Berman's



essay attempts to illustrate the various ways – direct and indirect – in which religion is still central in today's debates about international law and politics. He does that by bringing us back to the interwar period, which saw an abundant flurry of arguments about international law, nationalism, and religion. He focuses in particular on the avant-garde movement led by Georges Bataille, who called for the shaking of civil society by appealing to the destabilizing forces of the (left) sacred in opposition to the conservative forces of the (right) sacred. Bataille's key insight is that religion has a contagious energy that is far more sweeping and powerful than the mere force of Western rationality. From this viewpoint, (international) law is incapable of taming the crisis of the West and of keeping at bay the perils of religion and nationalism.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Arraiza José-María

**Squaring Indigenous Circles: The Making of Nicaragua's Indigenous Communal Property Regime**  
in *International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights*, Volume 19, Number 1 , 69-103

International standards on indigenous peoples contain a theoretical promise of spatial empowerment and traditional governance as part of autonomy which in practice is not absent of conflict and human rights concerns. Western “square” individual property rights conceptions are confronted with “circular” communal property relations. Legitimate interests of indigenous communities conflict with non-indigenous ones. The communal administration of the land is to be balanced with environmental protection. This article problematizes these dilemmas by analyzing the development of a communal property system within the Atlantic Coast Autonomy of Nicaragua. It identifies essentialist and constructivist ideas on indigenous identity and other policy assumptions behind it, the technical answers given to indigenous claims (de facto restitution, participatory demarcation and titling, conflict resolution mechanisms) and their consequences. It argues that a set of norms which is considered legitimate by all communities and which respects the rights of non-indigenous persons, including a fair dispute resolution mechanism, is needed for its success in protecting environmental and social stability and preventing violence. To achieve such objective in this or similar scenarios, an open minded approach to group identities and to available options (inclusive of others or exclusive to a community, collective or individual rights) in the design of special property regimes would be useful.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Cioli Monica

**Sulamith e Maria. Il «modello Italia» in Germania tra il 1840 e l'unificazione**  
in *Giornale di storia costituzionale*, n. 22, 2/2011

The essay analyzes the impact of the Italian model on the unification of Germany and the political and cultural transfers between the two countries between 1840 and 1870, focusing on the reception of the “moderate” current of the Italian Risorgimento by the forces of German liberalism which opted for a ‘small-german’ solution of the German question. Liberal public opinion in Germany after 1840 had a different perspective on Italy than in the decade before, what can be explained by the constitutional history of Germany. The accumulation of contradictions at the beginning of the 1840s, culminating in the revolution of 1848/49, made a gradual affirmation of liberal and constitutional





principles impossibile: in such a context the German liberals were increasingly attracted by the formation of a moderate, antirevolutionary liberal movement in Italy. German liberalism welcomed this tendency, represented by Gioberti, Balbo, Mamiani, Bianchini and above all by Massimo D'Azeglio, as a sign of growing political maturity.

After the revolution, German liberalism inevitably had to cope with the new experience of failure, a severe restriction of political spaces, a period of political repression and dramatic economic and social change. Liberalism started to adapt his ideas to the *Zeitgeist* right from the beginning of the decade. The problems mentioned had a decisive impact on the process of redefining liberal political thought in terms of *Realpolitik* in the years after the revolution. It doesn't come as a surprise that in this context the liberal sectors of public opinion in Germany were in favour of Piedmont and Cavour. Doubtless the events of 1859 and 1860 had a stimulating and illuminating effect on public opinion in Germany. In Prussia the Italian model did prepare the ground for an alliance between Bismarck and the national movement. But this alliance has other roots as well. It is based on the anti-French myth of the anti-Napoleonic *Befreiungskriege* and on the more recent turn to *Realpolitik* of the 1840's which gained momentum after the failed revolution of 1848.

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#### **Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

##### *Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Dag Tjaden Jasper

#### **The (Re-)Construction of 'National Identity' through Selective Memory and Mass Ritual Discourse: The Chilean Centenary, 1910**

**in *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism*** , vol. 12, n. 1, april - Special Issue: Forging the Nation: Performance and Ritual in the (Re)production of Nation , 45-63

Social constructivist theories regard the nation as 'imagined' (Anderson), 'invented' (Hobsbawm and Ranger), and 'narrated' (Bhabha). National narratives use mass rituals, performances, and selective national history to reinvigorate collective identity. This article examines the 1910 centennial festivities in Chile as a collective and discursive quest for national identity in a changing society longing for stability. The article uses a discourse analysis approach to study a series of Chilean national history abstracts and coverage of the centennial festivities as presented in *Zig-Zag*, the most relevant political magazine at the time. The study finds that selective memory and mass ritual discourse are a constitutive part of national identity. Through the process of selective memory, the sources depict Chilean history as a series of linear, coherent, and meaningful events to foster collective identification with the nation. The images of mass ritual discourse of the centennial celebrations reinforce common national characteristics and confidence in the nation. Mass performances provide emotional self-affirmation and an endowment of meaning for individuals within their national group as they restage current national membership with reference to a common past. The study identifies themes of national representation along which the nation is narrated, and suggests that this typology can be generalised beyond the case of Chile. In doing so, this article underscores the need for further research on the concept of discursive national identity formation and its relevance in contemporary politics.

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#### **Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

##### *Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Jayet Cyril



**The Ethnic-Civic Dichotomy and the Explanation of National Self-Understanding**

in *European Journal of Sociology*, Volume 53, Issue 01, aprile 2012 , 65-95

Abstract

In his paper *Ethnicity as Cognition* (2006), Rogers Brubaker held that cognitive psychology can enrich the understanding of the practices of categorisation that underpins ethnicity, nationhood and race. I shall argue that the philosophical debate concerning the different types of explanation in social sciences – the explanations based on reasons and the explanations based on causal mechanisms – can throw some light on this issue. To analyse beliefs requires use of both approaches. It can be shown with the classical opposition between an ethnic and a civic conception of national belonging which derives from a reason-based approach. The causal mechanism approach underlying cognitive psychology can offer alternative models accounting for national self-understanding, notably the prototype model of categorisation. I confront empirically these two theories – the ethnic civic dichotomy and the prototype model – using the *isp* data from 2003 and evidence the advantages and shortcomings of each theory.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Saylan &#304;brahim

**The Europeanization process and Kurdish nationalism in Turkey: the case of the Democratic Society Party**

in *Nationalities Papers*, Volume 40, Issue 2, 2012 , 185-202

Abstract

This study aims at analyzing the impact of the European integration process on Kurdish nationalism in Turkey by focusing on the Democratic Society Party (Demokratik Toplum Partisi, DTP) as the major pro-Kurdish political party in Turkey between 2005 and 2009. It argues that the Europeanization process in Turkey, which accelerated in the post-Helsinki period, has brought about some important consequences concerning the recognition and expression of Kurdish identity. The study examines Europe's impact on the DTP through analysis of party documents and interviews with party representatives, in order to investigate the meaning and use of the European integration process in the DTP's sub-state nationalist ideology. This analysis shows that, although the Europeanization process in Turkey has somewhat broadened opportunity structures for Kurdish sub-state nationalist politics, overall the EU's impact on the DTP's nationalist politics has remained indirect and limited.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

A.K. Bykov

**The Formation of the Spirit of Patriotism in Young People**

in *Social Science Research* , Vol. 40, n°3 , 16-30

Ethnic Issues in Central Russia and the North Caucasus. The Formation of the Spirit of Patriotism in Young People

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**



*Subsection 2.Nationalism*

Qvortrup Matt

**The History of Ethno-National Referendums 1791–2011**

in **Nationalism and Ethnic Politics**, Volume 18, Issue 1, 2012 , 129-150

Abstract

This article presents an overview of the total number of ethno-national referendums since the French Revolution to the present day. After establishing a typology of referendums, the article goes on to present the trends in their use from the beginning of the eighteenth century to the present day. While referendums are said to be about democratic legitimacy and idealistic principles, the history suggest that short- and long-term political calculations have been the main motivations for holding them and that their overall number have grown, especially in times of geopolitical upheaval.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2.Nationalism*

Kowalski Alexandra

**The Nation, Rescaled: Theorizing the Decentralization of Memory in Contemporary France**

in **Comparative Studies in Society and History**, Volume 54, Issue 2, April , 308-331

For more than forty years now, the French state has produced, legitimized, and supported local identities through national policies of historic preservation and public discourses about heritage. Rather than simply replaying the old, anxious, and nostalgic tune of national identity, the advent of heritage in France marked a singular moment of cultural transformation and rupture. The national past became articulated, in public speech and political practice, with the cultures and identities of local and regional territories. Given France's centralist tradition, and its political culture that is often cast as the archetype of "an ideology concerned with boundedness, continuity, and homogeneity" (Handler 1988: 6), this historical transformation presents a puzzle, to which this paper provides answers through historical and theoretical inquiry.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2.Nationalism*

Eric C. Thompson

**The World beyond the Nation in Southeast Asian Museums**

in **Sojourn: Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia** , Vol. 27, n°1 , 54-83

National museums are exemplary sites through which nations tell their story and represent themselves to their citizens and others. The national museum has replaced the colonial museum identified by Anderson in *Imagined Communities*, as a modern technology and form of communication through which national communities are brought into being. Yet national museums tell other stories as well. In this article, I examine how national museums represent the world beyond the nation. Based on an examination of twelve national or national-type museums in seven Southeast Asian countries, I argue that national museums produce representations of the world beyond the nation and specifically of Southeast Asia that enframe and produce the geo-body of the nation state while simultaneously creating particular imaginaries of the world beyond, including a common use of contemporary Southeast Asia as a regional enframing device. While all



national museums frame the nation in reference to the world beyond, they do so in significantly different ways with implications for the international and regional orientations of citizens of Southeast Asia.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Harmes Adam

**The rise of neoliberal nationalism**

in *Review of International Political Economy*, Volume 19, Issue 1, 2012 , pages 59-86

In the IPE literature, neoliberalism and nationalism have generally been portrayed as anti-thetical to one another. More recently, scholars have sought to challenge this binary view by examining how nationalists have employed neoliberal policies for nationalist reasons. However, while showing how neoliberal policies can be compatible with nationalist values, these approaches have not examined whether the reverse might also be true, whether certain nationalist policies (and discourses) might be genuinely compatible with neoliberal values. To address this gap in the literature, this paper makes two arguments. The first is that certain nationalist policies are not only compatible with neoliberal values, but that these values may actually be dependent on certain nationalist policies. The second argument made is that neoliberal nationalism may be on the rise due to a shift among social democratic forces from a broad strategy of economic nationalism to one of social democratic multilateralism. To demonstrate these points, the paper challenges the equation of neoliberalism with internationalism as well as showing why neoliberal nationalism is distinct from the nationalism of both populist and neoconservatives.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Collins Randall

**Time-bubbles of nationalism: dynamics of solidarity ritual in lived time**

in *Nations and Nationalism*, Volume 18, Issue 3, July 2012 , 383–397

Abstract

The growth of modern nationalism can be attributed to structural causes, especially the growth of the strong bureaucratic state that penetrates society, creating cultural uniformity and national identity. But structurally based nationalism need not be very intense, or constant; even when institutionalised in periodic formal rituals, it can be routine, low in emotion – even boring. We need to explain sudden upsurges in popular nationalism, but also their persistence and fading in medium-length periods of time. Nationalist surges are connected with geopolitical rises and falls in the power-prestige of states: strong and expanding states absorb smaller particularistic identities into a prestigious whole; weaker and defeated states suffer delegitimation of the dominant nationality and fragment in sudden upsurges of localising nationalities. Passing from macro-patterns to micro-sociological mechanisms, conflict producing solidarity is a key mechanism: dramatic events focus widespread attention and assemble crowds into spontaneous ‘natural rituals’ – mass-participation interaction rituals, as distinct from formal rituals. Evidence from public assemblies and the display of national symbols following the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001 (9/11) shows an intense period of three months, then gradual return to normal internal divisions by around six months. Spontaneous rituals of national solidarity are produced not only by external conflict but by internal uprisings, where an emotional upsurge of national identity is used to legitimate insurgent crowds and discredit regimes. Although participants experience momentary feelings of historic



shifts, conflict-mobilised national solidarity lives in a 3–6-month time-bubble, and needs to institutionalise its successes rapidly to have long-term effects.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Rogers Amanda E.

**Warding off terrorism and revolution: Moroccan religious pluralism, national identity and the politics of visual culture**

in *Journal of North African Studies* , Volume 17, Issue 3 , 455-474

This article examines the mobilisation of expressive culture as a powerful vector for social cohesion and disputation; I first discuss the implications of the symbiotic relationship between henna and the Hand of Fatima in nationalistic fine arts, and then analyse the state response to the 2003 Casablanca bombings and the 2011 Arab Spring. I argue that the endurance of the Moroccan nation throughout regional unrest is due, in no small part, to the careful use of resonant tropes from the visual culture of popular Islam.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Malešević Siniša

**Wars that Make States and Wars that Make Nations: Organised Violence, Nationalism and State Formation in the Balkans**

in *European Journal of Sociology* , Volume 53, Issue 01, aprile 2012 , 31-63

Abstract

Since the beginning of the 19th century the Balkans has been a synonym for aggressive nationalism and unbridled violence; the two phenomena traditionally understood to be the key obstacles for its social development. This paper contests such views by arguing that it was the absence of protracted warfare and coherent nationalist doctrines that distinguishes the history of South Eastern Europe from the rest of the continent. Drawing critically on bellicose historical sociology and modernist theories of nationalism - with a spotlight on the work of Charles Tilly and Ernest Gellner. Drawing critically on bellicose historical sociology and modernists theories of nationalism the paper makes a case that it was not the abundance of nationalism and organised violence but rather their historical scarcity that proved decisive for the slow pace of social development in the Balkans.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Monod Jean-Claude

**What's New in Our Current 'International Secularism'?**

in *Leiden Journal of International Law* , Volume 25 - Issue 01 , 67 - 72

Nathaniel Berman's paper offers us a rich study of the interwar reflections about the intertwining between religion and nationalism, seen as 'forces' both dangerous and necessary, which should be 'freed' or 'tamed' in order to create a new



political order. This theme is approached through its theorization by the French Collège de Sociologie and its non-academic philosophy of the sacred (mainly Bataille's transformation of the Durkheimian idea of a 'left sacred' and a 'right sacred'), but also through the discourses and the practices of international law, by prominent lawyers, or through the way European nations dealt with the status of 'minorities' or with colonized people living under status of Protectorate. I much appreciate Berman's evocation of these various reflections and the way they 'complicate' (both as analysis and as symptoms) the problem of secularization as well as the question of legal internationalism. Let me develop these two points, before coming to some aspects of Berman's reflection that seem to me less convincing or more questionable.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Liu Fengshu

**'Politically indifferent' nationalists? Chinese youth negotiating political identity in the internet age**  
in *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, Volume 15, No. 1, February 2012, 53-69

Abstract

This article explores why apparent political indifference coincides with nationalist passion in Chinese cyberspace. Drawing on interviews with university students and the notion of 'new politics', this article argues that online nationalism constitutes an important extension of the political being in the Chinese context, or a form of 'new politics' among contemporary youth in certain societies. The 'dual' political identity emerging from Chinese youth's uses of the internet is reflective of, and reinforces, their offline self. Both their apparent lack of interest in engaging with the government and their strong nationalism are products of the same changing subjectivities in post-Mao China.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Berman Nathaniel

**'Religion', Genealogy, History: A Reply to Zucca and Monod**  
in *Leiden Journal of International Law*, Volume 25 - Issue 01, 73 - 76

I thank the Leiden Journal of International Law for this opportunity to address the provocative responses by Jean-Claude Monod and Lorenzo Zucca to 'The Sacred Conspiracy'. In this short reply, I seek to clarify some misapprehensions, as well as to sharpen the differences between us.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Berman Nathaniel

**'The Sacred Conspiracy': Religion, Nationalism, and the Crisis of Internationalism**  
in *Leiden Journal of International Law*, Volume 25 - Issue 01, 9 - 54





The goal of this article is to initiate an interdisciplinary and historical reflection on one of the central preoccupations of our time: the relationship of religion to international order. This current project grows out of my long-standing work on the genealogy of modern internationalism. In my past work, I have argued that internationalists constructed their own disciplines in tandem with their construction of nationalism, to such an extent that modern 'internationalism' and modern 'nationalism' must be understood in relation to each other; in the present essay, I contend that 'internationalism' and 'religion' have an equally mutually constitutive relationship. This article seeks to retell the story of international law over the past century through the lens of its relationship to religion – a lens that both overlaps with and differs from that of nationalism. Its historical narrative is rooted in the early twentieth century – a period to which so many of our 'modern' cultural conceptions may be traced. Its methodology is broadly interdisciplinary, setting changing international legal conceptions of religion in relation to contemporaneous developments in domains such as sociology, religious studies, and historiography. This is the first piece of a series of projected studies on the construction and contestation of 'religion', 'the secular', and 'the international' over the past century. It is also my first publication associated with the interdisciplinary Religion and Internationalism Project, which I co-direct at Brown University.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Ginderachter Maarten van

**«Vive la Belgique!», o no? Nazionalismo ed etnicita&#768; nel Partito operaio belga (1885-1914)**

in **Il Ponte**, Numero 5-6 - maggio 2012

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*

Masini Fabio

**Luigi Einaudi and the Making of the Neoliberal Project**

in **History of Economic Thought and Policy**, 2012, issue 1 , 39-59

The first 1947 meeting of the Mont Pelerin Society is considered the date of birth of neoliberalism. But the neoliberal thought after WWII is the result of fervent intellectual efforts in the previous decades. The paper aims at highlighting the role of Luigi Einaudi to the making of the neoliberal project, enquiring into the intellectual foundations of his thought on the institutions of international liberalism.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*

Melchionni Maria Grazia

**'L'Europa è difficile': il monito di Giuseppe Vedovato agli europei di ieri, di oggi e di domani**

in **Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali**, Volume 79, n. 1, gennaio-marzo , 11-14

No abstract available



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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*

Wilburn Kenneth

**Africa to the World! Nkrumah-era Philatelic Images of Emerging Ghana and Pan-Africanism, 1957-1966**  
in *African Studies Quarterly*, vol. 13, issue 1 & 2, spring , 23-54

ABSTRACT: Kwame Nkrumah was one of the most fascinating, revolutionary Africans in world history. From humble origins, US-educated Nkrumah led the effort to overthrow colonial rule in Ghana and Africa, sought vast sums of economic aid from the West for Ghana's Volta River Project, and as the leading Pan-Africanist and vocal member of the world's non-aligned leadership worked to create the United States of Africa. Nkrumah promoted these goals, and more, in a novel form of historical evidence - philately. This article examines Ghanaian stamps and argues that Nkrumah used them overtly and symbolically to advance his national and international agendas. It also compares and contrasts Nkrumah's use of stamps to promote Pan-Africanism with the approaches of Julius Nyerere of Tanzania and Sékou Touré of Guinea. Additionally, the philatelic reflections of Nkrumah-era Ghana illustrate the brilliant colors, stunning beauty, clever art, enduring optimism, and African themes of the Nkrumah era stamps.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*

Rognon Frédéric

**Bernard Charbonneau et Jacques Ellul. Aux sources de l'écologie radicale du XXIe siècle**  
in *Ecologie et politique*, n. 44 - Penser l'écologie politique en France au XXe siècle, mars , 67-76

Bernard Charbonneau and Jacques Ellul are two forerunners of ecology in France. As early as 1930s, they built a radical thought which was not only a critic of bound-less growth, but also a will to question the technological society itself. Nevertheless, their work is the fruit of warm debates between these two, especially about the responsibility of Christianity in the ecological crisis.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*

Dard Olivier

**Bertrand de Jouvenel et l'écologie**  
in *Ecologie et politique*, n. 44 - Penser l'écologie politique en France au XXe siècle, mars , 43-54

Once a key figure of the "realist" project in the 1930s, a noted pen of the Doriotist press until Munich, and, in the aftermath of the second world war, a liberal theorist of power and sovereignty, particularly hailed outside of France, Bertrand de Jouvenel expanded its range at the end of the 1950s by prevailing as one of the pioneers of environmentalism, after the publication of his essay *Arcadie* published in 1968. This article is made of three parts: after an examination of the roots of Jouvenel's environmentalism (the legacy of Colette, the "relève" of the 1930s, and Anglo-Saxon influences), and its content and specificities (emphasis on economics and on the role of experts), it will attempt to interpret it in light of the itinerary of the author who considered himself a "traveler in the century."



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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*

**Battini Michele**

**Carlo Rosselli, 'Giustizia e Libertà' and the enigma of justice**

**in *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*** , Volume 17, Issue 2 , 205-219

Italian republicanism has changed profoundly since the eighteenth century, when the French Revolution brought to a close the aristocratic tradition. In the nineteenth century, Giuseppe Mazzini, Francesco Ferrari and Carlo Pisacane developed a new form of political republicanism that addressed the social question in ways that laid the foundations of Italian socialist thought. After the First World War and the establishment of the fascist dictatorship in Italy, this tradition was taken up again and, thanks to the contributions of Alessandro Levi and Gaetano Salvemini, became a major theme in the political programme of those associated with the anti-fascist movement 'Justice and Liberty' (Giustizia e Libertà) regarding the social question and the objectives of a democratic, autonomist and antitotalitarian revolution. The principal theoreticians of the group – Carlo and Nello Rosselli, Franco Venturi and Andrea Caffi – also paid close attention to the British Labour movement and that of other European socialist movements which led them to formulate many new interpretations of republicanism.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*

**Stenger Nicolas**

**Denis de Rougemont et l'écologie: une crise spirituelle d'abord**

**in *Ecologie et politique***, n. 44 - Penser l'écologie politique en France au XXe siècle, mars , 55-66

Prominent essayist since *Love and the Western World* published in 1939, European activist after the World War II, in 1970s-1980s Denis de Rougemont became a strong supporter of environmental causes. Today he is considered as a pioneer of ecology, as well as Bertrand de Jouvenel, Jacques Ellul, Bernard Charbonneau and Ivan Illich. While the federalist movements born after the war were fading away, Rougemont reinvested his commitment to a united Europe and to mobilize the younger generations by the way of the ecological struggle. Chairman of the association Ecoropa, founder member of the Groupe de Bellerive, Rougemont wanted to give prominence to a regional and federal European organisation beyond the Common Market. In his last major essay on political philosophy published in 1977, *L'avenir est notre affaire*, Rougemont detailed the parameters of the ecological crisis, creating an important part of the theoretical and ethical basis of the Green Movement in Switzerland and France. Our objective is to outline his major ideas and thoughts as well as the circumstances of his commitment.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*

**Masini Fabio**

**Designing the institutions of international liberalism: some contributions from the interwar period**

**in *Constitutional political economy***, Volume 23, Number 1 / March 2012 , 45-65

Between the two World Wars, liberalism was challenged under many respects. Many intellectuals and several



economists took an active part in the attempt to found a new strategy for the survival of the liberal values. Among them, some participated into the reflections that led, after WWII, to the birth of the neoliberal project. The paper enquires into the history of economic theories and debates of the Twenties, Thirties and until the foundation of the Mont Pelerin Society to find out what concept of international economic order some of these Authors had and assess the contributions they gave to the birth of international neoliberalism. Particular attention is devoted to Mises, Hayek, Robbins and Einaudi because their peculiar approach to the design of international institutions is inspiring both to understand the complex and heterogeneous scenario that characterized the debate on neoliberalism before WWII and to provide new perspectives on neglected contributions to the liberal thought.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*

Graglia Piero

**Ernesto Rossi, Altiero Spinelli e il Manifesto di Ventotene**

in **Il Ponte**, Numero 2-3 - Febbraio-Marzo 2012

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*

Andreas Behnke

**Eternal peace, perpetual war? A critical investigation into Kant's conceptualisations of war**

in **Journal of International Relations and Development**, Volume 15, Issue 2 , 250-271

Most discussions of Immanuel Kant's political theory of international politics focus on his work on Eternal Peace and its normative and empirical relevance for contemporary international relations and international law. Yet for all his concern with peace, Kant's work is characterised by a fascinating preoccupation with the concept of war and its role in human history. The purpose of this essay is to investigate critically Kant's different conceptualisations of war and to evaluate his writing as a critique against contemporary versions of Liberal war and peace, as well as recent attempts to reduce war to an immanent logic of biopolitics.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*

Zucca Fabio

**Eugenio Colorni: dalla lotta per la libertà al manifesto di Ventotene**

in **Cittadinanza europea (La)**, Fascicolo 1 - 2012

Not Available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*

Albertini Mario



**Federalism and the crisis of Youth Political participation**

in *Federalista (II)/Federalist (The)*, Year LIII, Single Issue , 77-79

[http://www.thefederalist.eu/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=621&lang=en](http://www.thefederalist.eu/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=621&lang=en)

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*

Davies Thomas R.

**Internationalism in a Divided World: The Experience of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies, 1919–1939**

in *Peace & Change*, vol. 37, issue 2, april , 227-252

ABSTRACT: Despite the challenges of the geopolitical divisions of the interwar years, the International Federation of League of Nations Societies (IFLNS) brought together associations claiming to promote the ideals of the League of Nations in forty countries. It pioneered techniques for the lobbying of intergovernmental organizations that were so extensive that some considered it a “third chamber” of the League of Nations, and in areas such as its minorities work the Federation’s independent policy initiatives may be considered to be precursors to present-day “politics beyond the state.” Based largely on hitherto neglected publications and archives of the IFLNS, this is the first article to evaluate specifically the work of a body that at the time was often considered to be the leading international nongovernmental organization for the promotion of peace between the world wars. The article introduces the evolution of the IFLNS and explores its national and international work in turn.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*

Berthoin Georges, Rousselet Éric

**L'héritage de Jean Monnet -Entretien**

in *Revue des deux mondes*, Avril

Depuis plusieurs années déjà, l'Europe semble grippée. L'enthousiasme des débuts a laissé place au scepticisme, voire à la franche hostilité.

Bruxelles est accablé de critiques, tant par la gauche que par la droite. Que s'est-il donc passé ? Voici le diagnostic sans concessions et très personnel d'un témoin et acteur-clé de la construction européenne. Aujourd'hui président d'honneur du Mouvement européen international, Georges Berthoin a été l'un des plus proches collaborateurs de Jean Monnet...

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*

Bruno Arcidiacono

**La paix par le droit international dans la vision de deux juristes du XIXe siècle : le débat Lorimer-Bluntschli**



in *Relations internationales*, n°149 , 13-26

James Lorimer and Johann Caspar Bluntschli were among the most eminent jurists of their time. In 1877, after a historical period punctuated by several wars, the first proposed a peace plan providing for the political federalization of Europe; the second replied the following year with the project for a league of nations very different in nature, in which the leading role would be entrusted to the six major powers acting in concert. Both, however, felt that international law could not admit the prospect of war, and therefore would never be in full existence without a radical reform of the European system – an approach better labelled as « Law through Peace » than as « Peace through Law ».

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*

**Mill Colorni Felice**

**Le “lezioni” di Einaudi e le sfide dell’Europa**

in *Critica liberale*, volume XIX, n.195 - gennaio

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*

**Rigotti Francesca**

**Lettera da Königsberg: da Immanuel Kant ai liberali italiani**

in *Paradoxa*, Numero 1 - Gennaio/Marzo

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*

**Hoesch Matthias**

**Lässt Kants Völkerbund als Mitgliedsstaaten nur Republiken zu?**

in *Kant-Studien*, Volume 103, Issue 1, March 2012 , 114–125

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*

**Pasquino Gianfranco**

**Madison, Tocqueville e la democrazia dei liberali italiani**

in *Paradoxa*, Numero 1 - Gennaio/Marzo

No abstract available





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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*

Levi Lucio

**Mario Albertini. Politics between Science and Philosophy**

**in *Federalista (II)/Federalist (The)*, Year LIII, Single Issue , 30-52**

[http://www.thefederalist.eu/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=851&lang=en](http://www.thefederalist.eu/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=851&lang=en)

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*

Urbinati Nadia

**Mazzini and the making of the republican ideology**

**in *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* , Volume 17, Issue 3 , 183-204**

This article examines Giuseppe Mazzini's contribution to republicanism envisaged as an ideology and a political program whose aim was the formation of a political party capable of competing in the electoral process of a representative and constitutional government. The central theme is the role of republican ideology before and after Unification. Through an analysis of Mazzini's three great polemical ruptures with liberalism (over the idea of liberty) with class-based socialism (over the idea of solidarity) and with democratic ideology (over the idea of legitimacy), the article seeks to highlight the key components of the ideological identity that Mazzini sought to give first to the republican movement and then to the republican party.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*

Pistone Sergio

**Movimento federalista europeo: storia e prospettive di una strategia di azione politica**

**in *Il Ponte*, Numero 2-3 - Febbraio-Marzo 2012**

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*

Aloisio Salvatore

**Points for Thought in the Writings of Francesco Rossolillo**

**in *Federalista (II)/Federalist (The)*, Year LIII, Single Issue , 53-62**

[http://www.thefederalist.eu/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=608&lang=en](http://www.thefederalist.eu/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=608&lang=en)



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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*

Brugnoli Flavio

**Robert Triffin's 100th Anniversary: Looking Back, Looking Forward  
in Federalist Debate (The)**, Year XXV, n. 1, March

<http://www.federalist-debate.org/index.php/current/item/758-robert-triffin's-100th-anniversary-looking-back-looking-forward>

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*

Gangemi Giuseppe

**Silvio Trentin: due percorsi per la democrazia e il federalismo  
in Rivista di Storia della Filosofia**, Fascicolo 2, 2012

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*

Morelli Umberto

**Sovranità nazionale e federalismo in Luigi Einaudi  
in Il Ponte**, Numero 2-3 - Febbraio-Marzo 2012

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*

Bobbio Norberto

**Testimonianze e ricordi su Aldo Capitini  
in Nuova Antologia**, n. 2260, ottobre-dicembre , 43-53

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Pitts Jennifer

**Empire and Legal Universalisms in the Eighteenth Century**



in *American Historical Review*, Volume 117, Number 1, February , 92-121

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Fitzmaurice Andrew**

**Liberalism and Empire in Nineteenth-Century International Law**

in *American Historical Review*, Volume 117, Number 1, February , 122-140

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Gibbon Peter, Henriksen Lasse Folke**

**A Standard Fit for Neoliberalism**

in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Volume 54, Issue 2, April , 275-307

Social scientists and historians writing on techniques of contemporary rule, particularly those influenced by post-Marxist paradigms such as governmentality, have become increasingly preoccupied by the expanding role of standardization and the subjection of an ever-expanding array of spheres of activity to inspection (or self-inspection), audit, and certification. In the course of their investigations, the elements of a common narrative are emerging. This links standardization, audit, and certification with neoliberalism and contraction of the state, on one hand, with a reconfiguration of everyday life in business, communication, and social provision on the other (see Power 1997; Brunsson and Jakobsen 2000; Strathern 2000; and Higgins and Lerner 2010).

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Hanoteau Lulien**

**A mediterranean agreement for tuna conservation: The political benefit of an international ITQ scheme**

in *Intereconomics*, Volume 47, Number 1 / January 2012 , 52-60

Mediterranean bluefin tuna have been increasingly overfished since the early 1990s, but the countries involved have so far been unable to reach an agreement on an ecologically and economically more efficient use of this shared resource. A system of individual transferable quotas could foster international agreement on reducing the total allowable catches. One condition for this, however, would be that fisheries be adequately compensated for the opportunity costs of decommissioning vessels.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**O'Driscoll Cian**



**A 'fighting chance' or fighting dirty? Irregular warfare, Michael Gross and the Spartans**  
in *European Journal of Political Theory*, Vol. 11, no. 2, April 2012, 112-130

Abstract

Among the most vexed moral issues in contemporary conflict is the matter of whether irregular forces waging wars of national liberation should be expected to abide by the same *jus in bello* rules as state actors, even though these rules may prejudice their cause. Is it, in other words, reasonable to demand that irregular forces, including guerrilla groups and national liberation movements, should comport themselves like state armies, even in cases where this would stymie their capacity to effectively pursue their military goals? This article examines Michael Gross's recent provocative response to this question. Taking Article 44 of the 1977 Additional Protocol I to the Geneva Conventions as his point of departure, Gross contends that the laws governing battlefield conduct should be revised to allow irregular forces waging an otherwise just war greater leeway to pursue their cause. Controversially, he extends this concession to the use of qualified terrorist tactics. Focusing on Gross's use of the notion of a 'right to a fighting chance' as a normative grounding for this far-reaching proposition, this article draws on specific historical cases that arose in the context of Ancient Greek warfare to challenge Gross's position. On a broader note, this article concludes with some remarks to the effect that this foray into the world of Ancient Greek warfare is demonstrative of the critical potential of a historical approach to the ethics of war.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Bach Jean-Nicolas

**Abyotawi democracy: neither revolutionary nor democratic, a critical review of EPRDF's conception of revolutionary democracy in post-1991 Ethiopia**

in *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, Volume 5, Issue 4, Special Issue: "Ethiopia's revolutionary democracy, 1991–2011", 641-663

Since 1991 and the arrival of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) into power, the Ethiopian ideologists have maintained revolutionary democracy (abyotawi democracy in Amharic) as their core doctrine. The notion inherited from the struggle (1970s–1980s) aims at legitimizing a political and economic structure which de facto implies the resilience of authoritarianism. Abyotawi democracy has been presented by EPRDF as the exact opposite of liberalism and neoliberalism. As no article dedicated to a review and engagement with EPRDF's abyotawi democracy has been written so far, this article aims at analysing this Ethiopian version of revolutionary democracy. The evolution and uses of the notion since 1991 reveal a "bricolage" that abyotawi democracy has been operating out of Leninism, Marxism, Maoism, and also liberalism. While a review of party pamphlets and official party/state discourses reveals the degree to which revolutionary democracy has become an ambiguous doctrine vis-à-vis "liberalism", the doctrine remains powerful as a fighting tool to exclude internal and external "enemies".

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Sohn Injoo

**After renaissance: China's multilateral offensive in the developing world**



in *European Journal of International Relations* , vol. 18, n. 2, june , 77-101

ABSTRACT: Why does a re-emerging China pursue institutional strategies to expand its multilateral ties all over the world? This study explains the genesis of China's new multilateral diplomacy toward Africa, Latin America, and the Middle East. The central argument of the study is that many strands of structural arguments drawn from realist, liberal, and constructivist insights cannot provide complete explanations about China's multilateral activism without recourse to cognitive feedback dynamics. China fed its regional experiences of multilateralism back into its global policy formation. This experiment-based approach has been a pervasive feature in Chinese multilateral diplomacy as well as Chinese domestic reforms during the post-Mao period. The cognitive feedback model developed in this study intends to complement the prominent structural explanations by identifying micro-level dynamics and seeks to contribute to today's debate over power transition and international order.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Feyissa Dereje**

**Aid negotiation: the uneasy “partnership” between EPRDF and the donors**

in *Journal of Eastern African Studies* , Volume 5, Issue 4, Special Issue: "Ethiopia's revolutionary democracy, 1991–2011" , 788-817

Ethiopia has become a major recipient of international development aid since the coming to power of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF). This is despite ideological differences between EPRDF and its donors. EPRDF champions the developmental state model that assigns to the state a key role in the development process within a dominant party political framework. Donors broadly fall within the liberalism continuum with the private sector as the driving force and the assumption of a democratic-pluralist politics. The paper examines the making of a robust aid relationship across this ideological boundary and the underlying tensions. It also analyses the “significant others” that have influenced the tone of the conversation between EPRDF and donors. The paper refers to the literature that considers aid relationship as a negotiation rather than the normative and politically loaded term “partnership”.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Lee Unger Jameson**

**Assessing the Progress of the Democratic Peace Research Program**

in *International Studies Review*, vol. 14, issue 1, march , 1-31

ABSTRACT: This article analyzes the evolution of the democratic peace, beginning from the initial observation of a lack of wars and rarity of conflicts between democratic regimes to a number of competing and/or compatible explanations over the causality of the observed peace. A Lakatosian methodology is applied as a foundation for assessing the progress of the research program, according to the four traditionally recognized concepts: a hard core; a positive heuristic; a negative heuristic; and the auxiliary hypotheses. Theories are distinguished based on their theoretical and empirical progressiveness, as well as progressive intra-program problem-shifts. Explanations over the active causal process have often been seen as competitors, yet a Lakatosian framework enables seemingly inconsistent hypotheses



to be grafted onto an existing research program, which can be determined to be progressive if they provide increased explanatory power and novel predictions that receive empirical corroboration. By these criteria, the research on capitalist development and the ongoing democratic peace research are not incompatible, provided that further additions to the research program ascertain the progressive criteria. Furthermore, by highlighting the areas that can best explain and predict the democratic peace phenomenon, the Lakatosian analysis offers insights for future progression in the field, as well as the areas upon which research should be focused.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Cason Timothy N., Savikhin Anya C., Sheremeta Roman M.**

**Behavioral spillovers in coordination games**

in *European Economic Review*, Volume 56, Issue 2, February 2012 , 233-245

Motivated by problems of coordination failure observed in weak-link games, we experimentally investigate behavioral spillovers for minimum- and median-effort coordination games. Subjects play these coordination games simultaneously and sequentially. The results show that successful coordination on the Pareto optimal equilibrium in the median game influences behavior in the minimum game when the games are played sequentially. Moreover, this positive, Pareto-improving spillover is present even when group composition changes across games, although the effect is not as strong. We also find that the precedent for uncooperative behavior in the minimum game does not influence play in the median game. These findings suggest guidelines for increasing cooperative behavior within organizations.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Schroder Peter**

**Carl Schmitt's Appropriation of the Early Modern European Tradition of Political Thought on the State and Interstate Relations**

in *History of Political Thought*, Vol. 33, Issue 2 , 348-371

Carl Schmitt (1888-1985) appropriated the early modern tradition of political thought to his own juridical and political writings. By examining Schmitt's use of this tradition, it is possible to decipher the structure of his own political philosophy and better understand his polemic. This article therefore discusses the key sources and concepts that informed his understanding of the state and interstate relations. The main focus is on Schmitt's engagement with Hobbes, Bodin and Gentili. It becomes clear that Schmitt's appropriation of their thought is selective and that his deliberate silence about certain aspects of Hobbes's or Gentili's theories in particular is almost as telling as his deliberate use of their arguments.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Karen Culcasi**

**Cartographies of supranationalism: Creating and silencing territories in the "Arab Homeland"**

in *Political Geography*, volume 30 n.8 , 417-428





In the predominately Arab states of north Africa and southwest Asia, a geopolitical entity exists that is rather uncommon elsewhere in the world. The “Arab Homeland,” as it is referred, is a readily accepted cartographic discourse throughout much of this extensive region. The construction of this entity emerged at the same time as the pan-Arab movement of the mid-twentieth century, which was fueled and motivated by 20th century geopolitical conflicts between Arabs and European imperialists, and between Arabs and Israelis. Through a critical reading of its cartographic construction since the fall of the Ottoman Empire in 1919, I provide unique insights into the numerous, complex, and even contradictory geopolitics of the construction of the Arab Homeland. My analysis of several hundred maps produced in eight different states of the Arab Homeland reveals that from the mid 1950s onward that the Arab Homeland was not only commonplace, but also how this supranational territorial entity confused and at times defied generally accepted divisions of the world. Expanding upon literature on supranational entities and the state, I show that territory is not only still important in our globalized world, but that it also has a complex and at times contradictory relationship with the concepts and scales of the state and the supranational. In emphasizing the role of territory in its construction, I also inject the importance of geography and territory for the pan-Arab movement, which is a factor that has been greatly under-theorized.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Feitelson Eran, Tamimi Abdelrahman, Rosenthal Gad**

**Climate change and security in the Israeli–Palestinian context**

in **Journal of Peace Research**, Volume 49, Number 1, Special Issue: "Climate Change and Conflict", January , 241-257

The Middle East is among the least stable and most fragile regions. It is not surprising, therefore, that concerns have been raised regarding the potential implications of climate change. This article critically examines the potential interactions between climate change and conflict in the Israeli–Palestinian case. Based on a review of the possible effects of climate change, water is identified as the main issue which may be affected, and it also has transboundary implications. We illustrate the potential implications of reduced freshwater availability by assessing the ability to supply normative domestic water needs under rapid population growth scenarios, including return of refugees. In addition, the ability to supply environmental needs and the needs of peripheral farmers under extremely reduced availability scenarios is examined. The normative domestic demand in Israel and the West Bank can be supplied on the basis of natural resources, though re-allocation of water from Israel to the Palestinians is necessary. The Gaza Strip cannot supply the normative domestic needs under any scenario and hence requires immediate augmentation, regardless of climate change. Desalination can supply Gaza’s needs and augment water resources in Israel and the West Bank, thereby partially decoupling domestic and agricultural use from climate. Thus, it is unlikely that climate change will directly affect the conflict. However, framing water as a security issue, along with the potential for furthering such securitization with reference to climate change, may adversely affect the readiness of the parties to take adaptive measures and lead them to rigidify their negotiating positions. Possible effects of climate change on other regional players, particularly Egypt and Jordan, may have indirect effects on the Israeli–Palestinian scene. But this hypothesis requires further study.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**De Stefano Lucia, Duncan James, Dinar Shlomi, Stahl Kerstin, Strzepek Kenneth M, Wolf Aaron T**

**Climate change and the institutional resilience of international river basins**



in **Journal of Peace Research**, Volume 49, Number 1, Special Issue: "Climate Change and Conflict", January , 193-209

In the existing 276 international river basins, the increase in water variability projected by most climate change scenarios may present serious challenges to riparian states. This research maps the institutional resilience to water variability in transboundary basins and combines it with both historic and projected variability regimes, with the objective of identifying areas at potential risk of future hydropolitical tension. To do so, it combs existing international treaties for sources of institutional resilience and considers the coefficient of variation of runoff as a measure of past and future water variability. The study finds significant gaps in both the number of people and area covered by institutional stipulations to deal with variability in South America and Asia. At present, high potential risk for hydropolitical tensions associated with water variability is identified in 24 transboundary basins and seems to be concentrated mainly in northern and sub-Saharan Africa. By 2050, areas at greatest potential risk are more spatially dispersed and can be found in 61 international basins, and some of the potentially large impacts of climate change are projected to occur away from those areas currently under scrutiny. Understanding when and where to target capacity-building in transboundary river basins for greater resilience to change is critical. This study represents a step toward facilitating these efforts and informing further qualitative and quantitative research into the relationship between climate change, hydrological variability regimes, and institutional capacity for accommodating variability.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Sperotto Federico**

**Combating international terrorism**

in **Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali**, Volume 78, n. 4, ottobre-dicembre , 541-551

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Dove John A.**

**Credible commitments and constitutional constraints: state debt repudiation and default in nineteenth century America**

in **Constitutional political economy**, Volume 23, Number 1 / March 2012 , 66-93

Between 1839 and 1842 the United States suffered through an acute debt crisis. Over this period, eight states and one territory defaulted, five of which outright repudiated all or parts of their outstanding debts. However, for many of those same states, reentry into capital markets occurred relatively rapidly and at rather favorable terms. The question then arises, how and why was this possible? This work attempts to explain this phenomenon by suggesting that soon after default or repudiation many states enacted constitutional amendments meant to significantly constrain and credibly commit future governments from overextending credit and simultaneously to pursue time-consistent public policy. I explore this by examining the impact that these newly imposed constitutional amendments, which limited both the type and amount of debt and created stronger procedural safeguards for issuing debt, had on average bond prices, gathered from New York market data. Overall, my results show that newly constrained states had higher average bond prices than states that did not impose constitutional limits on debt financing, suggesting that markets did, in fact, perceive these constitutional changes to be binding and credible.



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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Mako Shamiran**

**Cultural Genocide and Key International Instruments: Framing the Indigenous Experience**  
in *International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights*, Volume 19, Number 2 , 175-194

Since its introduction by Raphael Lemkin during the Second World War, cultural genocide has served as a conceptual framework for the non-physical destruction of a group. Following a vigorous debate over the legitimacy of the concept by states fearing prosecution for ethnocidal acts, namely Australia, the United States, Sweden and Canada, cultural genocide/ethnocide was abrogated from the 1948 Genocide Convention. This pivotal move has shifted the frame of analysis and has sparked a contentious debate about the distinguishing elements of the physical destruction of a people and their cultural dissipation. The achievements of the indigenous peoples' movement throughout the 1980s reignited the debate surrounding cultural genocide within the international arena. This article is both a survey of cultural genocide of indigenous populations of North America, South America and Australia, as well as the role of indigenous social movements within the international arena. It analyzes the development of cultural genocide within international law by Raphael Lemkin, its subsequent debate by the United Nations' Ad Hoc Committee on Genocide, its omission from the Genocide Convention, and its reintroduction by indigenous peoples' mobilization to the international arena. The Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, the Indigenous Peoples Rights Act (Philippines), the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights, the various findings of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia relating to cultural genocide, the conference findings of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe relating to minorities, along with Lemkin's original reference to the term will be used as frameworks for illuminating the extent and gravity of such crimes.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Migliavacca Paolo**

**Dal Washington al Beijing Consensus. E dopo?**  
in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLIV, numero speciale, n. 166 , 123-142

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Scruggs Lyle, Benegal Salil**

**Declining public concern about climate change: Can we blame the great recession?**  
in *Global Environmental Change*, Volume 22, Issue 2, Special Issue "Adding Insult to Injury: Climate Change, Social Stratification, and the Inequities of Intervention", May , 505-515

Social surveys suggest that the American public's concern about climate change has declined dramatically since 2008. This has led to a search for explanations for this decline, and great deal of speculation that there has been a fundamental shift in public trust in climate science. We evaluate over thirty years of public opinion data about global



warming and the environment, and suggest that the decline in belief about climate change is most likely driven by the economic insecurity caused by the Great Recession. Evidence from European nations further supports an economic explanation for changing public opinion. The pattern is consistent with more than forty years of public opinion about environmental policy. Popular alternative explanations for declining support – partisan politicization, biased media coverage, fluctuations in short-term weather conditions – are unable to explain the suddenness and timing of opinion trends. The implication of these findings is that the “crisis of confidence” in climate change will likely rebound after labor market conditions improve, but not until then.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Manaktala Meghna**

**Defining Genocide**

in **Peace Review**, vol. 24, n. 2 , 179-186

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Sellars Kirsten**

**Delegitimizing Aggression. First Steps and False Starts after the First World War**

in **Journal of International Criminal Justice**, Volume 10, Issue 1, March , 7-40

The interwar years marked the movement in international law towards the prohibition of aggressive war. Yet a notable feature of the 1920s and 1930s, despite suggestions to the contrary at the Nuremberg and Tokyo tribunals, was the absence of legal milestones marking the advance towards the criminalization of aggression. Lloyd George's proposal to arraign the ex-Kaiser for starting the First World War came to nothing. Resolutions mentioning the ‘international crime’ of aggression, such as the draft Treaty for Mutual Assistance and the Geneva Protocol, were never ratified. And the Kellogg–Briand Pact, while renouncing war ‘as an instrument of national policy’, made no mention at all of aggression, much less individual responsibility for it. Not until the closing stages of the Second World War, with defeat of the Axis powers within sight, did politicians and jurists reconsider the problem of how to deal with enemy leaders, and contemplate the role that a charge of aggression might play in this process.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Below Katharina, et. al.**

**Der Aufstieg der BIC-Staaten als Wissensmächte?**

in **Zeitschrift für Politik**, Jahrgang 59, Heft 1, 2012

Summary

The further economic and political rise of Brazil, India and China (BIC) increasingly depends on their ability to prevail in the fierce international competition for innovation because »knowledge« has become a decisive factor in international politics. In order to evaluate whether the BICs are catching up in the fields of knowledge and technology, a theoretical



concept of »knowledge power« is proposed that consists of two components, namely technological innovation capacity and the ability to control the global knowledge structure. The former is reflected in the education system, the research potentials and the effective commercialization of knowledge within a specific economy, while the latter can be measured through a country's specific position in the global knowledge structure. Innovation capacity and structural power are both assumed to be unevenly distributed throughout the international system. Consequently, certain states hold more knowledge power, i.e. possess more options for action and self-assertion and can profoundly influence the environment of other actors.

Based on this framework several indicators are selected to explore the BICs development as knowledge powers. The BIC countries indeed are on their way towards building their own powerful technological innovation capacity. However, in terms of the control over the global knowledge structure, they still remain quite marginalized. In sum, the pace at which the gap between BIC countries and the industrial nations is being closed is much less rapid and alarming than often portrayed in the media. Yet these general trends nonetheless should attract the strategic attention of Germany and other industrial nations to reorganizing their policies in order to adapt to a changed distribution of global knowledge power and to profit from the various advantages inherent in these developments.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Long Graham**

**Disputes in just war theory and meta-theory**

**in European Journal of Political Theory**, Vol. 11, no. 2, April 2012 , 209-225

Abstract

Recently, alternatives to both the structure and content of 'orthodox' just war theory have been proposed by Jeff McMahan and David Rodin. In this paper, I draw on this debate to show that key ideas in just war theory can be disputed in both of these respects. More broadly, it is unclear how we should assess the debate between differing conceptions of individual principles (such as just cause and proportionality) and the competing wider theories in which they might be situated. I employ the idea of reflective equilibrium, taken from John Rawls, to show how these conflicting viewpoints might be understood and assessed. I argue, then, that contemporary just war theory faces both important questions of substance, and a set of difficult meta-theoretical issues concerning the grounds on which competing just war theories can be assessed. Furthermore, I contend, this should influence the character of – and our expectations for – real-world just war institutions.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Baliga Sandeep, Lucca David O., Sjöström Tomas**

**Domestic Political Survival and International Conflict: Is Democracy Good for Peace?**

**in Review of Economic Studies**, Volume 78 Issue 2 April 2011 , 458-486

We build a game-theoretic model where aggression can be triggered by domestic political concerns as well as the fear of being attacked. In the model, leaders of full and limited democracies risk losing power if they do not stand up to threats from abroad. In addition, the leader of a fully democratic country loses the support of the median voter if he





attacks a non-hostile country. The result is a non-monotonic relationship between democracy and peace. Using Polity data, we classify countries as full democracies, limited democracies, and dictatorships. For the period 1816–2000, Correlates of War data suggest that limited democracies are more aggressive than other regime types, including dictatorships, and not only during periods when the political regime is changing. In particular, a dyad of limited democracies is more likely to be involved in a militarized dispute than any other dyad (including “mixed” dyads, where the two countries have different regime types). Thus, while full democratization might advance the cause of peace, limited democratization might advance the cause of war. We also find that as the environment becomes more hostile, fully democratic countries become more aggressive faster than other regime types.

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#### **Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Haustein Jörg, Østebø Terje**

#### **EPRDF's revolutionary democracy and religious plurality: Islam and Christianity in post-Derg Ethiopia**

**in *Journal of Eastern African Studies*** , Volume 5, Issue 4, Special Issue: "Ethiopia's revolutionary democracy, 1991–2011" , 755-772

In 1991 the Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) introduced policies aimed at recognizing the country's long-standing religious diversity, providing a public arena for religious groups, and maintaining a sharp division between religion and the state. This further eroded the traditionally dominant position of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, strengthened Protestant Christian and Muslim communities, and created a more fluid and competitive configuration among the religious communities. Seeking to maintain its political power, the EPRDF has at the same time made efforts to monitor and control the different religious communities. Therefore, the last 20 years have been marked by uneven developments, in which the government's accommodating attitudes have been interlaced with efforts to curtail the influence of the religious communities. This article surveys the intersection and reciprocal influences between EPRDF policies and religious communities over the last 20 years, and discusses how Muslims and Christians (Orthodox and Protestant) have negotiated their roles in relation to politics and public life. These developments have, the article argues, led to the emergence of divergent and competing narratives, reconfiguring self-understanding, political aspirations and views of the religious other. The EPRDF ideology of “revolutionary democracy” has, in this sense, enabled religion to surface as a force for social mobilization and as a point of reference for attempting to define nationhood in Ethiopia.

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#### **Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Gudina Merera**

#### **Elections and democratization in Ethiopia, 1991–2010**

**in *Journal of Eastern African Studies*** , Volume 5, Issue 4, Special Issue: "Ethiopia's revolutionary democracy, 1991–2011" , 554-680

In 1991 the Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Forces (EPRDF), the new party and former insurgent movement that assumed power in Ethiopia, announced a program of democratization and multi-party politics. But after 20 years of rule, no electoral alternation of power on either the national or local level has yet occurred, and what seems to have been institutionalized is a de facto one-party state with undiminished rule of the EPRDF as a vanguard party. There is a significant gap between popular expectations and realities on the ground, compounded by ethno-regional tensions. One of the core problems preventing the emergence of an open political space and a democratic transition is





the ideology of “revolutionary democracy”, a self-proclaimed anti-thesis of liberal democracy and based on the Leninist principle of “democratic centralism”. This has allowed a fusion of party and state that negates the separation of powers as well as a system of checks and balances. The hegemonic aspirations of the EPRDF are confirmed and reinforced by the legacy of an inherited authoritarian political culture. In such conditions, elections have not led to the development of democratic practices.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Raynaud Philippe

**Entre droit et politique. Des origines romaines de la guerre juste au système international des États**  
in *Raisons politiques*, n. 45, février

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Kyriacou Andreas P.

**Ethnic segregation and the quality of government: the importance of regional diversity**  
in *Constitutional political economy*, Volume 23, Number 2 / June 2012 , 166-180

It has recently been argued that the regional segregation of ethnic or linguistic groups leads to lower government quality and that this is partly due to the negative effect of segregation on inter-group trust. In this paper I show that the relationship between ethnic segregation, trust and government quality is mediated by another dimension of regional diversity namely, regional income disparities. Accounting for regional disparities reduces the estimated impact of segregation and trust on the quality of government and reduces the statistical robustness of ethnic segregation. The analysis highlights the usefulness of identifying other factors which may be driving regional diversity, beyond ethno-linguistic characteristics.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Eleftheriadis Pavlos, Nicolaidis Kalypso, Weiler J.H.H.

**Foreword: The changing landscape of European constitutionalism**  
in *International Journal of Constitutional Law*, Vol.6, n.3-4 , 673-677

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Melleuish Gregory

**Francis Fukuyama and the Origins of Political Order and the State: A Historical Critique**  
in *Australian Journal of Politics & History* , Volume 58, Issue 1, March , 112-122



This essay examines the model of state development put forward by Francis Fukuyama in his book, *The Origins of Political Order*. It argues that the evolutionary model used by Fukuyama experiences problems when it comes to dealing with specific historical examples. Its emphasis on the Qin state as the “first modern state” places an excessive emphasis on coercion and violence as the basis of the state. It attempts to relegate Rome to being equivalent to a chiefdom to fit it into his model whereas in reality Rome evolved differently to China and relied much more on cooperation and networks. England after 1688 provides another example of how Fukuyama's model is deficient. On this basis the paper argues that a universal evolutionary model is insufficient to explain political development and it is more appropriate to begin analysis with real political societies.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Andrássy György**

**Freedom of Language: A Universal Human Right to Be Recognised**

**in *International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights*, Volume 19, Number 2 , 195-232**

Human rights as legal rights originate from human rights as pre-existing moral rights; however, as pre-existing human rights are unwritten and invisible, it is uncertain whether all of these rights have been recognised and defined properly. This article advances the thought that if there are any human rights at all and if the civil and political rights recognised and defined by the United Nations represent these pre-existing human rights, then there must be at least one more such right, the right of all to freedom of language and, therefore, the United Nations ought to recognise and define this right too.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Moore Christopher**

**From Civil Liberties to Human Rights? British Civil Liberties Activism and Universal Human Rights**

**in *Contemporary European History* , vol. 21, n. 2, May , 169-192**

This article discusses British civil liberties organisations hoping to engage in a broader human rights politics during and immediately after the Second World War. It argues that various movements and organisations from sections of the British Left attempted to articulate a human rights politics which incorporated political, civil, social and economic rights during the 1940s and early 1950s. However, organisations were unable to express this and mobilise accordingly. This reflected the collapse of the popular-front-style alliances forged in the 1930s and the difficulties in articulating political positions distinct from the ideological polarisation that emerged with the onset of the Cold War.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Bon Cristina**

**Governatori sudisti e crisi costituzionali negli Stati Uniti della prima metà dell'Ottocento**

**in *Amministrare*, numero : 1, supplemento , 7-46**

No abstract available



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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Urpelainen Johannes**

**How uncertainty about outside options impedes international cooperation**

**in *International Theory***, Volume 4, Issue 01, March , 133-163

International cooperation often requires costly policy adjustments. States may worry, however, that such adjustments weaken their outside options, and thus reduce their bargaining power. How does uncertainty about the effects of policy adjustments on outside options influence the depth of cooperation that states can achieve? My game-theoretic analysis shows that uncertainty about outside options is an obstacle to deep cooperation. If states agree on deep cooperation, they have to compensate vulnerable states with weak outside options for their losses. Under uncertainty, states that are not vulnerable have an incentive to falsely claim that they are vulnerable (i) to avoid a side payment or (ii) to obtain compensation for being vulnerable. The result holds even if the added value of deep cooperation would be large enough to fully compensate the losers. In equilibrium, the more vulnerable state sometimes offers a side payment to the less vulnerable one. More broadly, the analysis reveals a new international cooperation problem and provides a new rationale for costly signaling mechanisms and delegation to international organizations.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Jeffrey Blustein**

**Human Rights and the Internationalization of Memory**

**in *Journal of Social Philosophy*** , Vol. 43, n°1 , 19-32

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Calhoun Laurie**

**Human Rights or Just War?**

**in *Peace Review***, vol. 24, n. 2 , 163-170

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Sutch Peter**

**Human rights and the use of force: Assertive liberalism and just war**

**in *European Journal of Political Theory***, Vol. 11, no. 2, April 2012 , 172-190



Abstract

This paper critically explores the growing assertiveness with which liberalism has approached questions of the just use of force since 9/11. The liberal position rests upon broad claims about the centrality of human rights concerns to considerations of the justice of war. The claim is that a liberal-cosmopolitan respect for human rights forces us to reconsider the conservative, generally prohibitive, position on the use of force defended by traditional just war theory and enshrined in international law. This argument is has been most fully developed by Allen Buchanan in several important books and papers and it is Buchanan's position that forms the basis for the critique of the assertive cosmopolitan attitude to the use of force that is offered in this article. The paper shows that both the just war tradition and those who theorize the ethics of the law of armed conflict have taken the moral and political reality of human rights seriously (in a manner that directly addresses Buchanan's core argument) but that there remain compelling reasons to defend a conservative approach to the use of force.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Giaconi Marco

**I nuovi assetti strategici arabi dopo le "Primavere"**

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLIV, numero speciale, n. 166 , 183-187

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Zonova Tatiana V.

**Il pensiero di due cristiani dell'Occidente sulle relazioni internazionali: Reinhold Niebuhr e Giorgio La Pira**

in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Volume 78, n. 4, ottobre-dicembre , 569-577

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Gardini Gian Luca

**In Defense of Oral History: Evidence from the Mercosur Case**

in *Journal of Politics in Latin America* , Vol 4, No. 1 , 107-133

This article makes a case in defense of oral history in the study of political science and international relations. The existing literature has scrutinized the technical aspects and appropriate use of oral material. This article focuses on the circumstances under which oral history may be an indispensable method of scholarly investigation: first, when written primary sources are not readily available; second, when an investigation targets complex and secret high-level negotiations; and third, when the main research concern is the human agent's perspective and ideational factors. The article first addresses the issue of reliability and rigor of oral history as compared to written sources and then



concentrates on the creation of Mercosur as an example of the validity of oral history under the three circumstances identified. The conclusion proposes a revival of a more historical approach to political studies.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Alcantara Christopher, Zachary Spicer, Leone Roberto

**Institutional design and the accountability paradox: A case study of three Aboriginal accountability regimes in Canada**

in *Canadian Public Administration*, Vol. 55, issue 1, 69-90

While academic interest in accountability and transparency mechanisms in Aboriginal governance has risen over the past few years, very few studies have examined how these mechanisms operate in practice. One author, Shin Imai (), argues that Indigenous groups in Canada are faced with an accountability paradox that gives too much power to the federal government to intervene in band affairs, while giving too little power to band members to hold their local officials accountable for their actions. This paper examines the extent to which Aboriginal groups can avoid this paradox by reviewing three experiments in institutional design and self-government in Aboriginal communities: the Sechelt Indian Band and the Westbank First Nation in British Columbia, and Nunatsiavut in Labrador. While considerable variation exists in terms of how well these communities overcome Imai's paradox, each community's accountability regime is an improvement over the one imposed by the Indian Act. The effectiveness of these regimes depends heavily on the institutional designs chosen by the Indigenous groups.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Narang Vipin, Staniland Paul

**Institutions and Worldviews in Indian Foreign Security Policy**

in *India Review*, Volume 11, Issue 2, Special Issue: "Domestic Politics and Foreign Policy", 76-94

This article explores the intersection of strategic worldviews and domestic institutions in the creation of India's foreign policy. We first show that Indian electoral politics have weak links with foreign policy. Insulated bureaucracies and small groups of elites dominate policy making because most elected officials are focused on winning votes and building coalitions around other issues. The ideas of the strategic elite are thus very important. We then identify major strands of thought among these elites: specifically, the desire for autonomy, distance from alliances, and skepticism of binding international commitments. Though there is heterogeneity, these basic elements can be found across much of the political spectrum. This continuity, despite changes over time in international and domestic politics, suggests that India will continue to pursue freedom of action rather than becoming a close ally of the United States.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Jones Peter, O'Flynnlan

**Internal Conflict, the International Community and the Promotion of Principled Compromise**

in *Government and Opposition*, Vol. 47, n. 3, July, 395-413



The international community has many reasons to promote compromise between the parties to internal conflicts. Yet to do so effectively, the international community ought to treat principled rather than strategic compromise as its default position. To make this case, we begin by defining 'compromise' and by distinguishing principled from strategic compromise. We then defend the idea of principled compromise against the realist who thinks that that idea is implausible. We conclude by offering a number of practical reasons why principled compromise ought to be preferred. Our argument does not deny that strategic compromise will sometimes be the only option. But, unlike principled compromise, strategic compromise does not provide the parties with any particular reason to look beyond their own particular concerns or to give any ground beyond what is absolutely necessary.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Papisca Antonio

**International Law of Human Rights as a «Sign of the Times» for Fostering Religious Freedom and Intercultural Dialogue in the Inclusive City. Reflections on Some Recent High-Level Positions in the Catholic Institutional Context**

in *Pace Diritti Umani*, anno 9, n. 2, maggio-agosto , 61-78

ABSTRACT: L'orizzonte della promozione e della protezione dei diritti umani è sempre più globale. Quanto più il mondo interdepende e si globalizza tanto più estesamente si invocano i diritti umani. La coscienza dei membri della famiglia umana, soprattutto dei più deboli e vulnerabili, si fa tribunale supremo, le sue manifestazioni alimentano l'effettività del Diritto internazionale dei diritti della persona in maniera non meno rilevante delle sentenze delle corti di giustizia. Questo nuovo diritto è un «segno dei tempi», indicato come tale già nell'enciclica *Pacem in Terris* di Giovanni XXIII. Ad esso fanno costante riferimento gli altri pontefici, da ultimo Benedetto XVI. Questa attenzione si spiega in ragione del fatto che il diritto dei diritti umani ha recepito principi di etica universale e che tra le sue norme c'è quella espressamente dedicata al diritto alla libertà religiosa, proclamato insieme con il diritto alla libertà di pensiero e il diritto alla libertà di coscienza. L'autore argomenta che il riferimento al paradigma dei diritti universali è utile sia per l'esercizio della libertà religiosa in quanto tale sia per lo sviluppo del dialogo interculturale finalizzato, questo, all'inclusione negli spazi pubblici, a cominciare della città. L'apporto delle religioni è particolarmente importante per elucidare e affermare i caratteri della laicità positiva.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Lemoine Maurice

**Internationale socialiste ou les Pieds Nickelés en Amérique latine**

in *Monde Diplomatique (Le)*, Janvier

En 1951, l'Internationale socialiste (IS) rétablit ses activités en vue de « libérer les peuples de leur dépendance face aux détenteurs des moyens de production ». Soixante ans plus tard, ses dirigeants préfèrent parler de « régulation judicieuse des effets néfastes de la mondialisation ». Une lente dérive qu'illustre leur attitude face aux socialistes latino-américains.





<http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/2012/01/LEMOINE/47202>

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Bouris Dimitris, Reigeluth Stuart**

**Introducing the Rule of Law in Security Sector Reform: European Union Policies in the Palestinian Territories**  
in *Hague Journal on the Rule of Law*, Vol. 4, issue 1 , 176-193

This paper examines the efforts of the European Union to advance Security Sector Reform and to bridge the gap with the Judiciary Sector Reform and the rule of law in the Occupies Palestinian Territories. Since the 1993 Oslo Accords, the EU engaged actively in the state-building project in the Occupied Palestinian Territories by taking a number of initiatives in situ. Security has been a key issue in all Israeli-Palestinian agreements concluded during the post-1993 Oslo interim period up to 1999 and then, with the resumption of the Palestinian intifada in 2000, security became primordial to all internationally-sponsored diplomatic initiatives and peace plans. The article analyses the EU initiatives undertaken to help the Palestinian Authority reform its security and judiciary sectors, and argues that while the European Union has, in theory, supported the rule of law perspective in Palestinian Security Sector Reform, in reality it has not paid much attention to improving democratic civilian oversight and accountability.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Castellá Andreu Josep Maria, Mastromarino Anna**

**Introduction**

in *Perspectives on federalism*, Vol. 4, issue 1 , I-V

The goal of this monographic is the analysis of citizen participation in the regional and local levels of government of Italy and Spain. The essays present the current situation of the different types of democracy: representative, direct and participatory, in the framework of the new generation of Statutes passed last decade in both countries. Instruments of participation are introduced in the decision-making process and they serve to ensure transparency, legitimacy and greater accountability to the public institutions

Full text available at: <http://www.on-federalism.eu/index.php/component/content/article/117-introduction>

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**



*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Vallet Élisabeth, David Charles-Philippe

**Introduction. Du retour des murs frontaliers en relations internationales**

in *Etudes Internationales*, Vol. 43, n° 1 , 5-25

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Makdisi Samir

**It's gaining ground, but Arab democracy is very precarious**

in *Europe's World*, Issue 21, Summer

The wealth of oil reserves in some Arab countries, and internal tensions along with the Arab-Israeli conflict, have kept autocratic governments in power for many years. Samir Makdisi warns that these factors will continue to make new-found Arab democracies very vulnerable.

[http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home\\_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21995/language/en-US/Default.aspx](http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21995/language/en-US/Default.aspx)

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Gran Thorvald

**John Searle on the concept of political power, the power of states and war-making: why states demand a monopoly of the organisation and use of soldiers**

in *Journal of Institutional Economics*, Volume 8 - Issue 01 – 2012 , 71-91

John Searle has developed a strong theory of how speech acts and agreements generate institutions. How is the general theory specified for political institutions? He, like Max Weber, suggests that a government monopoly of soldiers is a condition for the existence of political institutions. However, governments' wielding of force is only political if those attacked consider the attack a responsible and a morally acceptable act. All political power in Searle's theory is deontic. It is assigned as a right, an obligation or the like, as a status function. If power wielding by a government is not assigned, it is beyond the political; it is only brute force. My contention is that this distinction limits the power of Searle's theory in the analysis of politics. From the idea of political institutions as ultimate institutions in a specific, bordered territory it is the strong idea of deonticity that is misleading. Ultimate institutions cannot by definition have externally assigned status. Leaders of other ultimate institutions can accept their existence, but then mainly because they have the military power to defend their borders. Nation states, demanding territorial sovereignty, therefore logically demand a monopoly of soldiers. This sovereignty seen over time suggests an evolutionary first principle of political institutions.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*



Evans Mark

**Just war, democracy, democratic peace**

in *European Journal of Political Theory*, Vol. 11, no. 2, April 2012 , 191-208

Abstract

In recent times, 'just war' discourse has become unfortunately associated, in the minds of some, with the idea of the forcible promotion or imposition of democracy as a legitimate just cause. It would thus be understandable if supporters of just war theory were to disavow any particular linkage of its tenets with the democratic ideal. However, while certainly not endorsing the stated cause, this article contends that the theory in its most plausible and attractive form does exhibit certain biases towards the ideal, in both *jus ad bellum* and *jus post bellum*. If these biases fall short of shackling the theory to claims such as 'only democracies can fight just wars', they may nevertheless place taxing justificatory burdens on a non-democracy's claim to have a war-waging right and on non-democratic conceptions of the just peace that should ideally follow a just war.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Palluault Olivier

**La dynamique contemporaine de sécurité et le renouveau de la défense civile américaine sous l'administration Clinton**

in *Cultures & Conflits*, n. 84, hiver , 103-129

The contemporary dynamics of security and the renewal of US civil defense under Clinton administration Homeland security, implemented in the United States after the 9/11 attacks, embodies the contemporary transformation of security. Its emergence is not directly linked to the destruction of the World Trade Center, but rather to a security dynamic which formed since the mid-1990s. This dynamic lies on the combination of five social processes: a consensus for the promotion of a strong and watchful America (ontological process), a transformation of strategic practices towards the reduction of vulnerabilities (strategic process), the creation of a bureaucratic setting outside the military and police (bureaucratic process), the advent of new actors in the security field, which specialize in risk management (sociological process), and the continuous vision of technological innovation as source of the threat and only solution to it (technological process).

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Armillotta Giovanni

**La nascita della geopolitica inglese e della politica estera europea**

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLIV, numero speciale, n. 166 , 211-222

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**



*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Aranda Rafael, Rodríguez Burguete Lionel

**La ruta asfaltada de la alternancia en México: de los centros urbanos a las periferias.**

in **Foro Internacional**, VOLUMEN LII - NÚMERO 1

In Mexico, political changes emerge principally in cities, where socio-economic flows converge at the junctions of the intercity federal highway network. Many of these poles of regional development and urban/industrial corridors were the triggers for transfers of political power in their respective areas of influence, which followed the urban hierarchy marked out by the intercity highway network. The country was broken up into a mosaic of sub-national pluralist competitive units that co-existed with authoritarian enclaves, where marginalization with regard to the socio-economic flows of the urban hierarchy made them resistant to the effects of democratization.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Mathevet Raphaël, Thompson John, Bonnin Marie

**La solidarité écologique: prémices d'une pensée écologique pour le XXIe siècle ?**

in **Ecologie et politique**, n. 44 - Penser l'écologie politique en France au XXe siècle, mars , 129-138

Introduced for the first time into environmental policy as part of the reform of the French national park system in 2006, the concept of ecological solidarity is built on a compromise between ecocentric and anthropocentric ethics. In addition to providing a basis for ecological and social cohesion in policy for protected areas, this concept contributes to the debate for a new model of society which highlights social and ecological interdependency, the need to diminish environmental inequalities and injustice and the limits of the biosphere. In this way, ecological solidarity provides for a new natural contract to establish the limits of human actions on nature.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Albonetti Achille

**La "Primavera araba" e la crisi economica. L'Iraq, l'Afghanistan, l'Iran, gli Stati Uniti e l'Europa**

in **Affari Esteri**, Anno XLIV, numero speciale, n. 166 , 5-13

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Bigo Didier

**Le « nexus » sécurité, frontière, immigration : programme et diagramme**

in **Cultures & Conflits**, n. 84, hiver , 7-12

No abstract available



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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Poggi Anna Maria

**Legislative initiative and popular participation in the 1948 Constitution and its transposition in the first generation**

*in Perspectives on federalism*, Vol. 4, issue 1 , E- 39-61

The instruments of people's participation found in the "first generation" Statutes (1971) were initially perceived as a further possible link between politics and civil society, in line with the overall favourable opinion that was attributed to people's participation mechanisms in every field of social life in those years.

However, Regions thwarted the hope that people's participation instruments would become a second channel of participation in politics. The instruments described in the State model did not ensure the results hoped for and political parties remained the main way of participating in political life.

At the beginning of the Nineties, the Public Administration proceedings were amended and some instruments of citizens' participation were introduced. These changes influenced the future discipline of legislative proceedings.

After the first reform of Title V of the Constitution (1999), the new text referring to art. 123 described the instruments for regional people's participation as the previous one had done but the other significant changes introduced by the constitutional reforms in 1999 and 2001 permitted this norm to be interpreted differently. The difference may be based on three grounds: 1. the new presidential form of government, which implied research into closer links between Government Bodies and civil society; 2. greater legislative powers assigned to Regions, giving those Bodies more power to exert their influence on citizens' lives; 3. "disaffection" with politics, as participation in the legislative process might become an alternative channel to traditional political representation.

Therefore, in the "second generation" Statutes, instruments of people's participation were described as "broad concepts" or as instruments strictly linked to their purpose.

Regional norms encourage legislative initiative (provided that technical assistance for those who are promoting a law project is free, the costs sustained for collecting signatures are not charged to promoters, people's legislative projects do not lapse at the end of legislation, some promoters are allowed to explain the project to the Regional Council, and if the project has not been discussed by a precise day, it is automatically registered in the agenda of the Regional Council). The limits of that instrument consist in: 1. a number of issues where the initiative cannot be exercised; 2. a minimum number of signatures are requested.

Despite the guarantees mentioned above, people's legislative initiative has not been exercised a great deal. This is mainly due to the fact that the norm found in most of the related provisions foresees that the Council cannot amend the projects presented by promoters.

However, the new Statutes guarantee other forms of people's participation in legislative proceedings, such as cognitive hearings, preliminary investigations, the opportunity to propose issues of great interest to the Council and the Registers of Associations, which are gaining considerable success.

Another way of participation consists of establishing Bodies representing the economic or social parts of society but their implementation has been very unassuming up to now.

To sum up, there are two models of people's participation: the first one, comprising the initiative, is based on the principle of separation; the second one, comprising the other instruments, is based on the principle of integration/concerted action. The Constitutional Court has recognized the importance of the statutory provisions that refer to people's participation institutes, therefore asserting their "juridical" nature



Full text available at:

<http://www.on-federalism.eu/index.php/anna-maria-poggi/90-essay/116-legislative-initiative-and-popular-participation-in-the-1948-constitution-and-its-transposition-in-the-first-generation->

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Jean-Michel Guieu

**Les juristes internationalistes français, l'Europe et la paix à la Belle Époque**  
in *Relations internationales*, n°149 , 27-41

In a period characterized by the progressive rise of international tensions and the new interest of states for the organization of peace (The Hague Peace Conferences of 1899 and 1907), French international legal scholars sought to impose Law as the best way to regulate international relations and maintain international peace. They developed the ideas of the growing interdependence between states within the framework of an international community, the economic and moral exhaustion of the European societies under the « armed peace », the necessity to civilize war and having recourse to international arbitration. But respectful of national sovereignty, their ambition was not to question the interstate society of their time.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Jacob Jean

**Les natures changeantes de l'écologie politique française, une vieille controverse philosophique**  
in *Ecologie et politique*, n. 44 - Penser l'écologie politique en France au XXe siècle, mars , 29-42

Political ecology in France has been spanned since its origins by very different conceptions of nature. These have in particular been formalised by three leading thinkers: Robert Hainard, Bernard Charbonneau and Serge Moscovici. They have even resulted in lively philosophical confrontations, which have so far been entirely ignored by scholarly research.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Jared Diamond

**L'origine e il futuro dei diritti umani**  
in *MicroMega*, n.3

L'«eccezionalità europea» in vari ambiti – da quello economico e tecnologico a quello morale e civile – è un tema che arrovella gli storici. In particolare, perché i diritti umani sono stati «inventati» e si sono radicati proprio nel vecchio continente? La sua geografia frammentata – che ne ha impedito l'unificazione politica – potrebbe forse essere una spiegazione.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*





Bomberg, Elizabeth

**Mind the (Mobilization) Gap: Comparing Climate Activism in the United States and European Union**  
in *Review of Policy Research* , volume 29 n.3 , 408-430

The barriers to concerted political action on climate change mitigation are steep, especially in multilevel systems where power is diffused and authority contested. This article seeks to explain how mobilization—galvanizing resources and people to participate actively—occurs in complex multilevel systems. It compares two different polities—the United States and the European Union—to tease out the key features of multilevel systems and how they affect climate activism and mobilization. To capture this dynamic, it proposes a three-stage model of mobilization: awareness building, alliance building, and network creation. The latter stage features “mobilization networks”—stakeholder networks able to transcend levels and institutional inertia and steer polities toward particular climate goals. The article demonstrates how each stage of mobilization is highly contingent on stakeholders' ability to exploit—or at least navigate—multilevel institutional barriers.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

van Alebeek Rosanne

**National Courts, International crimes and the functional immunity of State officials**  
in *Netherlands International Law Review*, Volume 59, Issue 1 , 5-41

This article examines the extent to which state officials are shielded from foreign jurisdiction by functional immunity when they stand accused of committing international crimes. It argues that the development of the principle of individual responsibility for international crimes should be understood as posing a limit to the operation of the rule of functional immunity. States have agreed that international crimes, even when committed within the context of the ostensible exercise of state authority under international law, do not qualify as official acts for functional immunity purposes since they can no longer be solely attributed to the state and not to the official personally. The article thereby takes issue with the increasingly popular conceptualization of functional immunity in terms of an act of state immunity, in which attribution, rather than exclusive attribution, is the controlling notion. It does acknowledge that international law may pose limits on the competence of national courts to establish jurisdiction in certain circumstances, but proposes to undo the shackles of immunity law and to recognize the operation of an alternative, less far-reaching legal principle.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Tomaselli Alexandra

**Natural Resources Claims, Land Conflicts and Self-Empowerment of Indigenous Movements in the Cono Sur -  
The Case of the Mapuche People in Chile**  
in *International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights*, Volume 19, Number 2 , 153-174

Environmental protection and the struggle over natural resources have long been of major concern for indigenous peoples all over Latin America. Notwithstanding the increasing incisiveness of international indigenous rights standards, indigenous peoples have still very limited access to natural resources, or to benefits deriving from them. Nonetheless, the recent ratification by Chile of the ILO Convention No. 169 is having a remarkable, positive impact. In 2009, the Court



of Appeal of Temuco and the Supreme Court of Chile blocked a logging exploitation in indigenous territories (Machi Francisca Lincolao v. Forest Enterprise Palermo, sent. 1773-2008 dated 16 September 2009, confirmed by the Supreme Chilean Court on 30 November 2009, sent. 7287-2009) applying the ILO Convention No. 169. Other similar cases followed. These and other actions put forward by indigenous peoples' movements in Chile, especially Mapuche, seem to be a direct consequence of an increasing awareness of indigenous peoples' rights and the possibility to raise their voice and be heard within the civil society and at the international level. All the frustration against a legal system which is not responding to indigenous peoples' demands is now flowing into new movements. This article, therefore, seeks to analyze the impact on indigenous peoples' movements and the rise of new conflicts linked to the claims over natural resources and land rights in current Chile. The aim is thus to illustrate the interrelation between the Chilean inadequate legal framework, and the claims, conflicts and the self-empowerment of indigenous movements also in the Cono Sur.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Daza Paolo

**Nazione, violenza, Stato, istituzioni. Il recente dibattito storiografico sull'America Latina**

**in Ventunesimo Secolo. Rivista di Studi sulle Transizioni**, Anno XI, n. 27, "L'America Latina dopo la guerra fredda (1989-2009), febbraio

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Bolleyer Nicole

**New party organization in Western Europe: Of party hierarchies, stratarchies and federations**

**in Party Politics**, Volume 18, Number 3, May , 315-336

Scholarly work on models of party organization tends to treat stratarchy and hierarchy as analytical opposites. Based on two different visions of stratarchy that co-exist in the literature, this article presents a threefold typology locating party stratarchy as a model between party hierarchy, as one counter-image, and party federation, as the other. The types differ in the extent to which core competences and resources (e.g. selection of parliamentary candidates, mechanisms for conflict resolution, finances) are centralized, and in the extent to which interest representation in national party organs follows territorial lines. The typology is applied to durable yet organizationally new parties (founded since 1978) that maintained a national presence across eight West European democracies. With few exceptions, each of these parties fits neatly within one of the categories, and in-depth analysis suggests that the three models help us systematically capture party dynamics.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Mayerfeld Jamie

**No peace without injustice: Hobbes and Locke on the ethics of peacemaking**

**in International Theory**, Volume 4, Issue 02, July , 269-299



Is the demand for justice likelier to cause or to prevent war? Hobbes expresses sympathy for the former view and Locke for the latter. However, they both reason their way toward an intermediate position, symbolized by the impartial judge in Locke's theory and the arbitrator in Hobbes's theory. Peace is possible when we create a process that resolves disputes according to widely intuitive principles of equality and reciprocity. This requires, however, that we refrain from imposing our particular interpretations of justice, and that we tolerate the possibility of unjust outcomes. Hobbes and Locke's reasoning shows us why international institutions are needed to serve as an impartial judge for the resolution of civil and international conflicts. They rebut persistent skepticism about the fitness of international institutions to promote peace and justice. Recent scholarship on ethno-political conflict confirms the wisdom of their analysis.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Lenzi Guido**

**Pace e guerra nel XXI secolo**

in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Volume 79, n. 1, gennaio-marzo , 137-142

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Rajak Dinah**

**Platinum City and the New South African Dream**

in *Africa: The Journal of the International African Institute*, Volume 82, Number 2, May , 252-271

Much has been written about the persistence of economic apartheid, inscribed in the geography of South Africa's cities, producing spatial configurations that are reminiscent of the old order of segregation while simultaneously embodying the particular inequities and divisions of the new neo-liberal order (Turok 2001; Harrison 2006). Through an ethnographic study of Rustenburg, the urban hub of South Africa's platinum belt (once labelled the 'fastest growing city in Africa' after Cairo), I explore how the failure of urban integration maps onto the failure of the promise of market inclusion. What is particular about mid-range towns such as Rustenburg is that the opportunities of 'empowerment through enterprise' are seen, or believed, to be all the more attainable than in large cities. Here the extended supply chains of the mining industry and the expanding secondary economy appear to offer limitless possibilities to share in the boons of the platinum boom. Yet as this account shows, the disjuncture and friction between corporate authority and local government have given rise to increasing fragmentation and exclusion, as only a very few are able to grasp the long-anticipated rewards of the new South African dream.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**K. Kurusu; R. Kersten**

**Political Dynamism Behind the Acceptance and Promotion of "Human Security"**

in *Asia Pacific Review*, Volume 18, Issue 2 , 115-137

Japan has shaped a distinct human security policy based on evolving policy preferences of successive domestic political



leaders and the gradual assimilation of external norms into its own foreign policy. Independent experts have played a particularly significant role in advising Japanese policy elites on how human security could be used by Japan to become an “intellectual leader” within the United Nations and other relevant institutions. This article explores those processes that occurred in the early phase of norm acceptance on the part of key Japanese policy actors and change agents in Japan from the late 1990s through 2003. It argues that human security has served as an effective approach for Japan to establish itself as a more independent foreign policy actor in contemporary international politics.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Bagashka Tanya**

**Presidentialism and the Development of Party Systems in Hybrid Regimes: Russia 2000–2003**  
in *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 64, n. 1 , 91-113

This article addresses the relationship between presidentialism and democracy by examining the role of parties in legislative bargaining in the 2000–2003 Russian Duma. Using a novel methodological approach, I empirically identify legislative voting coalitions to investigate whether the president's preference for party-based legislative bargaining prevailed. I find that in contrast to the 1996–1999 Duma, legislative voting coalitions closely followed party lines and that factions representing narrow interests were less relevant. The results demonstrate that presidential politics dominates electoral incentives in this political system and, more broadly, that political parties could be indispensable for regimes in transition to authoritarianism.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Ghérari Habib**

**Protectionnisme: le retour?**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 558, mai , 315-321

Free trade and protectionism are warmly debated both nationally, especially in France in the framework of the presidential campaign, and internationally. International trade indeed suffers not only from the repercussions of the economic crisis, but also from restrictive measures taken here and there in a regular and even growing manner. The G20 lends specific attention to that phenomenon, to the point that its members have even agreed not to use it, at least until 2013. One can only note that that undertaking is not kept for the moment; and at the last ministerial conference of the WTO in December 2011, the ministers stressed that it was important to maintain the markets open and that it was necessary to resist protectionism, particularly in view of the world's difficult economic environment. What is the actual situation? What are the multilateral disciplines involved? And what to think about the actual extent of such measures: what impacts do they have on world trade. Those are the questions that this study attempts to provide a number of answer to.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Bashir Bashir**

**Reconciling Historical Injustices: Deliberative Democracy and the Politics of Reconciliation**



in *Res Publica*, Volume 18, Number 2, May , 127-143

Deliberative democracy is often celebrated and endorsed because of its promise to include, empower, and emancipate otherwise oppressed and excluded social groups through securing their voice and granting them impact in reasoned public deliberation. This article explores the ability of Habermas' theory of deliberative democracy to accommodate the demands of historically excluded social groups in democratic plural societies. It argues that the inclusive, transformative, and empowering potential of Habermas' theory of deliberative democracy falters when confronted with particular types of historical injustices. It falters because it pays little attention to the historical dimension of injustices and the demands to which it gives rise. The historical dimension of longstanding injustices, it is argued, gives rise to a set of distinctive demands, such as collective memory of exclusion, acknowledgement of historical injustices, taking responsibility, and offering apology and reparations for causing these injustices, which go beyond the type of democratic inclusion that is often offered by deliberative democracy. Yet, the solution is not to abandon the model of deliberative democracy. Quite the contrary, it remains a valuable basis for forward-looking political decision making. The article concludes that in order to achieve inclusive, empowering and transformative deliberation in consolidated democracies that have experienced historical injustices, the politics of reconciliation is indispensable.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Benjamin Miller**

**Regional threats and global management of conflicts in regions: The case of the US in the Middle East**  
in *International Politics* , Volume 49, Issue 3 , 346-382

This article addresses the following two questions: First, how does the United States (US) manage regional war and peace, especially in the Middle East (ME)? It will show that the strategies the US has adopted in conflict management in the ME over the last several decades have shown considerable variations, both in the goals of its involvement – between trying to shape the regional balance of power and to reorder the domestic regimes in the regional states, and in the means of involvement – between a unilateral and a multilateral strategy. Second, it seeks to explain these variations in the US regional patterns of involvement.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Lucentini Mauro**

**Religione e politica nelle elezioni americane**  
in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLIV, numero speciale, n. 166 , 83-94

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Mahmood Saba**

**Religious Freedom, the Minority Question, and Geopolitics in the Middle East**  
in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Volume 54, Issue 2, April , 418-446



The right to religious freedom is widely regarded as a crowning achievement of secular-liberal democracies, one that guarantees the peaceful coexistence of religiously diverse populations. Enshrined in national constitutions and international laws and treaties, the right to religious liberty promises to ensure two stable goods: (1) the ability to choose one's religion freely without coercion by the state, church, or other institutions; and (2) the creation of a polity in which one's economic, civil, legal, or political status is unaffected by one's religious beliefs. While all members of a polity are supposed to be protected by this right, modern wisdom has it that religious minorities are its greatest beneficiaries and their ability to practice their traditions without fear of discrimination is a critical marker of a tolerant and civilized polity. The right to religious freedom marks an important distinction between liberal secularism and the kind practiced in authoritarian states (such as China, Syria, or the former Soviet Union): while the latter abide by the separation of religion and state (a central principle of political secularism), they also regularly abrogate religious freedoms of their minority and majority populations. Despite claims to religious neutrality, liberal secular states frequently regulate religious affairs but they do so in accord with a strong concern for protecting the individual's right to practice his or her religion freely, without coercion or state intervention.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Arezki Rabah, Brückner Markus**

**Resource Windfalls and Emerging Market Sovereign Bond Spreads: The Role of Political Institutions in World Bank Economic Review (The),** Volume 26 Issue 1 2012 , 78-99

We examine the effect that revenue windfalls from international commodity price booms have on sovereign bond spreads using panel data for 38 emerging market economies during the period 1997-2007. Our main finding is that commodity price booms lead to a significant reduction in the sovereign bond spread in democracies, but to a significant increase in the spread in autocracies. To explain our finding we show that, consistent with the political economy literature on the resource curse, revenue windfalls from international commodity price booms significantly increased real per capita GDP growth in democracies, while in autocracies GDP per capita growth decreased.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Desai Deval , Isser Deborah , Woolcock Michael**

**Rethinking Justice Reform in Fragile and Conflict-Affected States: Lessons for Enhancing the Capacity of Development Agencies**

**in Hague Journal on the Rule of Law,** Vol. 4, issue 1 , 54-75

Over the last four decades, donor-driven justice reform efforts have largely followed two parallel paradigms: one primarily concerned with promoting development and economic growth, the other centered on state-building and the consolidation of peace in countries emerging from violent conflict. Operationally, however, these models face the same conundrum: they draw on a broad consensus that justice institutions are intrinsically and instrumentally important for development, and yet have a track record demonstrating that much remains to be learned. These paradigms have increasingly converged in recent years, as exemplified in the World Development Report 2011 (on conflict and security), providing a basis for rethinking approaches to justice reform in fragile and conflict-affected states. These approaches are based on an alternative theory of change, a long-term commitment to investing in research to understand the idiosyncrasies of local contexts, and a more nuanced approach to building locally legitimate justice institutions capable





of mitigating the societal stresses that feed cycles of conflict.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Vaughan Sarah

**Revolutionary democratic state-building: party, state and people in the EPRDF's Ethiopia**

in *Journal of Eastern African Studies* , Volume 5, Issue 4, Special Issue: "Ethiopia's revolutionary democracy, 1991–2011" , 619-640

An ideology of “revolutionary democracy” has driven the project of state building in Ethiopia over the last 20 years. This paper explores the relationships that the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF) and the Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) government have sought to forge with the Ethiopian state and its people, by means of the various political organizations (parties, fronts, mass associations) that organize, represent or control them. It examines continuities and shifts across a series of iterations since the late 1970s: the Front's politico-administrative organization in 1980s Tigray; the party-led construction of the federation, civil service reform and political “gimgema” in the 1990s; the politicization of capacity building as the focus shifted to the developmental state following party splits and “renewal” from 2001; and the reconstruction of party structures distinct from those of the state in the wake of a strong electoral challenge in 2005, culminating in sweeping electoral wins in 2010.

Despite its imprecision, the notion of revolutionary democracy has anchored shifting constellations of party–state relations, and changing strategies of political mobilization and organization, in the all-encompassing and fundamentally non-liberal political aspiration characterized by the Prime Minister as forging a direct “coalition with the people”. Whilst the ruling party has been widely criticized for failing to compromise or collaborate with alternative sources of authority, the paper suggests that this reflects a set of deliberate political choices that are both ideologically and sociologically reinforced. Processes of state building are at root about power, and as such their assessment calls for a nuanced understanding of context. The paper traces the role of ideological, historical, institutional and cultural influences and continuities in the Ethiopian case.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Kindornay Shannon, Ron James, Carpenter Charli

**Rights-Based Approaches to Development: Implications for NGOs**

in *Human Rights Quarterly*, vol. 34, number 2, may , 472-506

ABSTRACT: The rights-based approach to development has swept through the global development assistance sector during the last fifteen years. As a result, bilateral development donors, international organizations, and development-oriented nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) are increasingly committed, in theory, to implementing human rights. This commitment has dramatically accelerated the discursive and organizational merger of the global human rights and development policy communities. What impact—if any—has the rights-based approach had on the structure, resources, and work styles of development NGOs? This article offers five empirically grounded hypotheses to guide future research.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**



*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Holcombe Randall G., Rode Cortney S.

**Rule of law and the size of government**

in **Journal of Institutional Economics**, Volume 8 - Issue 01 – 2012 , 49-69

If those with political power benefit from corrupt institutions, rulers might not adopt the rule of law so the ruling class can command a larger share of a smaller pie. An empirical analysis reveals that the size of government is larger in those countries that enforce the rule of law. If government expenditures provide some measure of the ability of the ruling class to command resources, this suggests that those with political power could benefit from imposing a fairer and more objective legal structure. Another conjecture is that those in power maintain corrupt governments to pay off their supporters and enhance their ability to remain in power. However, the rule of law is also positively associated with political stability, so better enforcement of the rule of law also enhances the ability of incumbent governments to remain in power.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Kropatcheva Elena

**Russian foreign policy in the realm of European security through the lens of neoclassical realism**

in **Journal of Eurasian Studies**, vol. 3, n. 1, January , 30-40

There are different views on (in-)predictability and on (non-)cooperation in Russian foreign policy towards the West, but also on the question about how - that is, through which theoretical framework - to interpret it. This essay aims at contributing to the debate around these three issues. Its goal is to demonstrate the expediency of using a neoclassical realist theoretical perspective, enhanced by the inclusion of such subjective factors as status/prestige and perceptions. While there are factors in Russian domestic and foreign policy which give it a certain degree of unpredictability, nevertheless, if it is studied in a comprehensive way, it turns out to be more consistent and predictable than it at first seems. Even though Russia is often accused of being anti-Western and non-cooperative, this argument does not hold true: Russian foreign policy is selective and includes both cooperative and non-cooperative tactics.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Simon Joshua

**Simon Bolívar's Republican Imperialism: Another Ideology of American Revolution**

in **History of Political Thought**, Vol. 33, Issue 2 , 280-304

This article treats the political thought of Simón Bolívar, a leading figure in South America's struggle for independence. It describes Bolívar's ideas by reference to both their broadly Atlantic origins and their specifically American concerns, arguing that they comprise a theory of 'republican imperialism', paradoxically proposing an essentially imperial project as a means of winning and consolidating independence from European rule. This basic tension is traced through Bolívar's discussions of revolution, constitutions, and territorial unification, and then used to frame a comparison with the founders of the United States. It suggests, in closing, that contextual similarities amongst the American revolutions make them particularly apt subjects for comparative study of the history of political thought.



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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Il diritto internazionale umanitario e il suo rispetto: una sfida permanente**

**Sommaruga Cornelio**

in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Volume 79, n. 1, gennaio-marzo , 25-34

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Crowley George R.**

**Spatial dependence in constitutional constraints: the case of US states**

in *Constitutional political economy*, Volume 23, Number 2 / June 2012 , 134-165

Several theories suggest that states' choices of constitutional rules are at least partially a function of neighboring constitutions. This paper provides the first analysis of spatial dependence of specific provisions within state constitutions in the United States. The analysis effectively makes constitutional rules endogenous, contributing to a relatively underdeveloped branch of constitutional economics. By employing a series of probit estimations of nineteen specific constitutional rules, I find evidence of spatial dependence in state constitutions. Specifically, the presence of specific constitutional constraints pertaining to term limits, supreme court justice selection, recall, home rule, direct democracy, constitutional amendment by convention, balanced budget requirements, tax and expenditure limits, line item veto, victims' bill of rights, health and welfare, right to privacy, environmental protection, sex discrimination, abortion, and official language all exhibit some evidence spatial dependence.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Kefale Asnake**

**The (un)making of opposition coalitions and the challenge of democratization in Ethiopia, 1991–2011**

in *Journal of Eastern African Studies* , Volume 5, Issue 4, Special Issue: "Ethiopia's revolutionary democracy, 1991–2011" , 681-701

A key challenge in the consolidation of a democratic system in transitional countries is the lack of effective opposition political parties to counter the dominance of incumbent regimes. In the case of Ethiopia, to be described in this article, opposition parties are weak, fragmented, and mutually antagonistic. Hence, in order to counter the dominance of the Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF), coalitions and alliances have been used by the opposition parties. But opposition coalitions remain unstable and prone to fragmentation due to both internal and external factors. This study analyses the factors responsible to the often repeated fragmentation of opposition coalitions in Ethiopia.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*



Badran Hoda

**The Arab Spring is looking like a great leap backwards for women**  
in *Europe's World*, Issue 21, Summer

The Arab spring's promise of freedom and equality is beginning to seem more distant than ever to Arab women. Hoda Badran traces three scenarios for post-revolution Egypt that have very different implications for women's rights.

[http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home\\_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/22012/language/en-US/Default.aspx](http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/22012/language/en-US/Default.aspx)

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Wills Alexander G.

**The Crime of Aggression and the Resort to Force against Entities in Statu Nascendi**  
in *Journal of International Criminal Justice*, Volume 10, Issue 1, March , 83-100

The traditional distinction between international and non-international conflicts in international law has come under increasing strain in recent times. This article explores the phenomenon of 'quasi-international armed conflicts' — conflicts which are neither purely international nor internal in nature — and the practical and theoretical challenges these conflicts pose to the task of developing a logical and effective definition of aggression.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

van Veen Erwin, Derks Maria

**The Deaf, the Blind and the Politician: The Troubles of Justice and Security Interventions in Fragile States**  
in *Hague Journal on the Rule of Law*, Vol. 4, issue 1 , 76-97

This article argues for an integrated, political and pragmatic approach to justice and security development as one of the key objectives of effective international support to peace building and state building in conflict-affected and fragile states. Developments since the 1990s suggest that different actors and communities have started to work on the same issues from different angles and with – perceived – different mandates. As a result, important parts of the debate on how to deal with security system reform (SSR), justice reform and the rule of law seem somewhat stuck in conceptual arguments. This article suggests moving away from such debates and instead to focus on what such justice and security engagements are meant to achieve, for whom, and which general approaches are likely to provide most added value. It argues that results require political focus, long-term processes and need to be in tune with local elite interests – whilst pursuing the aim of gradually helping to improve delivery of justice and security as basic services for all, to appropriate local standards. External and domestic objectives require careful balancing, creative compromises and strong incentives. The article also outlines a number of recurrent challenges to effective programming and suggests some ideas for improvement to achieve better results and more value for money.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*



Rabi Lior

**The Democratic Challenge Designed for the Spanish Intellectuals in the Political Thought of José Ortega y Gasset**

in *History of European Ideas*, Volume 38, Issue 2 , 266-287

The article deals with the political thought of the young Spanish philosopher and intellectual, José Ortega y Gasset (1883–1955). The main aim is to examine to what extent his political thought was articulated in a systematic manner, and to understand if it was meant to be practically implemented. Ortega's political thought has been described as liberal on the one hand, and anti-democratic and conservative on the other. The disparities regarding Ortega's politics usually arise from his declarations, which aimed to confront the changing social and political situation in Spain. To many researchers, these declarations seem incoherent, evolutionary, or ideas that can be directly deduced from the evolution of his philosophical theory. The extent to which Ortega's political theory was systematic will be understood through focusing on the role designed for the Spanish intellectuals in Ortega's declarations and works. Instead of considering his political thought in relation to either his philosophy or the political events and changing circumstances in Spain, I will attempt to examine how, during the years of his youth, his political declarations were always guided by a consistent feature with a practical political purpose: to challenge the Spanish intellectuals to promote social awareness of and reflection on the country's problems, and to consider potential solutions to these problems.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Costa Anna

**The Difficult Balance Between State and Market**

in *Federalista (II)/Federalist (The)*, Year LIII, Single Issue , 63-76

[http://www.thefederalist.eu/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=609&lang=en](http://www.thefederalist.eu/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=609&lang=en)

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Daly Erin

**The Ecuadorian Exemplar: the First Ever Vindications of Constitutional Rights of Nature**

in *Review of European Community & International Environmental Law*, Volume 21, Issue 1, April , 63-66

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Conklin William E.

**The Exclusionary Boundary of the Early Modern International Community**

in *Nordic Journal of International Law*, vol. 81, issue 2 , 133-173



ABSTRACT: In an effort to gain a deeper understanding of an important referent of contemporary international law, the international community as a whole, this article retrieves four senses of such a community as elaborated by early modern European jurists: the Christendom highlighted by Thomas Aquinas and William of Ockham, the community constituted from customary norms as featured by Vitoria, Jean Bodin, Suárez, and Grotius, Kant's "league of nations", and Hegel's "world history". The shared theme of each sense of an international community is that, despite the universality attributed to the community, some societies are excluded from recognition and membership. This exclusionary character of the international community raises the question whether a sense of an international community is emerging which overcomes the problems leading to such an exclusionary character.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**PepinskyThomas**

**The Global Economic Crisis and the Politics of Non-Transitions  
in Government and Opposition**, Vol. 47, n. 2, April, 135-161

This paper investigates the effects of the global economic crisis (GEC) on political change. A number of emerging European economies have experienced political turnover, but in other emerging and transition economies, government turnover and regime change have been comparatively rare. Two factors – incumbent governments' responsibility for the current crisis and their responsiveness to its domestic economic effects – shape the political effects of the GEC. Outside Europe, most emerging economies have experienced this crisis as an external shock to trade and investment rather than a domestic financial crisis. As a consequence, their governments have experienced less severe economic contractions, and have been able credibly to portray themselves as victims of, rather than causes of, the economic difficulties that they currently face. By placing political turnover in emerging Europe in comparative perspective, this argument provides a new perspective on the consequences of economic integration on national politics for emerging economies around the world.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Grandin Greg**

**The Liberal Traditions in the Americas: Rights, Sovereignty, and the Origins of Liberal Multilateralism  
in American Historical Review**, Volume 117, Number 1, February, 68-91

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Quainton Anthony C. E.**

**The New Imperialism: Stabilization and Reconstruction or the Responsibility to Fix?  
in Mediterranean Quarterly**, Volume 23, Number 1, Winter, 5-13

As a result of the wars undertaken in Iraq and Afghanistan by the George W. Bush administration, the United States has





taken on a responsibility to reconstruct the political and economic institutions of these countries. This responsibility has been carried out through provincial reconstruction teams that operate at the local level to rebuild the societies shattered by war. In conceptual terms, the responsibility increasingly reflects the new emphasis on reconstruction and stabilization operations laid out in the State Department's 2011 Quadrennial Defense and Development Review, which sets the groundwork for future interventions both to prevent states from failing and to rebuild states devastated by war or natural disaster. The ambitious nature of this strategy suggests a new age of American imperialism under which the "responsibility to protect" of the 1990s may become the "responsibility to fix" of the twenty-first century.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Beyleveld Deryck**

**The Principle of Generic Consistency as the Supreme Principle of Human Rights in Human Rights Review**, Vol. 13, number 1 , 1-18

ABSTRACT: Alan Gewirth's claim that agents contradict that they are agents if they do not accept that the principle of generic consistency (PGC) is the supreme principle of practical rationality has been greeted with widespread scepticism. The aim of this article is not to defend this claim but to show that if the first and least controversial of the three stages of Gewirth's argument for the PGC is sound, then agents must interpret and give effect to human rights in ways consistent with the PGC, or deny that human beings are equal in dignity and rights (which idea defines human rights) or that they are agents (and hence subject to any rules at all). Implications for the interpretation of the international legal system of human rights inspired by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights 1948 are sketched.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Brogan Michael J., Mendilow Jonathan**

**The Telescoping Effects of Public Campaign Funding: Evaluating the Impact of Clean Elections in Arizona, Maine, and New Jersey in Politics & Policy**, Vol. 40, Issue 3, June , 492-518

Supporters of public campaign funding say it democratizes the election process; detractors say it fails to meet its intended goals and, in fact, has unexpected negative results. Examining data from Arizona and Maine, which have full public funding, and from New Jersey's "Clean Election" pilot program, has enabled us to determine empirically if critics are correct. We conclude that neither advocates of Clean Elections nor its detractors are completely accurate. Rather, public campaign funding enhances trends that already existed where it was implemented without sparking new ones.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Klooger Jeff**

**The meanings of autonomy. Project, self-limitation, democracy and socialism in Thesis Eleven**, vol. 108, n. 1, February , 84-98



The concept of autonomy as presented in the works of Cornelius Castoriadis offers the possibility of expressing the core aims of a radical politics in a manner divorced from a discredited Marxist or communist past. The concept occasions ongoing debate about its true meaning as well as its implications and consequences. Some people question the value and viability of autonomy as a political aim. This article attempts to elucidate and defend what I see as the central meanings and implications of the concept of autonomy, particularly in its political dimension. The concept of autonomy is considered in its relationship to the ideas of project, self-limitation, and democracy, and the socialist tradition.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Stremlau Nicole**

**The press and the political restructuring of Ethiopia**

in **Journal of Eastern African Studies** , Volume 5, Issue 4, Special Issue: "Ethiopia's revolutionary democracy, 1991–2011" , 716-732

Divisive debates on what constitutes the Ethiopian nation, how the state should be structured and how power should be devolved, have dominated Ethiopia's private press since the ruling party, the Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF), came to power. The press has served as both a mirror reflecting these issues and a space for literate elites to engage in political debates. This article analyses the role of the media, and the press in particular, in Ethiopia's political debates. It also explores how the tenets of "Revolutionary Democracy" have shaped the media. This has polarized Ethiopia's media, which has been unable to effectively serve as a forum for the negotiation of political power or for reconciliation between divided sectors of society.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Roberts Peri**

**The supreme emergency exemption: Rawls and the use of force**

in **European Journal of Political Theory**, Vol. 11, no. 2, April 2012 , 155-171

Abstract

Both Rawls and Walzer argue for a supreme emergency exemption and are commonly thought to do so for the same reasons. However, far from 'aping' Walzer, Rawls engages in a reconstruction of the exemption that changes its focus altogether, making clear its dependence on an account of universal human rights and the idea of a well-ordered society. This paper is therefore, in the first instance, textual, demonstrating that Rawls has been misinterpreted in the case of supreme emergency. In the second instance the approach is reconstructive, providing a reinterpretation of Rawls that fits his treatment of supreme emergency with his broader commitments in just war and international relations. This reinterpretation enables us to draw out a pattern of argument that Rawls appears to share with a much more strident liberal cosmopolitanism.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*



Pereira Tony

**The transition to a sustainable society: a new social contract**

in *Environment, Development and Sustainability*, Volume 14, Number 2, April , 273-281

This paper explores issues that are central to ecological economics. In spite of a substantial body of research and other literature that has appeared in recent decades on transition, and countless other efforts, no progress has been made to halt the increase in global warming, global emissions, rampant population growth, or several hundred other critical planet sustainability indicators including global species extinction. The opposite is true. Consumption has escalated and it is poised to double and, with it, planetary decay has followed closely. The aim of this work is to introduce a pragmatic solution and the economics mechanisms solidly rooted in science, in the laws of conservation of mass and energy, and in environmental and ecological sustainability that are necessary to overcome the tremendous forces of social, political, and economic resistance to major change. To advance towards a sustainable civilization, adopting a holistic approach with those underlying principles in all aspects of human activity, among others economy, finance, industry, commerce, engineering, politics, architecture, and education, is both lacking and fundamentally required. A short review of the state-of-the-art of the science on the critical status of the planet's resources and its life-supporting systems is presented, as well as a brief catalog of the seminal works of the science that gave rise to its metrics and established early on the groundwork for the understanding of the degree of sustainability of the planet. We present the argument why past and current schemes of human economics, organization, culture, and politics cannot achieve anything else, but complete and utter failure under their own underlying precepts. A rigorous and disciplined process on how to overcome and avoid the precipitous decline and collapse of the environmental and planetary biosystems on which all life depends, including human life, and a new view towards the world and the universe we all have no choice but to live in, are also offered.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Hagmann Tobias, Abbink Jon

**Twenty years of revolutionary democratic Ethiopia, 1991 to 2011**

in *Journal of Eastern African Studies* , Volume 5, Issue 4, Special Issue: "Ethiopia's revolutionary democracy, 1991–2011" , 579-595

This paper introduces a special issue of the *Journal of Eastern African Studies* devoted to a review of Ethiopia's 20 years of "revolutionary democracy". The collection brings together 11 articles exploring differing aspects of Ethiopia's political experience since 1991. This introduction begins with a short summary of these 11 papers, but then moves to a substantive review of Ethiopia's political history over the past two decades, featuring consideration of the extent of transformation and continuity under the ruling Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF), the importance of economic issues in defining government policies, and the significance of development and relations with donors.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Christine Sylvester

**War Experiences/War Practices/War Theory**

in *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 40 (3) , 483-503



This article challenges International Relations to turn its view of war around and start not with states, militaries, strategies, conventional security issues or weapons, and not with the common main aim of establishing causes of war. The challenge is to conceptualise war as a subset of social relations of experience, on the grounds that war cannot be fully apprehended unless it is studied up from people who experience it in myriad ways and not only down from abstract places of International Relations theory. To study war as experience requires that the body come into focus as a unit that has war agency and is also a prime target of war violence. It also requires exploration of the concept of experience. Using an exemplary texts approach, the article briefly reminds us where the field is in its war concerns, before noting work on contemporary wars conducted under the flag of feminist International Relations, where experience and bodies have always been front and centre, and where a social war studies emphasis is developing. The discussion then raises definitional complexities that must be addressed and suggests areas where various International Relations traditions could collaborate with feminist International Relations and fields like anthropology to study the social relations of war.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Tir Jaroslav, Stinnett Douglas M**

**Weathering climate change: Can institutions mitigate international water conflict?**

in **Journal of Peace Research**, Volume 49, Number 1, Special Issue: "Climate Change and Conflict", January , 211-225

Although the subject remains contested, some have speculated that climate change could jeopardize international security. Climate change is likely to alter the runoff of many rivers due to changes in precipitation patterns. At the same time, climate change will likely increase the demand for river water, due to more frequent droughts and greater stress being placed on other sources of water. The resulting strain on transboundary rivers could contribute to international tensions and increase the risk of military conflict. This study nevertheless notes that the propensity for conflicts over water to escalate depends on whether the river in question is governed by a formal agreement. More specifically, the article argues that the ability of river treaties to adapt to the increase in water stress resulting from climate change will depend on their institutional design. It focuses on four specific institutional features: provisions for joint monitoring, conflict resolution, treaty enforcement, and the delegation of authority to intergovernmental organizations. Treaties that contain more of these features are expected to better manage conflicts caused by water stress. This expectation is tested by analyzing historical data on water availability and the occurrence of militarized conflict between signatories of river treaties, 1950–2000. The empirical results reveal that water scarcity does increase the risk of military conflict, but that this risk is offset by institutionalized agreements. These results provide evidence, albeit indirect, that the presence of international institutions can be an important means of adapting to the security consequences of climate change by playing an intervening role between climate change and international conflict.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Vasantkumar Chris**

**What Is This “Chinese” in Overseas Chinese? Sojourn Work and the Place of China's Minority Nationalities in Extraterritorial Chinese-ness**

in **Journal of Asian Studies (The)**, Volume 71 - Issue 02 , 423 - 446

This essay argues that to adequately answer the question its title poses, anthropological approaches to national and



transnational China(s) must be grounded in the history of Qing imperial expansion. To this end, it compares and explores the connections between three examples of the “sojourn work” that has gone into making mobile, multiethnic populations abroad into Overseas Chinese. The first example deals with recent official attempts to project the People's Republic of China's multiethnic vision of Chinese-ness beyond its national borders. The second highlights the importance of the early Chinese nation-state in the making of Overseas Chinese community in Southeast Asia in the first decades of the twentieth century. The final case foregrounds the late imperial routes of nascent Chinese nationalism to argue that, in contrast to much of the current rhetoric on the Chinese “diaspora,” national and transnational modes of Chinese community emerged together from the ruins of the Qing empire. Together the three examples point to the need to question the usual ways scholars have conceptualized (Overseas) Chinese-ness.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Hopkin Jonathan, Blyth Mark

**What can Okun teach Polanyi? Efficiency, regulation and equality in the OECD  
in Review of International Political Economy**, Volume 19, Issue 1, 2012 , 1-33

Arthur Okun famously argued that “efficiency is bought at the cost of inequalities in income and wealth”. Okun's trade-off represents the antithesis to Karl Polanyi's view of the relationship that the more embedded markets are in society, the better the social and economic outcomes they produce. This paper refines both these views. We argue that not all forms of market embeddedness are created equal, and that the relationship between equality and efficiency can be both positive and negative. We show this by examining how different ways of embedding economic activity in society through market regulation produce different combinations of efficiency and equality. We identify empirically three broad patterns: market liberal regulatory frameworks that promote competitive markets without decommodifying institutions; embedded liberal regulations that allow markets to work efficiently, but within the framework of decommodification and equality; and embedded illiberalism, where regulations hinder markets in favor of powerful social groups and where decommodification undermines both efficiency and equality. Okun's trade-off emerges as a special case limited to the English-speaking democracies: other OECD countries tend to exhibit either efficiency and equality together, or inefficiency and inequality together. These findings suggest a corrective to both naive market liberal views of the incompatibility of efficiency and equality, but also to the more sophisticated Varieties of Capitalism framework, which pays insufficient attention to the ways in which markets can be embedded in stable but apparently dysfunctional institutional arrangements.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Gleditsch Nils Petter

**Whither the weather? Climate change and conflict**

**in Journal of Peace Research**, Volume 49, Number 1, Special Issue: "Climate Change and Conflict", January , 3-9

Until recently, most writings on the relationship between climate change and security were highly speculative. The IPCC assessment reports to date offer little if any guidance on this issue and occasionally pay excessive attention to questionable sources. The articles published in this special issue form the largest collection of peer-reviewed writings on the topic to date. The number of such studies remains small compared to those that make up the natural science base of the climate issue, and there is some confusion whether it is the effect of ‘climate’ or ‘weather’ that is being tested. The



results of the studies vary, and firm conclusions cannot always be drawn. Nevertheless, research in this area has made considerable progress. More attention is being paid to the specific causal mechanisms linking climate change to conflict, such as changes in rainfall and temperature, natural disasters, and economic growth. Systematic climate data are used in most of the articles and climate projections in some. Several studies are going beyond state-based conflict to look at possible implications for other kinds of violence, such as intercommunal conflict. Overall, the research reported here offers only limited support for viewing climate change as an important influence on armed conflict. However, framing the climate issue as a security problem could possibly influence the perceptions of the actors and contribute to a self-fulfilling prophecy.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Ayelet Banai**

**'Europe of the Regions' and the problem of boundaries in liberal democratic theory**

in *Journal of Political Ideologies* , Volume 17, Number 1 / February , 35-59

The article explores the concept of culture as a criterion for political boundaries, and finds both prominent positions on the cultural criterion in contemporary liberal democratic theory—liberal nationalism and its cosmopolitan opposition—inadequate. To this end, the article compares two opposing visions of culture-based regionalism in Europe, developed by Green parties and by parties of the new far-right, respectively. The comparison indicates that the exclusionary meanings of culture as a criterion for political boundaries, typical for the new far-right, dominate the notion of culture in this context in general—despite the ecologists' efforts to appropriate the cultural criterion and reinvent it. The ensuing difficulty for the theoretical positions is: (1) an inclusive and pluralist notion of culture as a criterion for political boundaries is currently unavailable, and (2) particularities are conceptually indispensable in a theory of political borders—replacing cultural particularism by no particularism is implausible.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Weigend Thomas**

**'In general a principle of justice'. The Debate on the 'Crime against Peace' in the Wake of the Nuremberg Judgment**

in *Journal of International Criminal Justice*, Volume 10, Issue 1, March , 41-58

The Nuremberg judgment concerning the crime against peace failed to provide a persuasive argument that the convictions for this crime were in keeping with the principle *nullum crimen sine lege* and especially with the prohibition of *ex post facto* criminal law. For this reason, the contemporary response to the International Military Tribunal judgment in that respect, both in Germany and the United States, was predominantly critical. Vindication for the 'Nuremberg revolution' can be achieved only through a consistent application of the newly established principle that preparing for and waging an aggressive war is a criminal offence under international law. The so-called 'Kampala compromise' of 2010 is an important step in this direction.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*





Arsan Andrew

**'This age is the age of associations': committees, petitions, and the roots of interwar Middle Eastern internationalism\***

in *Journal of Global History*, Volume 7 - Issue 02 - July , 166-188

This article examines three diasporic campaigns orchestrated by Middle Eastern political entrepreneurs in Paris, New York, and Cairo, in the years bookending the First World War. Mobilizing across borders, their organizers were exemplary denizens of the transnational public sphere created by Ottoman migrants from the 1880s onwards. Exponents of globalism, they regarded the body politic as a diasporic construct unconstrained by territory. Furthermore, they saw the associations that they founded both as instruments of civility capable of reforming society and as practical political vehicles, mouthpieces for the claims that they communicated to the 'community of nations' through petitions and telegrams. Such strategies of appeal suggest that many of the features of 'interwar' Middle Eastern internationalism emerged not in response to the post-war settlement but in the last decades of Ottoman rule. This article therefore contributes to our understanding of the histories of globalism, the practices and perceptions of public life, and the engagement of non-Western people with international society.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Young Marilyn B.

**"I was thinking, as I often do these days, of war": The United States in the Twenty-First Century**

in *Diplomatic History*, vol. 36, n. 1, January , 1-15

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Gresh Alain, Rekecewicz Philippe

**« Ne pas reproduire le visible, mais rendre visible »**

in *Monde Diplomatique (Le)*, mars

Jamais nous n'avons eu accès à autant de données. Le développement de l'Internet à haut débit permet de consulter en temps réel des millions de séries statistiques, à tel point d'ailleurs que cette liberté s'est transformée, paradoxalement, en handicap. Face à cette abondance, il devient problématique de choisir, sur un thème précis, le chiffre le plus approprié parmi ceux disponibles. Et cela avant même tout regard critique sur la pertinence des données... Que signifient en réalité les 3 970 dollars du produit intérieur brut (PIB) par habitant au Turkménistan ? Et que représente vraiment le PIB d'un pays africain qui ne contrôle qu'une faible partie de son territoire ?

Jamais l'information n'a circulé aussi vite, noyant les citoyens sous un déluge qu'ils ne peuvent maîtriser, malgré des moteurs de recherche puissants qui prétendent hiérarchiser les faits et les événements, comme Google.

Jamais le monde n'a paru aussi illisible. Le déferlement d'images, de chiffres et de textes n'ordonne pas le désordre, et le classement proposé sur Internet relève plus souvent de la mode, voire d'intérêts financiers, que de la pensée. D'autant que nous vivons une époque charnière, de basculement, de glissement, avec l'émergence de nouveaux



centres d'activité, de production, de pouvoir, de puissance. L'immatériel ne remplace pas le matériel, mais il l'accompagne, comme le montre le formidable essor à la fois des conteneurs pour le transport des marchandises et des réseaux pour la circulation de l'information.

Ainsi se brouillent les anciennes perceptions. Pour se mouvoir dans ce dédale, L'Atlas du Monde diplomatique 2012 ne se propose pas de « reproduire le visible, mais de rendre visible », selon la formule que le grand peintre Paul Klee appliquait à l'art.

Le tracé même des frontières, que nous croyons gravé dans les cartes, se déplace dans le temps et dans l'espace, parfois même très vite, si l'histoire s'accélère et bouscule la géographie du monde. Lors des grands découpages contemporains, du congrès de Vienne de 1814-1815 à la conférence de Yalta de 1945, des générations de diplomates ont gribouillé, dessiné à la main — parfois agenouillés dans les couloirs — maintes esquisses malhabiles, imparfaites, pour tenter de trouver les tracés frontaliers qui leur étaient le plus favorables. Mais toutes les frontières ne sont pas politiques : certaines sont culturelles, symboliques, généralement absentes des cartes traditionnelles, mais profondément ancrées dans les têtes. Peut-on inventer les modes de représentation visuelle susceptibles d'en rendre compte ?

Les glissements progressifs de la géographie et de l'histoire nous obligent à adapter, à corriger, voire à bouleverser nos grilles de lecture. Comment montrer le déplacement du centre de gravité de la planète de l'Europe vers l'Asie, paradoxal retour à la situation du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle ? Comment rendre compte du déclin de l'Egypte au Proche-Orient dans les années 1980 et de l'ascension d'une Turquie dynamique, éconduite par l'Europe mais qui se place dans les pas de l'Empire ottoman ?

« La frontière, c'est en même temps le dedans et le dehors. Et pour qu'il y ait véritablement un dedans, encore faut-il qu'il s'ouvre sur le dehors pour le recevoir en son sein », rappelait l'historien Jean-Pierre Vernant. La carte ordinaire (le dedans) n'offre aux yeux du lecteur qu'un tout petit morceau du monde, le reste est invisible (le dehors). Et c'est cet invisible que L'Atlas du Monde diplomatique 2012 essaie de rendre visible.

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#### **Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

##### *Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Nicoletta Di Sotto, Pietro Grilli di Cortona

**«No state, no Democracy». Fragilità statale e democratizzazioni nella terza ondata**  
in *Rivista Italiana di Scienza Politica*, numero : 1, aprile , 59-92

Whenever the third wave of democratization seems to be in the course of exhaustion, at the international level, it seems to be still evident the presence of political instability linked to the state fragility. Which variable may affect the process of democracy-building? In this article, the Authors intend to explore one of the main assumptions in the field of political science: a stateness problems (i.e. nationalist conflicts, lack of legitimacy of state borders) can affect the result of the democratization process. Considering that, the main objectives of this article are: to define state-fragility, to operationalize this concept, to find variables that measure the stateness, to find how the stateness affects the democratization process during the third wave. In order to do that, the Authors have considered the main research institutes that measure the state fragility; they have chosen the one more reliable for the research and than compared



these results with those related to the development of the democratization process. The research will put into evidence that the incomplete perform of the process of state-building affect particularly the African continent.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Bonfreschi Lucia

**À la recherche d'une politique européenne alternative : le sénateur Michel Debré et ses interlocuteurs britanniques, 1948-1958.**

in *Parlement(s): revue d'histoire politique*, n. 17

Pendant la IV<sup>e</sup> République, la réflexion et l'activité politiques de Michel Debré, qui siégea au Conseil de la République de 1948 à 1958, se concentrèrent avant tout sur la question de l'Europe et de sa construction. Bien que convaincu de la nécessité d'organiser l'Europe, Debré s'éloigna progressivement de sa construction telle qu'elle se mettait en place et finit par combattre durement les traités proposés par les diplomaties occidentales. Puisque la France n'avait plus, à son avis, de politique étrangère et puisque ce qui pouvait influencer la politique de la France étaient les pressions et surtout l'attitude de l'Angleterre, il essaya, avec un certain succès, d'établir un solide dialogue avec les hommes du Gouvernement de sa Majesté – in primis Duncan Sandys and Julian Amery – afin de l'amener à modifier ses positions européennes et à influencer la politique extérieure de la France.

During the 4th Republic Michel Debré's political thinking and activity concentrated above all on the problem and the construction of Europe. All through this period – from 1948 to 1958 – he sat as a member of the Conseil de la République. Although he was convinced that Europe should be organized, Debré progressively moved away from the European construction actually built up and went to relentlessly fight against the treaties proposed by the Western diplomacies. According to him, France did not have a foreign policy but what could influence its policy were British pressures and more generally the British attitude. Thus, he sought, to a certain extent successfully, to set a firm dialogue with a few members of Her Majesty's Government – in primis Duncan Sandys and Julian Amery – in order to lead them to modify the British government's European policy and to influence France's foreign policy.