



Bulletin n. 3/2009 - January 2010

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Stiks Igor

"The Berlin Wall Crumbled Down upon Our Heads!": 1989 and Violence in the Former Socialist Multinational Federations

in **Global Society**, Volume 24, Issue 1 January , 91-110

This contribution deals with the violence, conflicts and wars that followed the fall of the Berlin Wall in the former socialist multinational federations. The question of why these federations disintegrated so soon after the collapse of the communist regimes is followed by more puzzles. Why did violence occur in some places and not in others? Where, under what circumstances, and when was violence most likely to happen? Finally, why was the disintegration of Yugoslavia so uniquely brutal? In the author's view, two crucial questions determined the fate of many citizens of the former socialist federations in the context of their imminent disintegration: Did the incipient states (republics) and the federal centre accept the separation and the existing borders? Did all groups and all regions accept independence and the authority of the new states? The analysis of the possible answers to these questions across the former socialist federations and their former republics that experienced violence brings us to what the author defines as three decisive triggers of violence: citizenship, borders and territories, and the role of the military apparatus of defunct federations.

http://pdfserve.informaworld.com/22210__918428527.pdf

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

Subsection 1. The theory of federation

Grappi Giorgio

"The Wolf in Sheep clothing". Per una rilettura del dibattito sulla ratifica della costituzione degli Stati Uniti in *Giornale di storia costituzionale*, n. 17 - I sem. , 119-138

No abstract available

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

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De Winter Lieven, Baudewyns Pierre

Belgium: Towards the Breakdown of a Nation-State in the Heart of Europe?

in **Nationalism and Ethnic Politics**, Volume 15, Issue 3 & 4, July 2009 , 280-304

Due to reversal of the center-periphery cleavage between Flemish and Francophones by the 1960s, the Belgian unitary state was transformed gradually into a fully fledged federal state. In spite of this empowerment of the regions and communities, the aftermath of the June 2007 general elections showed that Belgium was moving into a crucial, and maybe final, phase of its community conflict. Conflicts over socioeconomic autonomy have replaced the original



language issues, essentially opposing on the one hand the Francophones in Wallonia and Brussels unanimously defending the institutional status quo of the current federal state, and on the other hand most Flemish political elites calling for radical autonomy, and some even for independence. In the near future, undoubtedly more policy competences will be devolved, but this “lighter but fitter Belgium” outcome may not satisfy Flemish elites.

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Maier Hans

Ein Provisorium hat sich bewährt. Das Grundgesetz nach 60 Jahren

in *Zeitschrift für Politik*, Jahrgang 56, Heft 4, 2009

Summary

The initial conditions for the Federal Republic of Germany were not easy: Germans had to face the outcome of World War II., the heritage of National Socialism and the fact of a splitted Germany in the just started Cold War. With this background, the German Grundgesetz was a really notable chance for a new beginning. Principles like the strong state of law, the militant democracy and the strengthening of the executive show that the German Constitution has learned its lessons from the disaster of the Republic of Weimar. History until now shows that these elements were the best basis for the success of the Federal Republic. In addition, the historically rooted federal organisation protects against a too powerful central authority. The end of the Cold War and the European integration are new challenges for the reunified Germany: it needs a new self-perception which combines the difficulties based in the German history and a kind of normality for the German people.

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Azpitarre Sánchez Miguel

El estado autonómico

in *Revista d'Estudis Autònomicos i Federals*, n. 9 , 129-164

This paper analyses one section of the report by the Spanish council of state on the implementation of European law in the Spanish legal order, specifically discussing the suggestions put forward to order the relationship between state law and autonomous regional law. The article sets out to diagnose the situation created by the council of state – the disturbance by the autonomous regions of the incorporation of European law – and the proposed improvement – in particular the recourse to the harmonization act and a substitutory law pertaining to the central state. It then attempts to prove that the problem as described by the council of state does not exist, or at least not to a degree distinct from non-compliance by the central state. It therefore argues that the report of the council of state pursues a broader objective, oriented towards maintaining a particular interpretation of the state of the autonomies in the face of recent reforms to the statutes of autonomous regions. Finally, it offers an alternative view of the construction of the legal system, placing emphasis on judicial due process

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Serna de la Garza José María



Elementos conceptuales para el análisis del Estado federal mexicano

in *Cuaderno de federalismo*, Volumen XXI , 269-301

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López Basaguren Alberto

Sobre referéndum y comunidades autónomas: la ley vasca de la Sobre referéndum y comunidades autónomas: la ley vasca de la "consulta" ante el tribunal constitucional (consideraciones con motivo de la stc 103/2008)

in *Revista d'Estudis Autònomicos i Federals*, n. 9 , 202-240

This paper analyses the problems of constitutionality involved in the Basque Referendum Act through which the government led by Lehendakari Ibarretxe attempted to implement the Basque people's so-called "right to decide". It took advantage of the occasion provided by the publication of the Spanish Constitutional Court Ruling 103/2008, of 11th September 2008, whereby the said act was declared to be contrary to the Constitution. The author sets out to provide grounds for the correctness of the positions taken by the judge on its constitutionality while at the same time disagreeing with some of the arguments used in the Ruling. Finally, the paper discusses the viability within our constitutional order of incorporating the figure of the referendum in the statutes of autonomy. It is considered that the Constitution allows such incorporation, limited by the concept of referendum established by the constituent.

It attempts, at the same time, to justify the cautionary measures with which a similar figure might reasonably be incorporated

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Fleiner-Gerster Thomas

The current situation of federalism in switzerland

in *Revista d'Estudis Autònomicos i Federals*, n. 9 , 51-90

El federalisme suís es basa en diversitats tradicionals i, en certa manera, també en diversitats modernes. Des de l'edat mitjana, la Confederació Suïssa s'ha anat enriquint mentre feia front a reptes de diversitats econòmiques, religioses, culturals i lingüístiques. Des que Suïssa es va fundar com a estat modern, el 1848, la Constitució del país ha estat esmenada més de 100 vegades amb disposicions específiques. A banda d'això, ha estat revisada completament dues vegades, el 1874 i el 1999. Amb la nova Constitució, l'equilibri federal entre el govern compartit i l'autogovern ha canviat lleugerament. S'han centralitzat alguns poders, i la pèrdua d'autogovern s'ha vist compensada amb més govern compartit, la qual cosa dóna als cantons l'oportunitat d'augmentar la participació en els processos de presa de decisions d'àmbit federal. Pel que fa a les diversitats, la nova Constitució federal ha introduït disposicions



importants dirigides a consolidar la legitimitat federal i facilitar eines democràtiques per a la gestió de conflictes

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Subsection 2. Constitutional reform

Hernández Antonio María

La Constitución de Córdoba y la reforma política

in *Cuaderno de federalismo*, Volumen XXII , 279-326

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Subsection 2. Constitutional reform

Brito Rodrigo Melgarejo

Strengthening the Participation of Local Congresses in the Mexican Constitutional Reform Process

in *Perspectives on federalism*, Vol. 1, single issue , N 11-14

On the fourth of July, an initiative presented by the Nayarit State Congress proposing the addition of a second paragraph to Article 135 of the Mexican Constitution was published in the Senate Gazette. The purpose of this reform, as established in the Statement of Reasons, is to increase the participation of State Legislatures in the constitutional reform process, in order to strengthen the federalist principle contained in Article 40 of the Constitution.

Full text available at:

<http://www.on-federalism.eu/index.php/notes/20-strengthening-the-participation-of-local-congresses-in-the-mexican-constitutional-reform-process>

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González Pascual Maribel

Un sistema competencial multinivell: l'adaptació del sistema competencial alemany al procés comunitari

in *Revista d'Estudis Autònoms i Federals*, n. 9 , 165-201

The piece studies how the German federal reform of 2006 seeks to respond to the demands of the system of powers in the European Union. The increase in community powers has had a particular impact on the system of powers of the Länder, whose role in EU institutions and bodies has proved to be insufficient. For this reason the federal reform took the community process into account in setting up an efficient multi-level system of powers. On the basis of this premise the disappearance of the framework regulations and the division of responsibility for non-compliance with community obligations is considered, making clear the need to take into account the imponderables of the community process once more in defining systems of powers.



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Engela Stephen M.

Before the Countermajoritarian Difficulty: Regime Unity, Loyal Opposition, and Hostilities toward Judicial Authority in Early America

in Studies in American Political Development , Volume 23 - Issue 02 , 189-217

Traditional accounts of presidential hostility toward judicial authority rely on the federal judiciary's structure for explanatory leverage, focusing particularly on the court's potential to reach countermajoritarian rulings. By evaluating executive-judicial relations during the early republic, that is, the years prior to the Civil War, I suggest that anti-court sentiment stemmed not only from antipathy toward unelected judges or the seemingly undemocratic possibilities of judicial review, but also from a civic republican apprehension toward opposition. I show, first, that Jefferson, Jackson, and Van Buren considered open and stable opposition to be a harbinger of civil unrest and strove to preserve unity among the federal branches, and second, that this fear and corresponding aspiration toward unity underlay these presidents' concerns about judicial authority. As such, I argue that the presumption of the judiciary's countermajoritarian difficulty could be understood as a political development rather than a structural anomaly of the Constitution. In making this claim, I highlight the power of entrepreneurial presidents to drive conceptual change. Furthermore, focusing on the politics of opposition as a key element in the development of presidential-judicial relations broadens how we think of civic republicanism as an organizing political principle, defining not only early American political culture and electoral politics, but also influencing matters of governance.

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Kranenpohl Uwe

Die gesellschaftlichen Legitimationsgrundlagen der Verfassungsrechtsprechung oder: Darum lieben die Deutschen Karlsruhe

in Zeitschrift für Politik, Jahrgang 56, Heft 4, 2009

German Federal Constitutional Court, the Bundesverfassungsgericht, is held in extraordinarily high repute by the populace. Its reputation rests upon several pillars. One source of the Court's legitimacy is that it symbolizes the principle of the due course of law, as well as the limitation of governmental conduct by the constitution. Yet, other positive reviews of the Constitutional Court are far more problematic. The Bundesverfassungsgericht benefits from its apolitical image, being viewed as an institution standing above the profane conflicts of partisan politics. Finally, the lack of transparency in the Court's modus operandi as well as its aristocratic presentation are wrapped in a veil of secrecy. This lays the ground for a further source of legitimization: legitimacy through charismatic authority.



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John Whalley

Disciplining Canada's Interprovincial Barriers: The Subnational WTO Approach as Another Option with or beyond an Extended TILMA

in Canadian Public Policy , Volume 35 Number 3 , 315-323

This paper looks at a further option which thus far appears not to have entered the debate on the long-standing issue of interprovincial barriers. Labelled the subnational World Trade Organization (WTO) approach, it is based on the simple idea of seeking the agreement of the Canadian provinces (and WTO members) to extend existing WTO disciplines to the provincial level. This implies that the principles of Most Favoured Nation and National Treatment, as well as of WTO dispute settlement, would apply directly to interprovincial trade in goods and services through the 1994 General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, and that the framework of the General Agreement on Trade and Services would allow for scheduling of commitments, including on labour mobility under mode 4. The Agreements on Subsidies and Countervailing Measures would also apply, as would all other WTO agreements.

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Chafetz Josh

Executive Branch Contempt of Congress

in University of Chicago Law Review, Vol. 76, issue 3 , 1083-1156

After former White House Counsel Harriet Miers and White House Chief of Staff Joshua Bolten refused to comply with subpoenas issued by a congressional committee investigating the firing of a number of United States Attorneys, the House of Representatives voted in 2008 to hold them in contempt. The House then chose a curious method of enforcing its contempt citation: it filed a federal lawsuit seeking a declaratory judgment that Miers and Bolten were in contempt of Congress and an injunction ordering them to comply with the subpoenas. The district court ruled for the House, although that ruling was subsequently stayed and a compromise was reached.

This Article examines the constellation of issues arising out of contempt of Congress proceedings against executive branch officials. After briefly describing the Miers litigation, it examines the development of legislative contempt against executive officials in Anglo-American law. It shows that the contempt power played a significant role in power struggles between the Crown and Parliament and between the Crown and colonial American legislatures, and that this role continued into the early state legislatures. It then traces Congress's uses of the contempt power against executive branch officials, including in two cases that have generally been overlooked by both judicial and academic commentators, in which a house of Congress sent its sergeant-at-arms to arrest an executive branch officer.

The Article then uses that history to consider how cases of executive branch contempt of Congress should be dealt with today. It notes the variety of political tools that Anglo-American legislatures have used to enforce their contempt findings, as well as the fact that they did not turn to the courts to resolve such disputes until the late twentieth



century. It then argues that the resolution of such disputes by the courts does significant harm to the American body politic. This Article therefore concludes both that Congress erred in seeking judicial resolution of the Miers dispute and that the courts erred in finding it justiciable.

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Schakel Arjan H

Explaining policy allocation over governmental tiers by identity and functionality

in *Acta Politica*, Volume 44, Number 4, December , 385-409

The allocation of policies across governmental tiers varies greatly among countries. This article investigates the impact of identity and functionality pressures on the allocation of policies at the local, regional and national level. Using a data set that combines an expert survey and several country studies, this article shows that identity pressures lead to a greater concentration of policies at the regional level. The effect of identity pressures, however, is moderated by two policy characteristics. First, regional concentration is more pronounced for social-cultural policies than for economic utilities policies. Second, policies with high externalities and scale effects are less subject to regional concentration. They tend to be located at the level that seems most functionally appropriate. This is a proof that functionality bites - even in countries with strong regionalist parties.

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Uerpmann-Witzack Robert

Frühwarnsystem und Subsidiaritätsklage im deutschen Verfassungssystem

in *Europäische Grundrechte zeitschrift*, vol. 36, issue 17-20 , 461-467

No abstract available

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Sola Gerardo

La rilevanza costituzionale del principio di leale collaborazione

in *Quaderni Regionali* , n. 2

No abstract available

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Monaco Giuseppe

La riserva statutaria di legge nelle Regioni ad autonomia ordinaria: ratio e limiti

in *Regioni (Le)*, n. 3-4 , 517-544



No abstract available

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Xavier Arnould de Sartre, Romain Taravella

National sovereignty vs. sustainable development lessons from the narrative on the internationalization of the Brazilian Amazon

in *Political Geography*, Volume 28, Issue 7 , 406-415

Sustainable development changes the governance of modern states and more precisely the way in which they exercise their sovereignty. How does the governance of states strongly subjected to sustainable development undergo transformations when guided by international standards? A debate has emerged within Brazilian society surrounding the concerns about internationalization of the Amazon. Through analysis of this subject matter (considered as a meta-narrative), we show how it reveals a redeployment of national governance in the Amazon. The comparative significance and scalar politics of this merits further research.

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Lenski Sophie-Charlotte

Paradoxien der personalisierten Verhältniswahl

in *Archiv des öffentlichen Rechts* , Band 134, Heft 4, Oktober 2009 , 473-512

Abstract

In July 2008 the Federal Constitutional Court declared parts of the Federal Electoral Act (Bundeswahlgesetz) incompatible with the Basic Law as far as they can cause the so-called „effect of negative voting weight“ („negatives Stimmgewicht“). This effect is based on the particularity of the German two-ballots-system of personalised proportional representation. It may lead to a situation in which more ballots cast for one party can cause a loss of mandates for the same. The time limit set by the Federal Constitutional Court to the legislator for passing a constitutional provision will expire in two years. Against the background of the upcoming reform the article sums up the hitherto existing controversial points in the Federal Electoral Act and consecutively reveals the fundamental inconsistency of the German two-ballots-system of personalised proportional representation.

In the judicial development of the federal electoral law all doubts about the compatibility of the Federal Electoral Act with the constitutional principle of electoral equality can be traced back to the specific two-ballots-system in which with the first ballot the voter shall elect a person whilst with the second ballot the voter shall vote for a political party. On closer examination, however, already this legal construct turns out to be failing: As the first and the second ballots finally get set off, the idea to elect a person with the first vote is a fiction. In fact, by casting the first ballot the voter makes an electoral choice far more complex than electing a person. Sometimes his first ballot may even have absolutely no effect on the question which person gains a parliamentary seat. Behind the system of providing the voter with two ballots stands the idea, that, due to the election of one member of parliament for each electoral district, the deputies elected in an electoral district develop a closer personal link to the people living there. However, at a closer glance this idea turns out to be in accord neither with the legal nor with the political reality. In the end, all constitutional problems concerning



the Federal Electoral Act's accordance with the principle of electoral equality result from one basic paradox: the electoral system apportions more parliament seats than the law actually provides.

With a view to the upcoming reform, the article finally points out the conceptional constitutional requirements the electoral law has to fulfil. The current Federal Electoral Act provides the voter with certain options although the law structurally depends on the voters' choice not to exercise them. An electoral system in accordance with the constitution, however, has to be steadily resistant against random results: The electoral law's accordance or incompatibility with the constitution may not depend on the voters' choice.

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Hangartner Yvo

Rechtsfragen der Aufhebung kantonaler Erlasse durch das Bundesgericht

in *Zeitschrift für Schweizerisches Recht*, Vol. 128, issue 1/5, 2009 , 431-452

No abstract available

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Yukyung Yeo

Remaking the Chinese State and the Nature of Economic Governance? The early appraisal of the 2008 'super-ministry' reform

in *Journal of Contemporary China*, Volume 18 Issue 62 , 729 - 743

This report explains the shifts and strains in the 2008 super-ministry government reform, focusing on the reform of government institutions of economic governance. Drawing on interviews with officials and scholars in Beijing after the reform, and on Chinese-language reports and books, this study suggests that the key to substantial progress in remaking the Chinese state into a macroeconomic regulator is the reform of the National Development and Reform Commission (NDRC), which was lacking in the 2008 scheme. Its powerful authority for investment endorsement is particularly problematic. A continued administrative malaise in the energy sector and strategically articulated state engagement in industrial development also should be noted as the salient features of China's economic governance.

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Suszycka Magdalena, Jasch Christian-Hans

The Participation of the German Länder in Formulating German EU‐policy

in *German Law Journal*, Vol. 10, n. 9 , 1215-1256

No abstract available



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Alessandrini Michele, Buccellato Tullio, Scaramozzino Pasquale

Whither the Indian Union? Regional Disparities and Economic Reforms

in *Rivista italiana degli economisti*, 3, dicembre 2008 , 367-400

No abstract available

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Ganguly Sumit

A Vote to Stay the Course

in *Journal of Democracy*, Volume 20, Number 4, October , 79-88

The results of the fifteenth Indian General Election defied the predictions of most political analysts who had feared a fractured verdict from the electorate. Instead the Indian National Congress emerged with a plurality of seats (winning 206 out of a possible 543). With the support of a small handful of parties it has thereby been able to form a stable government. A postelection analysis suggests that the Congress's emphasis on rural development and the personal stature of Prime Minister Manmohan Singh contributed significantly toward its victory. Also, the charge from the Bharatiya Janata Party, principal opposition party, that the Congress had not shown sufficient resolve on questions of national security, did not seem to move the electorate.

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Friedman Steven

An Accidental Advance? South Africa's 2009 Elections

in *Journal of Democracy*, Volume 20, Number 4, October , 108-122

South Africa's April 2009 parliamentary and provincial elections may prove an important democratic breakthrough, not because high-minded leaders sought to deepen democracy, but because competition for power and influence opened new democratic avenues. If we understand democracy purely as a set of "negative" freedoms that protect individuals from arbitrary government power, South Africa's democracy has done much better than expected since its inception in 1994. But if we see democracy also as positive liberty, then progress is far more modest. In light of the economic crisis, effectual government performance will be the key issue of Zuma's presidency. In the end, South Africa's ability to weather the storm will depend in part on whether governing-party politicians take the election result as a cause for self-congratulation or as a warning.

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Nikolenyi Csaba



Concurrent Elections and Voter Turnout: The Effect of the De-linking of State Elections on Electoral Participation in India's Parliamentary Polls, 1971–2004

in *Political Studies*, Volume 58, Issue 1, February , 214-233

This article examines the effect that the decoupling of state and national elections has had on voter turnout in India's national parliamentary polls since 1971. According to conventional wisdom in the comparative literature on electoral turnout, separate elections to multiple levels and/or branches of government should depress turnout relative to co-temporal polls, *ceteris paribus*. The evidence from Indian elections provides strong confirmation for this hypothesis. This suggests that political decentralization through separate national and local elections may actually weaken citizens' incentives to participate in the democratic electoral process.

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Sachs Stephen E.

Full Faith and Credit in the Early Congress

in *Virginia Law Review*, Vol. 95, issue 5 , 1201-1279

After more than 200 years, the Full Faith and Credit Clause remains poorly understood. The Clause first issues a self-executing command (that "Full Faith and Credit shall be given"), and then gives Congress power to prescribe the manner of proof and the "Effect" of state records in other states. But if states must accord each other full faith and credit—and if nothing could be more than full—then what "Effect" could Congress give state records that they wouldn't have already? And conversely, how could Congress in any way reduce or alter the faith and credit that is due? This Article seeks to answer these questions in light of Congress's early efforts, from the Founding to the 1820s, to "declare the Effect" of state records—efforts which have largely escaped the notice of current scholarship on the Clause. Together with pre-Founding documents and the decisions of influential state courts, they suggest that the Clause was not generally understood to mandate the effect of state records in other states, but rather to leave such determinations to the legislative branch. Indeed, early interpreters of the Clause attributed far less importance to its first self-executing sentence, which was often understood as a rule of evidence, and far more importance to the Congressional power to determine substantive effect. Recovering this original meaning not only saves the Clause from obscurity, but also offers opportunities for deliberation and legislative choice over the structure of our federal system

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Ryjáček Jan

Losing the Power of Parliament? Participation of the Bundestag in the Decision-Making Process Concerning Out-of-Area Military Operations

in *German Politics*, Volume 18, Issue 4, December , 485-500

The article analyses the role of the German Bundestag in decision making on out-of-area military operations since 1994. It is framed by the research question whether the power of the parliament has been weakened by the building of international rapid reaction forces such as the European Battle Groups or the NATO Response Force. In the first part, the position of the Bundestag in the decisions since 1994 is explained. The second part is mainly focused on the decision-making process pertaining to the 2006 EUFOR operation in the Democratic Republic of Congo. In 2006, the



German Battle Group was not sent to Congo due to domestic constraints. On the basis of this incident and a more general analysis, the article underlines the crucial role of the Bundestag in the decision-making process. It disputes the claim that the Bundestag is losing its power in favour of the government.

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Hoffmann Slagter Tracy, Loewenberg Gerhard

Path Dependence as an Explanation of the Institutional Stability of the German Parliament in German Politics, Volume 18, Issue 4, December , 469-484

The theory of path dependence identifies sources of institutional stability and change. It emphasises the importance of early, contingent events and increasing returns over time to explain patterns of institutional persistence. Used to describe the evolution of the procedural practices of the German Bundestag, this theory points to the long-term importance of the consensus that developed early in the 1950s among the floor leaders of three dominant parties, which is in stark contrast to the absence of such inter-party consensus in the early years of the Reichstag of the Weimar Republic. Path dependence identifies factors endogenous to the institution to explain how the institution responds to external shocks, such as the entry of new parties. When the Greens and the PDS entered the Bundestag, the established parties responded by accepting their vigorous exercise of minority rights and they accepted the established practice of managing these rights by inter-party consensus.

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Nethercote J.R.

Professor L.F. Crisp and the Australian Senate: A Comment on Stanley Bach's Analysis in Australian Journal of Politics & History , Volume 55, Issue 4, December , 557-564

No abstract available

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Terranova Christopher

The Constitutional Life of Legislative Instructions in America in New York University Law Review , Vol. 84, n. 5 , 1331-1374

In the United States' early history, state legislatures often formally instructed their federal representatives on particular votes. This practice flourished for a century but then died out—a change that many scholars attribute to the Seventeenth Amendment. This Note argues that previous scholars have ignored other, more important, reasons for the demise of instructions.

The six-year term length for U.S. senators, combined with the increasingly rapid turnover in state legislatures, prevented binding instructions from becoming permanently entrenched. Instructions were held in place after the Founding only by constitutional



culture, but even this did not last. After Southern Democrats vigorously used instructions to purge Whigs from the Senate in the 1840s and 1850s, the use of instructions was indelibly linked to the South. Not surprisingly, the doctrine of instructions was one of the casualties of the Civil War. Following the War, the roles were reversed: The states—especially the Southern states—were taking instructions from the federal government. Today, instructions still exist but as nonbinding “requests” for action. This new conception of instructions returns us full circle to James Madison’s conception of the proper role of instructions: a right of “the people . . . to express and communicate their wishes” to their representatives.

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Sen Ronojoy

The Problem of Corruption

in **Journal of Democracy**, Volume 20, Number 4, October , 89-92

For democrats everywhere, the news coming out of India in the spring of 2009 seemed unalloyedly good: The country had held yet another in what has become a long string of consistently fair and largely peaceful national elections, with the result that the incumbent Congress party and its coalition had won a clear mandate to govern. Yet over the years Indians have come to trust their political leaders less and less. A huge share—nearly a quarter—of the MPs elected to parliament in 2004 were under investigation or actually facing criminal charges. This presents a paradox: While there is overwhelming support for democracy in India the level of trust felt toward political parties and politicians is low, perhaps dangerously so.

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Subsection 5. The executive branch

Fontana David

Government in Opposition

in **Yale Law Journal (The)**, Vol. 119, n. 3, December , 548-624

In the past generation, in countries in all parts of the world, using all different forms of constitutional government, a new form of separation of powers has emerged in greater numbers, what this Article calls “government in opposition.” After democratic elections are held, power to govern is granted to the winners of those elections—but substantial power to govern is also granted to the losers of those elections as well. This Article first discusses how this emerging regime of separation of powers differs from other major forms of separation of powers, and in doing so introduces a new way of understanding the major systems of separated power that the world’s constitutional democracies have created. After providing some examples and illustrations of how this new, government in opposition system of separated powers operates—and why it has proven to be so consequential in so many countries—this Article discusses how government in opposition rules have much to offer constitutional designers around the world. In fragile democracies and stable democracies alike, government in opposition rules can better constrain power and stabilize the core elements of constitutional democracy, better prepare all parties to govern effectively, more fairly involve all interests in the process of governing—and can do all of this at minimal cost. To illustrate this point, this Article closes with a discussion of how government in opposition rules might work in the United States, and how they might remedy some of the current political



and constitutional problems that we face.

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

Subsection 5. The executive branch

González de la Vega Geraldina

La importancia de la Presidencia de Barack Obama para la Constitución de los Estados Unidos in Cuestiones constitucionales. *Revista mexicana de derecho constitucional*, n. 21 , 413-426

No abstract available

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

Subsection 5. The executive branch

Hernandez Antonio M.

Presidencialismo y federalismo en Argentina

in Federalismi, Anno VIII - Nr. 1

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

Subsection 5. The executive branch

Hathaway Oona A.

Presidential Power over International Law: Restoring the Balance

in Yale Law Journal (The), Vol. 119, issue 2 , 140-268

The vast majority of U.S. international agreements today are made by the President acting alone. Little noticed and rarely discussed, the agreements are concluded in a process almost completely hidden from outside view. This state of affairs is the result of a longterm transformation. Over the course of more than a century, Congress gradually yielded power to the President to make international agreements. Each individual delegation of authority relinquished only a small measure of power, while freeing members of Congress to focus on matters that were more likely to improve their reelection prospects. But the cumulative effect over time left Congress with little power over international lawmaking. As a result, the President is now able to make law over an immense array of issues—including issues with significant domestic ramifications—by concluding binding international agreements on his own. This imbalance of power violates democratic principles and may even lead to less effective international agreements.

To correct this imbalance, this Article proposes a comprehensive reform statute that would normalize U.S. international lawmaking by reorganizing it around two separate tracks. International agreements that are now made by the President alone would proceed on an administrative track and would be subject to what might be called the “Administrative Procedure Act for International Law.” This new process would offer greater openness, public participation, and transparency, but not overburden lawmaking. A legislative track would include two existing methods for concluding international agreements: Senate-approved Article II treaties and congressional-executive agreements expressly approved by both houses of Congress. In addition, it would include an expanded “fast track” process that would permit



streamlined congressional approval of agreements. Together, these proposals promise to create a more balanced, more democratic, and more effective system for international lawmaking in the United States.

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

Subsection 5. The executive branch

Hathaway Oona A.

Presidential Power over International Law: Restoring the Balance
in *Yale Law Journal (The)*, Vol. 119, n. 2, November , 140-269

The vast majority of U.S. international agreements today are made by the President acting alone. Little noticed and rarely discussed, the agreements are concluded in a process almost completely hidden from outside view. This state of affairs is the result of a longterm transformation. Over the course of more than a century, Congress gradually yielded power to the President to make international agreements. Each individual delegation of authority relinquished only a small measure of power, while freeing members of Congress to focus on matters that were more likely to improve their reelection prospects. But the cumulative effect over time left Congress with little power over international lawmaking. As a result, the President is now able to make law over an immense array of issues—including issues with significant domestic ramifications—by concluding binding international agreements on his own. This imbalance of power violates democratic principles and may even lead to less effective international agreements.

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

Subsection 5. The executive branch

Castelli Luca

Profili costituzionali del terzo mandato dei Presidenti di Regione
in *Regioni (Le)*, n. 3-4 , 487-516

No abstract available

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

Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Preis John F.

Constitutional Enforcement by Proxy



in *Virginia Law Review*, Vol. 95, issue 7 , 1663-1744

Americans love their Constitution. But love, as we all know, is blind. This might explain why we often look to constitutional law to vindicate our civil rights while ignoring the potential of sub-constitutional law. Federal courts have not ignored this possibility, however, and have increasingly forced civil rights plaintiffs to seek relief from sub-constitutional law where it is available. A victim of discrimination, for example, might be denied the chance to invoke the Equal Protection Clause and told instead to rely on a federal antidiscrimination statute. In this and other cases, courts seem to believe that constitutional rights can be enforced through the application of sub-constitutional law, a practice this Article refers to as “constitutional enforcement by proxy.”

This Article is the first to analyze the emerging practice of proxy enforcement. This issue is important because it lies at the confluence of several important discourses in the federal courts field—such as the judicial duty to issue a remedy for every constitutional wrong, the role of non-Article III actors in setting constitutional norms, and the degree to which sub-constitutional law can, like the Constitution itself, be “constitutive” of the national order. This Article’s central claim is that proxy enforcement, properly administered, is permissible and even advisable in a large number of cases. It is permissible because federal courts’ duty to supervise the behavior of non-Article III actors does not require courts to invoke the Constitution directly (unless Congress has ordered otherwise). If courts can maintain constitutional norms using sub-constitutional law, they are entirely free to do so.

The practice is normatively attractive because it promises a partial truce in the everlasting debate over interpretive supremacy. By relying on sub-constitutional law to enforce the Constitution, federal courts allow non-Article III actors a significant role in the articulation of constitutional norms, a role normally denied them when courts enforce the Constitution directly. Thus, sub-constitutional adjudication of civil rights claims does not spurn our love of the Constitution; it preserves individual rights while honoring a principle that lies at the Constitution’s very heart: popular sovereignty.

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

Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Hernández Antonio María

El federalismo judicial y la protección de los derechos fundamentales en la república argentina

in *Revista d'Estudis Autònomic i Federals*, n. 9 , 91-128

Argentinean judicial federalism is described, wherein there exists a federal judiciary and also a separate judiciary for each of the provinces and the autonomous city of Buenos Aires. The powers of the respective judiciaries are discussed, along with the provisions of the American convention on human rights. Emphasis is given to control over diffuse constitutionality, which means that any federal or provincial judge is empowered in this area, although the federal supreme court of justice is the final interpreter of the constitution. The systems for appointments to the provincial judiciaries are considered, together with the principles of the tenure and independence of judges and the features of control of constitutionality. With regard to fundamental rights, the dual national and international sources of these is studied. These recognize civil and political rights as well as those of an economic, social and cultural nature, both in the federal system and in the provincial constitutions. The specific guarantee of legal protection for these is analyzed at both federal



and provincial level.

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Altavilla Cristian

El rol de la Corte Suprema en los conflictos intergubernamentales. Análisis del fallo “Prov. de La Pampa c/ Prov. de Mendoza

in **Cuaderno de federalismo**, Volumen XXII , 119-150

No abstract available

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

Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Melgar Adalid Mario

La Suprema Corte de Obama

in **Cuestiones constitucionales. Revista mexicana de derecho constitucional**, n. 21 , 213-232

No abstract available

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

Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Greene Jamal

On the Origins of Originalism

in **Texas Law Review**, Vol. 88, issue 1 , 1-91

No abstract available

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

Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Fabbrini Federico

Silent enim leges inter arma? La Corte Suprema degli Stati Uniti e la Corte di Giustizia europea nella lotta al terrorismo

in **Rivista trimestrale di diritto pubblico**, n. 3 , 591 ss.

No abstract available

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

Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Magill M. Elizabeth

Standing for the Public: A Lost History



in *Virginia Law Review*, Vol. 95, issue 5 , 1131-1199

This Article recaptures a now-anachronistic approach to standing law that the Supreme Court followed in the middle decades of the 20th Century and explains how and when it died. It then speculates about why the federal courts retreated from the doctrine when they did.

The now-anachronistic view of the permissible scope of standing, which is called here “standing for the public,” permitted Congress to authorize parties who had no cognizable legal rights to challenge government action, in order to, as the Supreme Court itself said “represent the public” and bring the government’s legal errors before the courts. Ironically, the federal courts retreated from this approach to standing law in the 1960s and 1970s, the very period that is best known for its doctrinal innovations that liberalized standing law. The Article tells the (complicated) tale of how the courts erased the standing for the public principle from the case law, places those actions action in context by looking at contemporaneous developments in the legal profession and Congress, and speculates about why this approach to standing law died when it did.

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Scott E. Atkinson, Alan C. Marco, and John L. Turner

The Economics of a Centralized Judiciary: Uniformity, Forum Shopping, and the Federal Circuit
in *Journal of Law and Economics (The)*, Volume 52, Number 3

In 1982, the U.S. Congress established the Court of Appeals for the Federal Circuit (CAFC) as the sole appellate court for patent cases. This court was created ostensibly to eliminate inconsistencies in the application and interpretation of patent law across federal courts and thereby mitigate the incentives of patentees and alleged infringers to forum shop for a preferred venue. We perform the first econometric study of the extent of nonuniformity and forum shopping in the pre-CAFC era and of the CAFC’s impact on these phenomena. We find that in patentee/plaintiff cases the pre-CAFC era was indeed characterized by significant nonuniformity in patent validity rates across circuits and by forum shopping on the basis of validity rates. We find weak evidence that the CAFC has increased uniformity of validity rates and strong evidence that forum shopping on the basis of validity rates ceased several years prior to the CAFC’s establishment.

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

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Siegel Jonathan R.

The Inexorable Radicalization of Textualism

in *University of Pennsylvania Law Review*, Vol. 158, issue 1 , 117-178

For decades, scholars have divided over how best to interpret statutes, particularly when statutory text pulls in one direction and intent or purpose in another. On one side of the resulting “interpretation wars” stand the textualists, who believe that the goal of statutory interpretation is to identify the objective meaning of statutory text without regard to what any legislator intended that text to mean. Arrayed against them are the intentionalists, who believe that the goal is for courts to implement the intent of the legislature. Also taking the field are the purposivists, who believe that the goal is to



identify the purpose of a statute and to interpret it to carry out that purpose. The battles between these methods have raged over decades and have spawned innumerable scholarly commentaries and judicial clashes.

The latest move in the interpretation wars, however, is to declare something of a truce. Textualism, intentionalism, and purposivism are either not all that different or at least not different in the way people usually think. That is the message in recent articles representing a new wave of scholarship that attempts to reach an accommodation among competing interpretive methods.

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Christina J. Schneider

Fighting with one hand tied behind the back: political budget cycles in the West German states
in **Public Choice**, Volume 142, Numbers 1-2 , 125-150

Theories of political budget cycles have been contested because scholars find that incumbents can manipulate deficits in the pre-election period only if fiscal transparency is low. I argue that these findings do not generally rule out the possibility of fiscal electioneering. Governments may increase spending on highly visible policies. The composition of the budget serves as a second-best strategy. It increases political support without straining the budget balance. An empirical analysis of the West German states reveals alternative electoral budget strategies and ultimately point to the importance of analyzing how governments choose between alternative fiscal instruments.

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Yiting Li, Akihiko Matsui

A theory of international currency: Competition and discipline

in **Journal of the Japanese and International Economies**, Volume 23, Issue 4 , 407-426

We explicitly consider strategic interaction between governments to study currency competition and its effects on the circulation of currencies and welfare in a two-country two-currency search-theoretic model. Each government finances public goods by means of seigniorage. Compared with a regime with two local currencies, a regime with one international currency allows the issuer of the international currency to reduce the inflation tax while collecting more seigniorage, and forces the other issuer to raise the rate to compensate for a diminished tax base. However, the country with a local currency is sometimes constrained by an inflation discipline: the more open a country is, the stronger is the discipline. Strategic selection of equilibrium gives rise to a further inflation discipline: the larger country tries to have its currency circulate abroad, while the smaller country tries to prevent the circulation of Foreign currency.

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

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Budzinski Oliver

An international multilevel competition policy system

in **International Economics and Economic Policy**, Volume 6, Number 4 / December, 2009 , 367-389

This paper develops a proposal for an international multilevel competition policy system, which draws on the insights of



the analysis of multilevel systems of institutions. In doing so, it targets to contribute bridging a gap in the current world economic order, i.e. the lack of supranational governance of private international restrictions to market competition. Such governance can effectively be designed against the background of a combination of the well-known nondiscrimination principle and a lead jurisdiction model. Put very briefly, competition policy on the global level restricts itself to the selection and appointment of appropriate lead jurisdictions for concrete cross-border antitrust cases, while the substantive treatment remains within the competence of the existing national and regional antitrust regimes.

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Bulit Goñi Enrique

Constitución Nacional y tributación local

in **Cuaderno de federalismo**, Volumen XXII , 151-162

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Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Silika Prohl and Friedrich Schneider

Does Decentralization Reduce Government Size? A Quantitative Study of the Decentralization Hypothesis

in **Public Organization Review**, Volume 37, No. 6 , 639-664

The “decentralization hypothesis” in the theory of fiscal federalism suggests that fiscal decentralization may have a dampening effect on government size, implying that government intrusion into the economy can be restricted if government responsibilities for taxes and expenditures are decentralized. We study the effect of decentralization on public sector growth for a panel of twenty-nine countries over the 1978—2003 period. The major purposes of this study are twofold. First, we examine the decentralization hypothesis using two different proxy variables of fiscal decentralization: a measure of expenditure and revenue decentralization based on government financial statistics and an index of fiscal federalism that incorporates the fiscal and administrative autonomy that constitutional and statutory law grants to subnational governments. Second, and relatedly, we also explore the hypothesis that direct democracy at the local level has a dampening effect on government growth.

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Zimmermann Jochen

EU Federalism and the Governance of Financial Reporting

in **Publius: The Journal of Federalism**, vol. 40, n. 1, Winter , 200-225

The European Union (EU) is built on the federalist principle of subsidiarity, which we consider in the policy field of financial reporting. We attempt to answer the question, whether the current accounting regulation in Europe is sensibly balanced between centralized and decentralized decision making. Drawing on comparative accounting research to identify criteria for "local preferences," we conclude that local solutions currently remain preferable for small and



medium-sized companies. For them, a centralized solution would result in additional costs for at least some member states and their residents. Large international firms, in contrast, face an increasingly integrated capital market and rather need a central solution as currently implemented by the EU. However, recent developments in corporate finance may align local preferences on accountancy in the future.

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

José J. Bercoff, Osvaldo Meloni

Federal budget allocation in an emergent democracy: evidence from Argentina

in **Economics of Governance**, Volume 11, Number 1 , 65-83

This paper studies the determinants of the distribution of the national budget amongst Argentinean provinces. We evaluate the relevance of the alternative theories of budget allocation using the Arellano–Bond dynamic panel technique. Our results confirm our presumption that Federal funds allocations are dominated by the Executive and the governors while the Congress plays a minor role. Unlike some findings for the US, neither the overrepresentation variables nor the congressional theories find support in our sample. Our paper fills the gap in the literature on Argentina's fiscal federalism deficient in analysis of the decision making process of the National Budget.

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Sebastian G. Kessing

Federalism and accountability with distorted election choices

in **Journal of Urban Economics**, Volume 67, Issue 2, , 239-247

Random factors such as bad weather or exogenous economic shocks affect the re-election of politicians and can reduce accountability. Such distorted election choices interact with the architecture of government. Contrasting centralized with decentralized political systems, this study shows that centralization is likely to result in higher accountability if election choices are subject to small random distortions. Furthermore, equity and efficiency arguments for uniform policies in centralized systems are derived as these are likely to result in the better overall performance of politicians and in more equal performance across regions.

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Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Jonathan Rodden, Erik Wibbels

Fiscal Decentralization And The Business Cycle: An Empirical Study Of Seven Federations

in **Economics and Politics**, Volume 22 Issue 1 , 37 - 67

Although fiscal policies of central governments sometimes provide modest insurance against regional income shocks, this paper shows that procyclical fiscal policy among provincial governments can easily overwhelm these stabilizing effects. We examine the cyclicity of budget items among provincial governments in seven federations, showing that own-source taxes are generally highly procyclical, and contrary to common wisdom, revenue sharing and discretionary transfers are either acyclical or procyclical. Constituent governments are thus left alone to smooth their own shocks, and



we document the extent to which various restraints on borrowing and saving undermine their ability to do so. The resulting procyclicality of provincial fiscal policy is likely to have important implications in a world where demands for countercyclical fiscal policy are increasing but considerable fiscal responsibilities are being devolved to subnational governments.

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Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Rongili Biswas, Sugata Marjit, Velayoudom Marimoutou

Fiscal Federalism, State Lobbying And Discretionary Finance: Evidence From India

in **Economics and Politics**, Volume 21 Issue 3 , 68 - 91

In the quasi-federal democratic polity that India has, lobbying for central funds by the states is often done in a subliminal fashion. Hence, it becomes difficult to get an account of how much lobbying has been done to a particular end. Our paper attempts at constructing certain political proxy variables to quantify the extent of such lobbying in India. We quantify lobbying through the ministerial representation in the council of ministers. We also use several time and state dummies to account for the constituent states' political alignment with the center as well as the coalition and the reform period breaks in the Indian system. Taking panel data that cover 29 years and 14 major states we show that our constructed variables do explain disparity in central fiscal disbursements under the non-formulaic "discretionary" head in a robust way. Our findings remain true even after we take into account the impact of endogeneity of net state income on the transfers. Additionally, our exercise brings to the fore the fact that the coalition governments and economic reform measures impact upon state lobbying at the center in a significant manner.

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Pazé Valentina

Il bilancio partecipativo di Porto Alegre: un esperimento di democrazia "redistributivo"

in **Rivista Italiana di Scienza Politica**, Vol. XXXIX, Numero 2, Agosto , 209-234

No abstract available

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

675-677

Il federalismo fiscale: gli annunci e la realtà

in **Quaderni Costituzionali**, numero : 3, settembre , Vanni Mario

No abstract available

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Antonini Luca



Il primo decreto legislativo di attuazione della legge n. 42/2009: il federalismo demaniale

in *Federalismi*, Anno VII - Nr. 25

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Lupo Nicola

Il procedimento di attuazione della delega sul federalismo fiscale e le nuove sedi della collaborazione tra i livelli territoriali.

in *Federalismi*, Anno VII - Nr. 23

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Emilson C.D. Silva, Chikara Yamaguchi

Interregional competition, spillovers and attachment in a federation

in *Journal of Urban Economics*, Volume 67, Issue 2, , 219-225

We examine decentralized environmental policy making in a federation characterized by decentralized leadership and imperfect labor mobility due to attachment to regions. Energy consumption generates positive consumption benefits, but energy supply generates federal air pollution. Regional authorities regulate energy supply by controlling supplies of pollution permits. Energy and pollution permits are traded in interregional markets. The center redistributes incomes after it observes regional supplies of pollution permits. Regions are populated by mobile and immobile households and profits are expatriated. We show that the subgame perfect equilibrium for the federal policy game played by regional and central authorities is socially optimal.

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Frosini Tommaso E.

Introduction to italian fiscal federalism

in *Federalismi*, Anno VII - Nr 22

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Alessandro Fabbrini, Francesco Piersante, Giuseppe Saporito, Salvatore Scarpelli, Maria Lucia Stefani, Emilio Vadalà

La finanza delle regioni a statuto speciale e delle province autonome

in *Economia Pubblica*, Fascicolo 5-6 , 34

In the Italian model of local government finance, five Regions are granted special forms and conditions of autonomy, specified in their respective statutes. This paper highlights the tasks performed by the five Autonomous Regions (one of which composed of two Autonomous Provinces) and the way they are financed. The aim is to identify differences not only among them, but also in comparison with the ordinary Regions, over which the present-day debate on fiscal federalism is mainly focusing. The main results show that the Italian Autonomous Regions, far from being a uniform class, can be divided into three groups: the small entities in the North (Valle d'Aosta and the Autonomous Provinces of Trento and Bolzano) are characterised by the higher level of per capita expenditures and by the important financing role of tax sharing (i.e. fractions of tax revenues arising in their jurisdiction); the two islands (Sicily and Sardinia), although incurring a lower expenditure, still rely on a persistent system of government grants; Friuli Venezia Giulia stands in an intermediate position between the two aforementioned groups.

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Tramontana Antonio

La finanza pubblica regionale: progetti italiani e pratica dei lander tedeschi

in *Queste istituzioni*, n. 153 , 1 - 7

No abstract available

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

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Franca Maino

La governance della politica sanitaria in Europa tra decentramento e ri-accentramento: alcuni casi a confronto

in *Rivista Italiana di Politiche Pubbliche*, numero 2, agosto , 93-119

No abstract available

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Persano F.

La legge delega sul federalismo fiscale alla luce della giurisprudenza comunitaria in tema di selettività territoriale

in *Diritto del Commercio Internazionale*, 23.3 - Luglio-Settembre , 691-708

No abstract available

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



Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

García Martínez Andrés

La participación de los municipios alemanes en el impuesto sobre la renta

in *Revista d'Estudis Autònomicos i Federals*, n. 9 , 347-383

Income tax on individuals in Germany is counted, along with VAT and corporation tax, among the taxes which are shared by or common to two or more political/territorial entities in the sense that the said entities take a share of the tax revenue. The federation, the federal states and the municipalities all take a share of income tax. The latter have a 15% share in the revenue from the said tax. This paper analyses the criteria used to divide up the resources resulting from this municipal share in income tax, at both state and municipal level. Moreover, it discusses the role played by this tax resource in municipal revenue, given that in large municipalities it represents the second most important source of resources, while in small municipalities it is the most important. Logically, this discussion takes into account the perspective of municipal autonomy, financial self-sufficiency and inter-municipal solidarity

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Nania Roberto

La questione del 'federalismo fiscale' tra principi costituzionali ed avvio del percorso attuativo

in *Federalismi*, Anno VII - Nr. 23

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Rezk Ernesto

Las relaciones fiscales interjurisdiccionales en Argentina

in *Cuaderno de federalismo*, Volumen XXI , 221-228

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Vander Greeten Valéry

Le pouvoir de dépenser en Belgique et au Canada: gage d'efficacit  ou entorse au f d ralisme?

in *Revue belge de Droit constitutionnel*, n. 4 , 335-367

No abstract available



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Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Jens Südekum

National champions and globalization

in **Canadian Journal of Economics/Revue Canadienne d'Economique**, Volume 43 Issue 1 , 204 - 231

In this paper, we offer an explanation why globalization (falling trade costs) may increase the government incentive to block foreign takeover of domestic firms and increase its incentive to allow mergers among national firms. This creation of 'national champions' occurs not only because the government may have a bias against foreign takeover, but also because consumer welfare gains associated with foreign acquisitions decrease with globalization. Endogenizing the government bias through lobbying efforts of the domestic firms, the paper shows that the bias does not need to be very strong before the government promotes domestic champions provided that barriers to trade are low.

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Saez Lawrence, Sinha Assema

Political Cycles, Political Institutions and Public Expenditure in India, 1980–2000

in **British Journal of Political Science**, vol. 40, issue 1, january , 91-113

ABSTRACT: In Western democracies it is held that parties and their positions affect how politicians choose to make public expenditure and investment. This article examines the public policy choices of politicians in India, a large well-established democracy with remarkable subnational variation. Public expenditure, from education and health to agriculture and irrigation, is analysed. Counterintuitive findings – that election timing and political factors play a strong role in the subnational states, and that party competition increases investment in education – are explained by highlighting the role economic and political uncertainty plays in politicians' choices. Building a 'Polanyi' argument enhanced by a supply-side mechanism highlights the importance of compensation and insurance and the imperatives of political stability for subnational politicians, who attempt to maximize re-election chances in an uncertain environment.

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Giuranno Michele G.

Pooling sovereignty under the subsidiary principle

in **European Journal of Political Economy**, Volume 26, Issue 1, March 2010

This paper investigates the decision whether to centralize public policy in an economy with two levels of government. I show that centralization based on the subsidiarity principle emphasizes rather than resolves a conflict of interest between jurisdictions. The extent of the conflict of interest depends on spillovers and differences in tastes for public spending. Spending decisions are determined by negotiation between local representatives in the centralized legislature. If an agreement cannot be reached, policy is determined non-cooperatively by local governments. Results show that pooling sovereignty by the subsidiarity principle fails to fully internalize spillovers and may lead to a misallocation of public resources.



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Asensio Miguel Angel

Referencias y etapas en la construcción de la formula financiera federal argentina de mediados del siglo XIX
in **Cuaderno de federalismo**, Volumen XXI , 129-146

No abstract available

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Keating Michael

Social citizenship, solidarity and welfare in regionalized and plurinational states
in **Citizenship Studies**, vol. 13, n. 5, october , 501-513

ABSTRACT: The social welfare literature has often assumed the existence of a unified, territorial nation-state. This would provide the basis for solidarity and social citizenship, while mobilizing the resources for redistribution. Spatial rescaling and boundary-opening have put the model in question as market-making, market regulation and market-correction have migrated to different levels. States have also widely decentralized. Some fear that this poses a threat to the welfare state by weakening social citizenship and provoking a race to the bottom. Yet solidarity might be re-forged at new levels. The empirical evidence gives little sustenance to the argument for a race to the bottom but rather suggests that social solidarity is being rebuilt at multiple levels.

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Federico Revelli

Spend more, get more? An inquiry into English local government performance
in **Oxford Economic Papers**, Volume 62, Issue 1

Based on a unique measure of performance of English local governments in the provision of public services (Comprehensive Performance Assessment, CPA), this paper uses panel data (2002–7) to identify the determinants of performance. In particular, by thoroughly exploiting the features of the British system of local government finance and the mandatory nature of decentralized public service provision, this paper aims at investigating the impact of government spending on public service outcomes. Due to the nature of CPA ratings—measured on a five category (poor to excellent) scale—the empirical work relies on an ordered response approach allowing for cross-sectional heterogeneity. The empirical evidence suggests that local public expenditures in excess of centrally set spending standards have a detrimental effect on performance.

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Calcagno Marco



The Constitutional Court gives fiscal federalism new opportunities, but only for regions endowed with special autonomy

in *Perspectives on federalism*, Vol. 1, single issue , N 36-41

These are hard times for fiscal federalism. Although many political parties consider it a sort of flag, despite always being present on the political agenda, the implementation of article 119 of the Italian Constitution still looks very far away. Within this stagnating situation, sentence no. 102/2008 discloses optimistic opportunities for Italian fiscal federalism, but only for Regions endowed with special autonomy (hereinafter Special Regions).

Full text available at:

<http://www.on-federalism.eu/index.php/notes/45-the-constitutional-court-gives-fiscal-federalism-new-opportunities-but-only-for-regions-endowed-with-special-autonomy->

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Ogawa Hikaru, Wildasin David E.

Think Locally, Act Locally: Spillovers, Spillbacks, and Efficient Decentralized Policymaking

in *American Economic Review*, Vol. 99, No 4, September 2009 , 1206–17

We analyze models with interjurisdictional spillovers among heterogeneous jurisdictions, such as CO₂ emissions that affect the global environment. Each jurisdiction's emissions depend upon the local stock of capital, which is interjurisdictionally mobile and subject to local taxation. In important cases, decentralized policy-making leads to efficient resource allocation, even in the complete absence of corrective interventions by higher-level governments or coordination of policy through Coasian bargaining. In particular, even when the preferences and production technologies differ among the agents, the decentralized system can result in globally efficient allocation.

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Nori Glauco

Tutela della concorrenza e federalismo fiscale

in *Istituzioni del federalismo*, n. 2 , 359-368

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Hankla Charles R.

When is Fiscal Decentralization Good for Governance?

in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, vol. 39, n. 4, Fall , 632-650



Many developing countries are seeking to improve governance with fiscal decentralization. It is therefore worth revisiting what we know about political and economic institutions to understand how and under what circumstances decentralization can be beneficial. In an effort to do that, I review past research on the governance implications of devolving power to subnational authorities. Based on this review, I find that the gains from decentralization depend sensitively on how subnational authorities and intergovernmental relations are structured. I therefore conclude the paper by drawing nine lessons from theory and experience to help improve the design of decentralized institutions.

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

Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)

Oscar Bernala, Jean-Yves Gnabo

Announcements, financial operations or both? Generalizing central banks' FX reaction functions in Journal of the Japanese and International Economies, Volume 23, Issue 4 , 367-394

This paper generalizes the reaction functions of central banks' FX interventions to include oral interventions alongside actual ones. Using Japanese data for the 1991–2004 period, we estimate an ordered-probit model explaining the occurrence of each type of intervention and evaluating the extent to which oral and actual interventions are substitutes or complements. In addition, the effectiveness of interventions is examined using an event-study approach. Our results indicate that the Japanese authorities tended to adopt progressively stronger measures as the exchange rate was found to behave in an increasingly unfavorable way. This suggests that words and deeds were only coordinated (i.e. used in a complementary way) in extreme cases. Overall, interventions are found to be moderately successful in correcting unwanted exchange-rate developments, especially volatility.

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

Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)

García Puerta Juan A.

Expectativas de inflación y credibilidad de la política monetaria: los diez primeros años del Banco Central Europeo

in *Cuadernos europeos de Deusto*, n. 41 , 73-91

No abstract available

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

Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)

Carlo Rosa

Forecasting the Direction of Policy Rate Changes: The Importance of ECB Words

in *Economic Notes*, Volume 38 Issue 1-2 , 39 - 66

This paper evaluates the predictive power of different information sets for the European Central Bank (ECB) interest-rate-setting behaviour. We employ an ordered probit model, i.e. a limited dependent variable framework, to take into account the discreteness displayed by policy rate changes. The results show that the forecasting ability of standard Taylor-type variables, such as inflation and output gap, is fairly low both in-sample and out-of-sample, and is comparable to the performance of the random walk model. Instead by using broader information sets that include



measures of core inflation, exchange rates, monetary aggregates and financial conditions, the accuracy of the forecasts about ECB future actions substantially improves. Moreover, ECB rhetoric considerably contributes to a better understanding of its policy reaction function. Finally, we find that the ECB has been fairly successful in educating the public to anticipate the overall future direction of its monetary policy, but has been less successful in signalling the exact timing of rate changes.

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

Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)

Larreina Díaz Mikel

La política monetaria del Banco Central Europeo. Diez años de aciertos y errores

in *Cuadernos europeos de Deusto*, n. 41 , 93-111

No abstract available

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

Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)

Antenbrink Fabian;van Duin Kees

The European Central Bank before the European Parliament: Theory and practice after 10 years of monetary dialogue

in *European Law Review*, Vol. 34, issue 4 , 561-583

No abstract available

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

Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)

F.ÜLGEN

The credibility of the central bank and the role of monetary authorities in a market economy

in *Economie Appliquee*, N.4

No abstract available

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Haveri Arto, Nyholm Inga, Røiseland Asbjørn, Vabo Irene

Governing Collaboration: Practices of Meta-Governance in Finnish and Norwegian Local Governments

in *Local Government Studies*, Vol. 35, issue 5 , 539 – 556

Today, local government policy making is characterised by a large number of collaborative activities. Increasingly, it is considered important to reconcile the relations between representative governing bodies and various institutions like networks, funds, partnerships and companies. In this article we enter into this discussion by utilising a framework offered in the literature on meta-governance. Then, based on empirical studies undertaken in Finland and Norway, we draw a



picture of the practices of meta-governance, present the actors involved when different meta-governance tools are applied, and discuss the experiences and perceived challenges when these tools are used. Local governments in both countries are often more restricted to negotiating rather than direct steering, and apply a number of different meta-governance tools. However, according to the results of our research, these practices are still under development; often they are inadequate, energy and time consuming or problematic in the sense that democratic governance is in the hands of officials and experts rather than politicians.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Mongin Olivier

Entre profusion et rareté. Pour un territoire durable

in Esprit, décembre 2009 , 126-136

Au-delà des débats politiques suscités par l'annonce ambiguë d'une réforme des collectivités territoriales, la notion de « développement durable » invite à penser autrement les types d'agglomération. En effet, la prégnance des flux et les impératifs de mobilité qui sont des facteurs de « dé-territorialisation » obligent à revoir les liens avec le territoire, bref à re-toucher Terre. Le retour de la notion de métropole (devenue éco-métropole) est l'occasion de penser nos capacités de freiner la mondialisation « par le bas » (la solidarité et la recherche exigent de la lenteur) mais aussi de redonner tout leur sens aux notions physiques de site, de paysage et de biens communs.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Aarsæther Nils, Bjørnå Hilde, Fotel Trine. Sørensen Eva

Evaluating the Democratic Accountability of Governance Networks: Analysing Two Nordic Megaprojects

in Local Government Studies, Vol. 35, issue 5 , 577 – 594

There is currently a need to analyse and measure the democratic accountability of governance networks. This kind of analysis and measurement calls for the development of an interactive conceptualisation of democratic accountability that makes it possible to measure the level of democratic accountability of concrete governance networks with reference to the extent to which they interact with (1) relevant politicians appointed through the institutions of representative democracy, (2) the relevant and affected stakeholders, and (3) the wider citizenry. A case study of two governance networks involved in two Nordic megaprojects illustrates how this measurement device can be brought into use and what the insights are that can be gained from it.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Mostacci Edmondo

Il difficile riequilibrio della forma di governo regionale: limiti e potenzialità delle previsioni statutarie

in Quaderni Regionali , n. 2

No abstract available



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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Falcon Giandomenico

Il federalismo dei sindaci (e dei prefetti)

in *Regioni (Le)*, n. 3-4 , 447-452

No abstract available

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Rolla Giancarlo

Il principio di autonomia delle comunità territoriali nei sistemi costituzionali multilivello: un approccio di diritto comparato

in *Quaderni Regionali* , n. 2

No abstract available

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Löfgren Karl, Ringholm Toril

Introduction: New Network Modes of Nordic Local Governance

in *Local Government Studies*, Vol. 35, issue 5 , 505 – 514

This introduction to the special issue on local governance networks in the Nordic countries has got two aims. First, we discuss how local governance networks partly can be conceived as a novel mode of local governance, partly must be seen as a continuation of already existing patterns of governance in Nordic local governance. Second, we discuss how the concept of network governance can be employed for internally comparing the Nordic countries.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Hall Patrik, Kettunen Pekka, Löfgren Karl, Ringholm Toril

Is there a Nordic Approach to Questions of Democracy in Studies of Network Governance?

in *Local Government Studies*, Vol. 35, issue 5 , 515 – 538

The notion of democratic network governance has attracted growing interest among students of local and regional governance in all the Nordic countries since the 1990s. This article examines whether research in this area reflects a particular Nordic account of democracy. The Nordic countries have strong traditions of local autonomy, local networks and the inclusion of civil society associations. The authors find reason to expect that the Nordic traditions of local and regional governance may have stimulated a common approach to democracy questions with the features of an integrative perspective. At the same time, the differences in the history of democratisation are likely to have urged the



approach in different directions. Using evidence from a literature review, the article suggests that, rather than a fully fledged theory, democracy with an intriguing potential and with nuances exists as an issue in the Nordic governance studies.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Galán Galán Alfredo

Las leyes de desarrollo básico del estatuto de autonomía: el caso de la ley de gobiernos locales de cataluña in Revista d'Estudis Autonomics i Federals, n. 9 , 280-346

The new Catalan Statute of Autonomy contains a novelty: detailed regulations for local government. These regulations require the appropriate legislative implementation. Within this implementation of the Statute the future act regulating Catalan local authorities is of central importance. The ultimate aim of this paper is to analyse the problems raised by describing this act as

a law for basic implementation of the Statute. Such laws for basic implementation of the Statute are a special type of law which exist in some autonomous structures, among them that of Catalonia, and now enjoy explicit statutory recognition. Despite having existed for so many years and being of such importance, it is a type of law which lacks sufficient categorical definition.

The first part of the paper should be seen as a contribution to remedying this gap. The main issues raised by this special type of autonomous law are examined in detail: its name, nature, concept, material component (reserved areas), formal features (joint initiative and reinforced quorum), relationship with other laws and the statutory limits surrounding it

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Zhou Yong

Legal Predicament of Combining 'Regional' and 'National' Autonomy: A Group Rights Perspective in International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights, Volume 16, Number 3 , 329-348

The Chinese regional national autonomy (RNA) is stated as an institutional arrangement for safeguarding the specific rights of certain minority nationalities living concentrated in their inhabited areas. The combination of 'regional autonomy' and 'national autonomy', which is claimed to be the significant feature of this institution, has not yet been discussed in terms of the institutional design and legal techniques used. Taking a group rights perspective on the institutional arrangement of RNA, the paper explores the legal difficulties inherent in the combination of the two kinds of autonomy as suggested by the terms 'regional' 'national' 'autonomy'. This research exposes the conditions and limits of the existing legal mechanism under RNA and shows that the alleged right combination of two kinds of autonomy is difficult to logically expound from a group rights perspective. It discloses the problems of institutional design in addition to the faulty implementation of the Law on the Regional National Autonomy as the reason for the malfunction of RNA to achieve its stated purpose.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Fotel Trine, Sandkjaer Hanssen Gro



Meta-Governance of Regional Governance Networks in Nordic Countries

in Local Government Studies, Vol. 35, issue 5 , 557 – 576

The article examines the character of political control in the meta-governance of Nordic regional governance networks, and asks to which degree the different meta-governance strategies ensure democratic legitimacy. We draw upon a unique comparative survey targeting regional network participants in four Nordic countries, enabling us to have a comparative approach. We find variations in how the meta-governance strategy of participation by regional politicians is used, and to what extent the networks are embedded in the local political level. The Danish networks are the ones having a clear bottom-up character, being deeply embedded in the local level. In contrast, the networks in the other countries are to a considerable extent meta-governed by national government, by hands-off strategies - designing and framing, as well as hands-on strategies; process management and participating in the networks. However, in all countries the networks seem to be legitimated by the participation and control by regional and local politicians, and to a lesser degree by the national level. We nevertheless find variation, and the general legitimacy of the networks seems to be lower in Sweden than in other countries.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Leijonhufvud Göran

Nationality Townships - An Endangered Species?

in International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights, Volume 16, Number 3 , 455-473

The nationality township is a particular form developed by China for extending preferential treatment to minority nationalities that live in complex geographical patterns. These townships, also known as ethnic townships, are a complement to the regional autonomous system. However, our research indicates that the Communist Party and other units in charge have failed to explain even the most basic characteristics of a nationality township to its citizens. Nationality townships have not improved the status or the self-consciousness of the relevant minority nationalities in Yunnan Province, or their effective participation in the economy. If there is a future at all for nationality townships, they need to be protected by stronger regulations.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Lakshmanan T. R., Chatterjee Lata

New governance institutions in the entrepreneurial urban region

in Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research, Volume 22, Number 3 / September , 371-391

The ability of the entrepreneurial urban region to function and thrive in the contemporary economy depends on the acquisition and maintenance of new political and economic capacities and new institutions and practices, which will enable that urban region to be structurally competitive in the global economy. This urban dynamic competitiveness is socially produced by the joint entrepreneurial activities of economic, political and social actors, while each sector, having different motivations, resources, networks and activities, exploits their complementarities to create a competitive urban milieu. The central argument of this article is that this joint creation of urban competitiveness is made possible by new governance models, which build workable consensus or obtain consent in a context where many interests are in play and strategic change is critical. These ideas are illustrated from the recent experiences of American cities.



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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Freitag Markus, Vatter Adrian

Patterns of democracy: A sub-national analysis of the German Länder

in *Acta Politica*, Volume 44, Number 4, December , 410-438

This article evaluates the patterns of democracy in the 16 federal states of Germany. By replicating Lijphart's analysis for the German sub-national context, we attempt to explain the connections between the political-institutional variables in the Länder democracies. Using factor analysis, it is possible to distinguish a three-dimensional pattern. Whereas the western area-states and Saxony tend to exhibit majoritarian traits, the eastern Länder and the city-states are more likely to display consensual patterns of power-sharing. The origins of these differing patterns of consensus and majoritarian democracy can be partially found in the unique constitutional traditions of their Allied occupying powers, critical historic junctures, as well as in the point in time when the state constitution was ratified.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Airaksinen Jenni, Åström Joachim

Perceptions of Power in Regional Networks: A Nordic Comparative Analysis

in *Local Government Studies*, Vol. 35, issue 5 , 595 – 614

The aim of this article is to explore the differentiated attitudes towards power in Nordic regional networks. The analysis draws upon a unique comparative survey targeting regional network participants in Finland, Sweden, Norway and Denmark. Three specific issues of power are studied: (1) the perceived influence of different actors in regional networks, (2) the perceived mandate of network members, and (3) the perceived impact of networks on regional development. When searching for the national political specifics that might determine participants' different attitudes, State administrative traditions and regional institutional set-ups are of particular interest. While regional governance in all countries is going through a period of transformative flux, the results show strong association with historical paths. The western countries' networks are characterised by less State influence, more influence by regional stakeholders, greater discretionary power of network members, and they are perceived to have more of an impact on regional development than their eastern counterparts. The results suggest that networks do not represent dichotomous alternatives to formal institutions of regional policy-making, but that they are linked to them in complex ways.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Trimarchi Francesco

Qualche osservazione sulla riforma dell'amministrazione locale. Pluralismo istituzionale e funzionamento del sistema

in *Regioni (Le)*, n. 2 , 383-402

No abstract available



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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Muñoz Ricardo Alberto

Reforma política municipal en Río Cuarto

in *Cuaderno de federalismo*, Volumen XXI , 301-309

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Lundberg Maria, Zhou Yong

Regional National Autonomy under Challenge: Law, Practice and Recommendations

in *International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights*, Volume 16, Number 3 , 269-327

Regional national autonomy is claimed to be the "basic policy" of the Chinese Communist Party and a "basic political system" of the State to solve the minority nationalities' issues in China. Within the framework of "basic law", the Regional National Autonomy Law, the rights of the minority nationalities to administer their internal affairs shall be guaranteed. The present severe challenges to this system can be observed through its malfunctions in ethnic conflict solution, the maintenance of cultural diversity and the due regards of the interests of minorities in the quick the economic development. By developing its research methodology based on reviewing previous studies in this field, this article tries to describe this system in law and in practice through four essential elements, which include territory, group, organs of self-government and autonomous power of regional national autonomy. Taking into account the problems of implementation of law and the institutional design of regional national autonomy, this article briefly explores options to provide a meaningful autonomy for minority nationalities in China.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Loiodice Aldo

Ridefinizione del ruolo delle province nel sistema degli enti locali

in *Federalismi*, Anno VII - Nr. 18

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Roberts David K.

Separate, But Equal? Virginia's Virginia's "Independent" Cities and the Purported Virtues of Voluntary Interlocal Agreements



in *Virginia Law Review*, Vol. 95, issue 6 , 1551-1597

Some public choice-influenced scholars claim that voluntary interlocal bargaining can effectively address city-suburb wealth disparities. On this view, economic interdependence encourages (comparatively) affluent suburbs to enter into “burden-sharing” agreements with cities, diminishing the need for so-called regional governments. This perspective holds that Virginia’s distinctive system of city-county separation is uniquely well-suited to the formation of such agreements. Interlocal burden sharing is rare in Virginia, however, and proponents’ example of such burden sharing—a tax base sharing scheme between Charlottesville and Albemarle County—is deficient in several respects. This Note thus challenges the invocation of Virginia as a model to which other states might aspire. The paucity of burden sharing and the deficiencies of existing agreements stem from two weaknesses in the bargaining thesis. First, the conditions necessary to bargaining are frequently absent. For instance, Virginia’s annexation moratorium eviscerates cities’ bargaining power against counties. Second, and more fundamentally, the bargaining thesis neglects structural disincentives to bargaining resulting from Virginia’s system.

The weaknesses of the bargaining thesis have important repercussions for addressing interlocal inequities. Although some call for regional governments to cure disparities, such reforms are substantively undesirable and politically unfeasible. Similarly, Virginia’s now-dormant annexation system was problematic. Although annexation enhanced cities’ bargaining power, it also produced bitter conflicts. The annexation system also failed to promote significant burden sharing. Several reforms would realign suburban counties’ bargaining incentives, providing a means by which existing governmental entities can address metropolitan disparities.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Goodman, D.

Sixty years of the People's Republic: local perspectives on the evolution of the state in China

in *Pacific Review (The)* , Volume 22 Issue 4 , 429 - 450

Although the People's Republic of China turns 60 in 2009, popular and to some extent academic perceptions of its political system remain over-determined by the experience of its first 30 years. The socio-economic impact of the policies of the last three decades is well recognised but not the context in which these have occurred. In particular, there is a tendency to differentiate sharply between dramatic economic growth and its consequences and the lack of political change. While it is clearly the case that the Chinese Communist Party remains in power it is equally as obvious that economic reform has had and been accompanied by major political change. Studies on the state in transition at local levels certainly suggest that change has been significant. Moreover, these local studies also indicate the need to further conceptualise understanding of the state in China. The state idea is rather too general a concept and too blunt an instrument for analysis compared to research that considers the state's values and ideology, the social base of political power, the structures and processes of the political system, the authoritative decision-makers, bureaucracy and administration, and the state's international interactions.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Kyle D. Dell

The Grassroots Are Greener: Democratic Participation and Environmental Policies in State Politics

in *Review of Policy Research* , Volume 26 Issue 6 , 699 - 727



American environmental legislation cannot be fully explained under traditional interest-group theory, which emphasizes the success of well-financed, organized interests. One alternative explanation holds that the American public accepts a new environmental ethos that is protective of the natural world and human health. This study examines 100 years of state-level ballot questions on environmental policy and empirically establishes the emergence and persistence of this new environmental ethos as well as the changing nature of American support for environmental policy. This ethos emerges in 40 years, environmental policy making of this type has been increasingly citizen-led, inclusive of a wider variety of environmental problems, while embracing a greater range of policy solutions including those premised on more radical notions of humanity's relationship with the natural world.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Christopher D. Gore

The Limits and Opportunities of Networks: Municipalities and Canadian Climate Change Policy in Review of Policy Research, Volume 27 Issue 1, 27 - 46

Research on climate change policy and politics has become increasingly focused on the actions and influence of subnational governments. In North America, this attention has been particularly focused on why subnational governments have taken action in the absence of national leadership, what effect action might have on future national climate policy, and whether the collective action of networks of municipal governments are reshaping and challenging the character of national and global climate governance. This paper examines Canadian municipal climate in light of the absence of a comprehensive and effective climate national strategy. The paper considers various reasons why local governments in Canada have not been central players in national plans, and why their actions have not been more influential nationally. The paper argues that the potential influence of Canadian municipalities on national climate policy is weak, given the loose nature of the network and the long-held structural view that municipalities are not significant units of political analysis in national political and policy debates. The paper concludes by considering the constraints and opportunities of subnational climate networks and municipal network analysis.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Bethany Lacina

The Problem of Political Stability in Northeast India: Local Ethnic Autocracy and the Rule of Law in Asian Survey, Volume: 49, Number: 6 November/December, 998–1020

Inter-communal and insurgent violence has been entrenched in Northeast India for decades. At present, however, attacks against central government forces are in abeyance. This downturn reflects the consolidation of local regimes of corruption and repression. New Delhi tolerates and even supports such localized autocracy as a means to manage security threats.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Parolari Sara

Un'alternativa alla riduzione dei Comuni? La soluzione originale della Provincia autonoma di Trento



in *Federalismi*, Anno VII - Nr. 25

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Mishra Dina

When the Interests of Municipalities and Their Officials Diverge: Municipal Dual Representation and Conflicts of Interest in § 1983 Litigation

in *Yale Law Journal (The)*, Vol. 119, issue 1 , 86-129

In many cases, municipal attorneys defend both a municipality and a municipal official against § 1983 claims. Some defenses available to the two types of defendants are incompatible and may give rise to conflicts of interest. This Note analyzes the problems associated with these conflicts of interest. The Note categorizes and describes the strengths and shortcomings of existing approaches to addressing these conflicts. Finally, it proposes a hybrid approach that may better address conflicts of interest in municipal dual representation.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

David Watson, Adnan Qadir Khan

Capacity development for education service delivery in Pakistan: Top-down devolution

in *Public Administration and Development*, Volume 30 Issue 1 , 11 - 26

The historical, political, socio-cultural and institutional context in the public service of Pakistan is not auspicious for the delivery of social services such as education. The then military regime introduced radical devolution reforms in 2001 that promised improvements in service delivery by enhancing accountabilities and capacities for change in local government. However the political economy of this top-down devolution has proved contentious. It established new power structures and authorities over resources at local levels but without concurrent efforts to enhance service delivery capacities. This article examines capacity issues in two cases of capacity development in education service delivery in Pakistan's largest province. The Punjab Education Sector Reform Programme (PESRP) was managed by a provincial-level implementation unit; the Strategic Policy Unit (SPU) of City District Government Faisalabad was a local government project supported by technical co-operation. Both delivered major improvements in education delivery capacity in just 4 years, after decades of delivery stagnation and worsening education indicators. The sustainability of these initiatives is in doubt, as political economy factors remain a major impediment to devolved service delivery in Pakistan.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Baldi Brunetta

Competitive federalism: Italy in comparative perspective

in *Teoria Politica*, Vol. 25, Fascicolo 2



The article analyses the most recent reforms of Italian regionalism using the theory of competitive federalism as opposed to cooperative federalism. Although new competitive dynamics are developing with main reference to asymmetrical regionalism and fiscal federalism, the article shows the coexistence of competitive and cooperative institutional arrangements. Taking a comparative perspective the case of Italy portrays similarities to those of Germany and Spain: German cooperative federalism is more and more challenged by the developing of competitive dynamics between the Western and Eastern Länder as well as Spanish competitive regionalism is opening up to intergovernmental cooperation to assure policy coordination. As a whole the article provides an analytical framework to guide future empirical research.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Carminati Arianna

Dal raccordo politico al vincolo giuridico: l'attività della Conferenza Stato-Regioni secondo il giudice costituzionale

in **Regioni (Le)**, n. 2 , 257-296

No abstract available

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Brinkerhoff Derick W. , Johnson Ronald W.

Decentralized local governance in fragile states: learning from Iraq

in **International Review of Administrative Sciences** , December 2009, Volume 75, No. 4 , 585-607

This article examines the role that local governance plays in creating an effective state and in building constructive state—society relations. Reconstruction efforts in fragile, post-conflict states have focused largely on central government, yet decentralized local authorities offer a number of positive features. Looking at the governance reconstruction experience in Iraq, the analysis explores the extent to which these positive features have characterized Iraqi sub-national government. The article draws lessons for governance reconstruction more generally, addressing decentralization choices, capacity-building, and political factors.

Points for practitioners

In fragile, post-conflict states, good governance reconstruction agendas often aim too high. Targeting good enough governance solutions is more realistic. Decentralized local governance can be integral to such solutions, and offers several advantages to counter problems that central governments face: weak roots beyond the center, poor distribution of services, and weak national integration. Experience shows that local governments can increase speed of service delivery, address ethnic/regional inequities, build democratic and conflict management capacities, mitigate political conflict, experiment to find creative solutions, and enhance legitimacy. We examine governance reconstruction in Iraq in terms of how efforts to build local governance have resulted in these positive outcomes. The Iraq case offers some support for our argument that in fragile, post-conflict states, decentralized local governance is an important feature of good enough governance.



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Mascareño Carlos

Descentralización y democracia en América Latina: ¿una relación directa? Revisión conceptual del estado del arte

in *Reforma y democracia (Venezuela)*, n. 45

Este trabajo aborda conceptualmente la relación entre descentralización y democracia en América Latina. La discusión central es la emergencia de realidades que introducen dudas acerca de la eficacia del impacto de la reforma sobre la consolidación de las democracias, tal como fueran sus objetivos originales de mayor cercanía del ciudadano al gobierno y de un accountability que haría transparentes a los gobiernos.

El documento discute las limitaciones de la relación a partir de: a) las dificultades para definir la democracia misma y avanzar en estándares de calidad, b) las deficiencias de la participación ciudadana, c) la fragmentación de la sociedad civil, y d) la persistencia de una cultura política no democrática que inhibe la existencia de regímenes pluralistas y tolerantes y, por tanto, democráticos.

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

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Aughey Arthur

Devolution in the UK

in *Parliamentary Affairs* , Volume 63, Number 1, January , 212-217

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

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Violini Lorenza

Differenziare per accordo: una formula per rispondere alla crisi?

in *Regioni (Le)*, n. 2 , 197-206

No abstract available

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

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Ficquet Éloi

Fonder un régime sur le recensement ethnique : le fédéralisme éthiopien

in *Critique Internationale*, N°45 - Octobre /Décembre



Après le renversement de la junte militaire, marxiste et ultranationaliste, en mai 1991, le pouvoir est passé aux mains d'une coalition de groupes insurrectionnels qui réclamaient la reconnaissance de leurs ethnicités distinctes et des formes d'autonomie régionale, voire d'indépendance. Pour répondre à ces exigences, un régime fédéral a été mis en place par un régime de transition, la nouvelle constitution étant proclamée en décembre 1994. L'organisation de ce fédéralisme a été définie par un nouveau découpage des tracés territoriaux selon des critères ethniques et linguistiques. Chaque région fédérale devait correspondre à un ensemble ethnique le plus homogène possible. Une description détaillée de la répartition et du recensement des identités déclarées et des langues parlées était donc nécessaire à l'établissement du nouveau régime. Certes, des données précises sur les groupes ethniques et les langues avaient déjà été collectées par la junte militaire, mais cette démarche, prodiguée par les conseillers soviétiques a été jugée contraire à l'unité nationale et abandonnée. Elle a été reprise en 1994 par le régime de transition, dans le cadre d'un recensement national dont les résultats, d'une grande précision, ont servi à l'élaboration d'espaces de représentation politique entièrement nouveaux. On peut se demander dans quelle mesure des données de cette nature peuvent servir à fonder un régime de démocratie représentative. Dans l'application de cette nouvelle conception malléable de la nation, les motifs de litiges n'ont pas manqué d'apparaître et d'être débattus, mais, jusqu'à ce jour, ils n'ont pas conduit à l'éclatement du pays.

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Jean-Paul Faguet

Governance from Below in Bolivia: A Theory of Local Government with Two Empirical Tests

in Latin American Politics & Society, Volume 51 Issue 4 , 29 - 68

This article examines decentralization through the lens of the local dynamics it unleashed in the much-noted case of Bolivia. It argues that the national effects of decentralization are largely the sum of its local-level effects. To understand decentralization, therefore, we must first understand how local government works. The article explores the deep economic and institutional determinants of government quality in two extremes of municipal performance. From this it derives a model of local government responsiveness as the product of political openness and substantive competition. The quality of local politics, in turn, emerges endogenously as the joint product of the lobbying and political engagement of local firms and interests and the organizational density and ability of civil society. The analysis tests the theory's predictions on a database containing all Bolivian municipalities. The theory proves robust. The combined methodology provides a higher-order empirical rigor than either approach can alone.

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Nieva Aldo

Historia de la República Federal

in Cuaderno de federalismo, Volumen XXI , 215-220

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

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Tucciarelli Claudio

Il nodo delle funzioni nella riforma del bicameralismo italiano
in *ItalianiEuropei*, n. 4

No abstract available

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

La collaborazione strutturata tra Regioni e tra queste e lo Stato. Nuovi equilibri e linee evolutive dei raccordi 'verticali' ed 'orizzontali'
in *Federalismi*, Anno VII - Nr. 20

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

La descentralización de la gestión ambiental en América Latina
in *Reforma y democracia (Venezuela)*, n. 45

El propósito de este artículo es presentar un marco conceptual para el proceso de descentralización de la gestión ambiental en el contexto de la América Latina. Se plantea una serie de preguntas y respuestas sobre aspectos que se consideran relevantes, con el fin de aclarar conceptos y formular estrategias o acciones pertinentes a la descentralización de la organización encargada de la conservación ambiental.

Se ha puesto particular atención en la definición del alcance y la extensión de la gestión ambiental para entender sus múltiples aspectos. Se pone énfasis en la identificación de los obstáculos y limitaciones para adelantar la descentralización. Se propone un conjunto de estrategias específicas: políticas, legales, administrativas, financieras, tecnológicas, de participación social y de información, para instrumentar el proceso de descentralización.

La descentralización es vista desde la perspectiva de la profundización de la democracia. En ese contexto se le da atención particular a la participación ciudadana.

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Krings Günter

La evolución del federalismo en Alemania: experiencias, reformas y perspectivas
in *Cuadernos de pensamiento político*, Nr 24, octubre-diciembre 2009

No abstract available



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

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Grammond Sébastien

La gouvernance territoriale au Québec entre régionalisation et participation des peuples autochtones

in *Canadian Journal of Political Science--Revue canadienne de science politique*, Volume 42, Issue 04, December , 939-956

e gouvernance. Or, la juxtaposition de deux évolutions récentes en matière de gouvernance territoriale au Québec, la gouvernance partagée avec les Autochtones et le projet de régionalisation du gouvernement du Québec, remet ce postulat en question. En effet, la protection constitutionnelle dont bénéficient les clauses de gestion territoriale de traités comme la Convention de la Baie James et du Nord québécois et, plus récemment, l'obligation de consulter découlant de l'arrêt Nation haïda, assurent aux Autochtones un pouvoir plus important que celui qui est offert aux acteurs régionaux par le gouvernement du Québec.

Multi-level governance theories have a tendency to minimize the role of law in shaping governance systems. The study of two instances of territorial governance in Quebec, shared governance with the aboriginal peoples and the Quebec government's regionalization initiative, puts this premise in question. The constitutional protection afforded to the land management provisions of the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement and, more recently, to the duty to consult flowing from the Haida Nation case give the aboriginal peoples more power than that recognized to regional actors under the Quebec government's initiative.

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Lupo Nicola

La riforma del bicameralismo: un nodo non più eludibile

in *ItalianiEuropei*, n. 4

No abstract available

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

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Chessa Omar

La specialità regionale tra leggi di revisione della Costituzione e altre leggi costituzionali

in *Regioni (Le)*, n. 2 , 297-330

No abstract available

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

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Bifulco Raffaele

Le premesse comparate e i profili strutturali della riforma del bicameralismo



in *ItalianiEuropei*, n. 4

No abstract available

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

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Wilford RicK

Northern Ireland: The Politics of Constraint

in *Parliamentary Affairs* , Volume 63, Number 1, January , 134-155

The article surveys the interrupted experience of devolution in Northern Ireland since 1999 and draws a number of comparisons between the first devolved Assembly and Executive and their successors elected in 2007. It underlines the significance of the changed political, electoral and paramilitary context in the period leading up to the 2007 Assembly election which, together with a number of procedural changes effected by the 2006 St Andrews Agreement, enabled the restoration of power-sharing devolution to occur. Against the background of its legislative and policy record and the wider altered state of Northern Ireland, it concludes that the contrived consociational model of governance can work, up to a point, but perhaps as much because of the politics of constraint than consociationalism's much vaunted promise to reflect and engender the politics of accommodation.

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Linder Wolf

On the Merits of Decentralization in Young Democracies

in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, vol. 40, n. 1, Winter , 1-30

Three features of decentralization proposed by institutional development theory are analyzed for Mozambique's Autarquias, politically autonomous municipalities since 1997. The three issues analyzed in this article are: Consolidation of the fiscal state, democracy, and the development of service quality in the local administration. Under decentralization, each of the three features is shown empirically to allow progress toward political development. Using QCA-analysis, the politics contributing to institutional consolidation are identified. While the different socio-economic contexts of the Autarquias and power sharing play an important role, the effects of direct participation are more ambiguous. Decentralization can contribute to a "state closer to the people" and may correct the deficiencies of "top down" politics characterizing many African States. However, decentralization cannot overcome deep socio-political divides such as those existing in Mozambique within such a short time. Finally, positive development towards consolidation of democracy, of the local state and its service quality depend on different patterns of politics, more complex than general theories propose.



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Puccini Giusto

Raccordi fra Governo e Autonomie territoriali, forma di governo e struttura del governo

in **Federalismi**, Anno VII - Nr. 20

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

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Cerea Gianfranco

Regionalismi del passato e federalismo futuro: cosa insegna l'esperienza delle autonomie speciali

in **Regioni (Le)**, n. 3-4 , 453-486

No abstract available

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

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Crawford Bruce

Ten Years of Devolution

in **Parliamentary Affairs** , Volume 63, Number 1, January , 89-97

The Scottish Parliament's operation and work over its first decade has been informed by the principles of openness, inclusivity and participation, cooperation and accountability. These principles stood it in good stead in dealing with public confidence and Parliamentary expenses. They have also informed the process of legislative and policy development as well as the policies pursued. A new stage in the Parliament's development came with the election of the SNP Minority Government. The lack of an automatic majority has necessitated building support both within and outside the Parliament. Devolution remains unfinished business. Future developments, whether based on the Government's National Conversation or some other proposals, require to be informed by the same principles that were established at the foundation of the Parliament and continue to guide its development.

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Jones Erik

The Architecture of Government: Rethinking Political Decentralization



in **Parliamentary Affairs** , Volume 62, Number 4, October , 691-697

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

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Mitchell James

The Narcissism of Small Differences: Scotland and Westminster

in **Parliamentary Affairs** , Volume 63, Number 1, January , 98-116

Apart from issues of representation, the new Scottish Parliament resembles Westminster more than its founders had hoped. It was influenced by the same reform agenda that has animated debates on reform of the Commons. The most significant changes from the Westminster model are evident in the voting system, though less than anticipated. Westminster continued to reform itself, albeit in limited ways, after 1997 while Holyrood has rarely addressed some of the same issues. Significant changes appear more likely at the outset of an institution's establishment than after it has come into being when practices, styles and interests are established and reform relies on either an exogenous shock or slow, incremental change.

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Vinothan Naidoo

The Provincial Government Reform Process in South Africa: Policy Discretion and Developmental Relevance

in **Politikon: South African Journal of Political Studies** , Volume 36 Issue 2 , 259 - 274

The aim of this paper is to examine the veracity of the assertion that provincial governments in South Africa possess a relatively unclear developmental role, contributing to questions about their relevance and continued existence. This paper argues that such a claim is at best uninformed and at worst potentially disingenuous in view of how the distribution of policy-making authority in South Africa's intergovernmental system has functioned in practice, and the discretion afforded to provincial governments in the implementation of development policies in particular. Empirical data from an intergovernmentally implemented development programme examined as part of the author's doctoral research has been employed to illustrate this argument.

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Kris Deschouwer



The Rise and Fall of the Belgian Regionalist Parties

in *Regional and Federal Studies*, Volume 19 Issue 4 & 5 , 559 - 577

Regionalist parties were very successful in Belgium in the 1960s and 1970s. Their impact on the political system was important, since their regionalist agenda has led to a thorough reform of the state towards a federal logic and to a full split of the party system. Yet, today, the regionalist parties are either gone or struggling for survival and for a significant place in the political debate. In this article we describe the spectacular electoral rise of the regionalist parties and the subsequent search for an electoral niche in a party system where all parties are limiting their electoral presence to their own language group and have therefore all become, to a certain, extent regionalist parties.

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Bogdanor Vernon

The West Lothian Question

in *Parliamentary Affairs* , Volume 63, Number 1, January , 156-172

Devolution was seen as a solution to the perceived lack of legitimacy of British government in the non-English parts of the UK. It has potentially transferred the legitimacy question to England, particularly when that UK government is dependent upon the votes of Scottish MPs. The various responses—an English Parliament, English Votes for English Laws, and English regional assemblies—will not work. Asymmetrical devolution could, however, prove perfectly stable. But it may well undermine central government's power to correct territorial disparities and may require a new definition of citizenship rights.

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Mitchell James

The Westminster Model and the State of Unions

in *Parliamentary Affairs* , Volume 63, Number 1, January , 85-88

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Yanou Mike A.

The local courts, decentralisation and good governance: the case of the English speaking provinces of Cameroon

in *International Journal of Human Rights (The)*, Volume 13, Issue 5, December , 689-696



This paper examines governance in Cameroon and does so in the context of the attempt by the Francophone dominated central government to curtail the common law system which the two minority English speaking provinces inherited from Britain. It is observed that although the country's constitution made provisions for decentralized structures of governance at local levels since 1996, the continued non-implementation of these provisions has made it impossible for local peoples to be effectively involved in the management of their own affairs.

The article also reviews the Cameroonian idea of devolution of powers to local tiers of administration but queries it for being incapable of leading to accountability by administrators and good governance. Citing section 40 of the constitution which vests powers of judicial review of the acts of state officials in the Supreme Court which sits only in Yaound, the paper argues that this cannot lead to a climate of good governance. The author concludes that the existence of nationwide local courts with powers of acting as a restraint to executive powers is imperative for the emergence of constitutionalism in Cameroon.

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Eban Ebai S.

The right to self-determination and the anglophone Cameroon situation

in International Journal of Human Rights (The), Volume 13, Issue 5, December , 631-653

This paper evaluates anglophone Cameroon's right to self-determination and explores the possibilities open to a people within the context of an African nation state to exercise this right, including the option to secede. Considering the 'soft underbelly' of African boundaries, the intention is to look at the contemporary position of African states vis-à-vis the exercise of the right to self-determination. The paper concludes by exposing the consequences of the persistent denial of anglophone Cameroon's right to self-determination on the future of democracy in Cameroon and on the stability of the region as whole.

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Nicotra Veronica

Verso una nuova governance istituzionale

in Italiani Europei, n. 4

No abstract available

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

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Trench Alan

Wales and the Westminster Model

in Parliamentary Affairs , Volume 63, Number 1, January , 117-133

This article discusses the significance of the 'inward' and 'outward' faces of the 'Westminster model' for the institutions of devolved government in Wales. In 1997–1998, the objective was to create something that resembled Westminster as



little as possible. Subsequently, the 'inward' face has seen an increasing assumption of key features of the Westminster model, notably a separation between the executive and legislative branches, due to practical political needs in Wales. In other respects, the model has not been followed. As regards its 'outward' face, constraints on the autonomy of the Assembly mean it forms part of broader patterns of government within the wider UK system rather than possessing any form of sovereignty or autarchy.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Huang Jing

A Leadership of Twenty (L20) Within the UNFCCC: Establishing a Legitimate and Effective Regime to Improve Our Climate System

in *Global Governance*, vol. 15, n. 5, october-december , 435-442

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Di Mauro Danilo

Analisi degli schieramenti nelle nazioni unite. Cinquant'anni di ricerche sul "voting behavior" nell'assemblea generale

in *Rivista Italiana di Scienza Politica*, Vol. XXXIX, Numero 2, Agosto , 187-208

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Chapman Terrence

Audience Beliefs and International Organization Legitimacy

in *International Organization*, vol. 63, issue 4, october , 733-764

ABSTRACT: Recent work suggests that multilateral security institutions, such as the UN Security Council, can influence foreign policy through public opinion. According to this view, authorization can increase public support for foreign policy, freeing domestic constraints. Governments that feel constrained by public opinion may thus alter their foreign policies to garner external authorization. These claims challenge traditional realist views about the role of international organizations in security affairs, which tend to focus on direct enforcement mechanisms and neglect indirect channels of influence. To examine these claims, this article investigates the first link in this causal chain—the effect of institutional statements on public opinion. Strategic information arguments, as opposed to arguments about the symbolic legitimacy of specific organizations or the procedural importance of consultation, posit that the effect of institutional statements on



public opinion is conditional on public perceptions of member states' interests. This article tests this conditional relationship in the context of changes in presidential approval surrounding military disputes, using a measure of preference distance between the United States and veto-wielding members of the UN Security Council. Findings indicate that short-term changes in presidential approval surrounding the onset of military disputes in the United States between 1946 and 2001 have been significantly larger when accompanied by a positive resolution for a Security Council that is more distant in terms of foreign policy preferences. The article also discusses polling data during the 1990s and 2000s that support the strategic information perspective.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

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Kyriakakis Joanna

Corporate criminal liability and the ICC statute: the comparative law challenge
in *Netherlands International Law Review*, Volume 56, Issue 3 , 333-366

This article examines the proposal that, in order to overcome the comparative law problem of diverse national positions in relation to corporate criminal liability, a scheme involving administrative or civil liability should be adopted if corporations are to be included in the jurisdiction of the International Criminal Court. It is argued that, despite the obvious practical appeal of such a solution, a criminal liability scheme should be preferred as perpetrators of international crimes – both natural and legal – should be subject to the full expressive and stigmatising capacities of the criminal law. However, recent international developments in corporate liability suggest a possible middle ground that may provide an acceptable solution to a majority of states.

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Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Mathias D Stephen

Current Developments - The 2008 Judicial Activity of the International Court of Justice
in *American journal of international law*, Vol. 103, issue 3 , 527-542

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Conca Ken, Wallace Jennifer

Environment and Peacebuilding in War-torn Societies: Lessons from the UN Environment Programme's Experience with Postconflict Assessment
in *Global Governance*, vol. 15, n. 5, october-december , 485-504

ABSTRACT: Handled well, they may create a solid foundation for peace and sustainable development; handled poorly, they risk undercutting an already tenuous peace. In this article, we identify patterns and lessons from the work of the UN Environment Programme's Post-Conflict and Disaster Management Branch, which has conducted postconflict assessments in several war-torn societies over the past decade. PCDMB's experience sheds considerable light on the nature of conflict-related environmental challenges, identifies possible entry points for environmental initiatives in



peacebuilding, and suggests cautions about the requirements for environmental initiatives to be peacebuilding tools. We identify four themes emerging from their work: the multiple and often indirect links between violent conflict and environmental degradation; the political dimensions of environmental assessment as a confidence-building tool; resource and environmental linkages among the different segments of war-torn economies; and the environmental dimensions of reconstituting the state, regulation, and the rule of law.

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Elagab Omer Yousif

Indicting the Sudanese President by the ICC: Resolution 1593 revisited

in *International Journal of Human Rights (The)*, Volume 12, Issue 5, October , 654-667

The Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court (ICC) has on 14 July 2008, applied for an Arrest Warrant against Sudanese President, Al-Bashir for alleged complicity in genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes in Darfur. This is the first time for the ICC in its infant history to consider charges of genocide, and for that matter, also for the first time ever to consider indicting a Head of State. The Prosecutor is undeterred by concerns that his endeavour might add fuel to an already igniting situation in Darfur. He says that 'I am a prosecutor doing a judicial case'. On 4 March 2009, the ICC issued a warrant of arrest for President Al-Bashir, listing five counts of crimes against humanity and two of war crimes. This development has necessitated a return to SC Resolution 1593 to unravel some of its controversial aspects such as those relating to the sources of funding of the referral; categorisation of States with respect to their co-operation with the ICC; how complementarity applies when the alleged suspect is himself the Head of State; the unpredictable manner in which the Resolution recognises immunity for nationals of non-party States; the role of sovereign immunity; conflict prevention role of the Prosecutor; and narrowing of the gap in the US opposition to the ICC.

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Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Dickmann Renzo

Le Nazioni Unite, la democrazia e il multiculturalismo. Appunti per una “Carta universale” dei principi della democrazia parlamentare

in *Federalismi*, Anno VII - Nr. 23

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Müller Daniel, Ben Mansour Affef

Procedural Developments at the International Court of Justice

in *Law and Practice of International Courts and Tribunals (The)*, vol. 8, n. 3 , 459-528

No abstract available



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Zyberi Gentian

Self-determination through the lens of the International Court of Justice

in *Netherlands International Law Review*, Volume 56, Issue 3 , 429-453

This article focuses on the role and contribution of the International Court of Justice to developing and interpreting the right of peoples to self-determination. The most relevant cases decided by the Court so far, and briefly noted here, broadly fall within the decolonization context, save for the ongoing advisory proceedings in the Kosovo case. This simple taxonomy is based on a wide separation of the Court's case law in two main categories, namely decolonization and secession. The analysis of the place of secession under current international law serves to put into perspective the inquiry into whether any of the main principles applicable to the decolonization process, as elaborated by the Court, continue to be valid in the case of secession of a part of a state from an existing independent state. The article ends with a number of concluding remarks on the contribution of the Court to clarifying the right of peoples to self-determination as part of the corpus of international human rights law.

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Bianchi Andrea

The International Regulation of the Use of Force: The Politics of Interpretive Method

in *Leiden Journal of International Law*, Volume 22, Issue 04, December , 651-676

The difficulty in identifying the contours of the international regulation of the use of force is not merely the product of the highly politicized character of this area of international law, let alone of the divide between theory and practice. This paper submits that the problem rather lies in the fact that the interpretive community that produces the official discourse on the use of force is no longer able to agree on the way in which legal categories and interpretive techniques should be used to identify the applicable law. A reflexive consideration, by all actors involved, of the method by which the discourse on the use of force is formed seems to be necessary in order to establish or restore, within that interpretive community, the societal consensus needed to provide the international community with a common understanding of the extant regulatory framework and its scope of application.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

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Darrow Mac, Arbour Louise

The Pillar of Glass: Human Rights in the Development Operations of the United Nations



in *American journal of international law*, Vol. 103, issue 3 , 446-501

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Miller Anthony

The Privileges and Immunities of the United Nations

in *International Organizations Law Review*, vol. 6, n. 1 , 7-115

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Schomburg Wolfgang

The Role of International Criminal Tribunals in Promoting Respect for Fair Trial Rights

in *Northwestern University Journal of International Human Rights*, vol. 8, issue 1, fall

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Thérien Jean-Philippe, Bélanger Dumontier Madeleine

The United Nations and Global Democracy

in *Cooperation and Conflict*, vol. 44, n.4, december , 355-377

ABSTRACT: This article shows that the idea of global democracy has been a driving force in UN discourse and policies for the past two decades. In the first part, we use official rhetoric to explain that the promotion of global democracy by the UN rests on a particular set of values and beliefs. In an analysis that parallels the interpretation proposed by cosmopolitan democratic theorists, UN leaders argue that international governance must be democratized in order to reflect the recent reconfiguration of political forces. We then examine how UN ideas are put into practice through global public policies. Structured in line with the distinction between input- and output-based legitimacy, this second part demonstrates how UN policies foster greater participation by non-state actors in the organization's deliberations and operations. The article suggests that the UN is an effective intellectual actor. By promoting civil society's greater involvement in world politics, the discourse and policies of the UN have indeed succeeded in advancing the idea of a democracy 'without borders'.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Godinho Jorge

When Worlds Collide: Enforcing United Nations Security Council Asset Freezes in the EU Legal Order



in *European law journal*, Volume 16 Issue 1 January , 67-93

Asset freezes are since 2000 being applied by the United Nations (UN) Security Council (SC) to non-state actors. This came about as a 'mutation' of the sanctions program initiated by Resolutions 1267 (1999), 1333 (2000) and 1390 (2002): currently the targets are only suspected terrorists or terrorism financiers.

This 'mutation' has created perplexities and problems, namely for the EU, which enforces UN SC Resolutions by a combination of first and second pillar methods. The main problem concerns issues of fundamental rights, currently being litigated.

The debate on the compatibility of the current practice of UN SC asset freezing within EU law takes place amidst a fundamental lack of clarity as to the exact purposes and operational objectives of such freezes. It is argued that this practice amounts to an ad hoc (para-)criminal procedure measure, enacted by political bodies rather than courts, and without judicial oversight.

The current UN SC practice of asset freezing against non-state actors breaches the right to judicial review, as well as the presumption of innocence. If this practice it is to continue at all, methods that make it fully compatible with the rule of law must be adopted. Especially, their renewal ad aeternum should not be possible.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Ngane Sylvia Ntube

Witnesses before the International Criminal Court

in *Law and Practice of International Courts and Tribunals (The)*, vol. 8, n. 3 , 431-457

ABSTRACT: It is an established rule of international law that all witnesses shall testify at the seat of the court. The witness scheme of the International Criminal Court (ICC) is a complex one which provides for direct and indirect judicial authority over witnesses. This article grapples with the complexities of the ICC procedural rules with regard to witnesses, concentrating on three components in the ICC witness scheme: testimony, cooperation and protection. Part I of this article examines the general rule of witness testimony before the Court and different alternatives for the giving of testimonial evidence when a witness cannot be present before the Court. The ICC's powers to compel witnesses are extremely limited and it is forced to rely on traditional legal assistance such as depositions. Part II discusses the exercise of indirect judicial authority by the Court through the assistance of States in relation to witnesses. It analyses provisions on State cooperation with witnesses, national implementing legislation with regard to witnesses and assesses the effectiveness of this legislation. The subsequent practice of State Parties as reflected by their implementing legislation on witnesses proves that a consistent practice does not exist. This section also examines the cooperation between the ICC and international organisations as regards witnesses. Part III examines the ICC Witness Protection Scheme; it looks at the ways in which witnesses are protected and it cites the practice of other tribunals. It then looks at the ICC's Victims and Witness Unit vis-à-vis the policies and mechanisms in place.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Francioni Francesco



Access to Justice, Denial of Justice and International Investment Law

in *European Journal of International Law*, Vol. 20, n. 3 , 729-747

The development of investment arbitration in contemporary international law has helped to consolidate access to justice as a principle of both customary law on the treatment of aliens and human rights law. This development has also contributed to the emancipation of individuals and private entities from the traditional institution of diplomatic protection by opening to them direct access to international dispute settlement mechanisms. At the same time, this development has raised questions whether the far-reaching penetration of foreign investment guarantees into areas of national regulation of public interest should not be counterbalanced by corresponding opportunities for access to justice and the availability of remedies for civil society in the host state. This article examines the relevant recent practice on this matter and argues that access to justice may be a unifying principle to afford protection, both at the substantive and procedural levels, to investors and peoples negatively affected by the investment, both in the territory of the host state and abroad.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Manuel Trevor

Africa as an actor in global governance reform for development

in *South African Journal of International Affairs* , vol. 16, n. 3, december , 279-285

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Manuel Trevor

Africa as an actor in global governance reform for development

in *South African Journal of International Affairs* , vol. 16, n. 3, december , 279-285

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Lyons Richard K., Moore Michael J.

An information approach to international currencies

in *Journal of International Economics*, Volume 79, Issue 2, November 2009 , 211-221

Models of currency competition focus on the 5% of trading attributable to balance-of-payments flows. We introduce an information approach that focuses on the other 95%. Important departures from traditional models arise when transactions convey information. First, prices reveal different information depending on whether trades are direct or through vehicle currencies. Second, missing markets arise due to insufficiently symmetric information, rather than insufficient transactions scale. Third, the indeterminacy of equilibrium that arises in traditional models is resolved: currency trade patterns no longer concentrate arbitrarily on market size. Empirically, we provide a first analysis of transactions across a full market triangle: the euro, yen and US dollar. The estimated transaction effects on prices



support the information approach.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Headey Derek

Appraising a post-Washington paradigm: What Professor Rodrik means by policy reform

in Review of International Political Economy, Volume 16 Issue 4 2009 , 698 - 728

This essay critically reviews an important new school of thought in the 'post-Washington' era, that of Professor Dani Rodrik and his collaborators. The review first provides some background on the substantive differences between the Washington Consensus and more heterodox development paradigms, such as Robert Wade's East Asian revisionism. The paper then outlines Rodrik's own developmental vision, which could be termed a third way inasmuch as it borrows elements from both orthodox and heterodox schools of thought, yet disagrees with some of the central underpinnings of both. The remainder of the paper then critically assesses some key elements of this alternative vision, especially Rodrik's institutionalist revision of the existing growth evidence, his call for greater democratization as a universal institutional reform and his proposed changes to the way in which technocrats should formulate policy advice in a post-Washington era.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Bernholz Peter

Are international organizations like the Bank for International Settlements unable to die? A historical case study of the BIS

in Review of International Organizations (The) , vol. 4, n. 4, december , 361-381

ABSTRACT: International Organizations seem to be immortal or at least long-lived. In this paper several factors which may be responsible for this fact are put forward and then analyzed by studying the empirical case of the Bank for International Settlements (BIS), which has now survived for seventy-eight years all threats to its existence. This is the more surprising since it was heavily attacked by the government of the most powerful country of the world, the USA for some years. This country demanded the dissolution of the BIS at the Bretton Woods Conference in 1944 as a precondition for allowing nations to join the planned International Monetary Fund. Before this the Bank was also able to master the crisis resulting from the demise of the gold (exchange) standard and the end of the German reparation payments agreed on in the Dawes and Young Plans, both consequences of the Great Depression. The Bank even survived the events of the Second World War threatening it, and reacted creatively to the crisis posed by the founding of the European Monetary Union. It is shown that all suspected factors favoring the survival of international organizations were present in the case of the BIS.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Ghérari Nabib, Chemain Régis

Chronique OMC (2008): l'Union européenne et l'Organisation Mondiale du Commerce. Règlement des différends

in Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne, n. 534, janvier , 61-67



The year 2008 had 13 appeals out of 15 possible ones: 10 appeals involved initial proceedings and 3, proceedings under article 21.5 of the dispute settlement agreement memorandum. That is what increases the appeal rate compared with last year: 82% in 2008 vs. 50% in 2007 (as a reminder, that rate was 86% in 2006 and 60% in 2005). As the average is 68%, it is one of the highest rate in the short history of the WTO's dispute settlement body. The EU is still an active player and user of the WTO's dispute settlement system. In its own way, one case stands out from the others, the Hormones III case. By the questions it raises and the stake it involves, that case did not allow for any progress in the understanding and system of dispute settlement and of the rules of the agreement relating to sanitary and plant health measures (SPS Agreement). The other cases are not uninteresting, but involve either the management of old cases which encountered more or less significant enforcement problems (notably the banana case) or issues that have become usual and whose answers do not call for in-depth comments (Mexico: olive oil or China: car parts...).

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Bradly J. Condon

Climate Change and Unresolved Issues in WTO Law

in *Journal of International Economic Law*, Volume 12, Number 4 , 895-926

This article analyzes several unresolved issues in World Trade Organization (WTO) law that may affect the WTO-consistency of measures that are likely to be taken to address climate change. How should the WTO deal with environmental subsidies under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), the Agreement on Agriculture and the Subsidies and Countervailing Measures (SCM) Agreement? Can the general exceptions in GATT Article XX be applied to other agreements in Annex 1A? Are processing and production methods relevant to determining the issue of 'like products' in GATT Articles I and III, the SCM Agreement and the Antidumping Agreement and the TBT Agreement? What is the scope of paragraphs b and g in GATT Article XX and the relationship between these two paragraphs? What is the relationship between GATT Article XX and multilateral environmental agreements in the context of climate change? How should Article 2 of the TBT Agreement be interpreted and applied in the context of climate change? The article explores these issues.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Erich Vranes

Climate Change and the WTO: EU Emission Trading and the WTO Disciplines on Trade in Goods, Services and Investment Protection

in *Journal of World Trade*, Volume 43 Issue 4 , 707–735

This contribution examines the legal relationship between domestic trading in emission certificates and World Trade Organization (WTO) law. As domestic emission trading regimes differ – even when they are based on the international climate change regime – this article uses the EU emissions trading system as an example. In doing so, it also addresses the so-called project-based mechanisms, that is, the joint implementation and the clean development mechanisms (CDM) that are introduced under the Kyoto Protocol. This approach not only takes account of the fact that trading in emission certificates and credits resulting from these project-based mechanisms are economically and legally linked but also of the view that all three flexible instruments can be regarded as forms of emission trading, with trading under Article 17 of the Kyoto Protocol representing the 'purest' form of emissions trading.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Lyne Mona, Nielson Daniel, Tierney Michael

**Controlling coalitions: Social lending at the multilateral development banks
in Review of International Organizations (The)**, vol. 4, n. 4, december, 407-433

ABSTRACT: Multilateral development banks (MDBs) dramatically increased social lending for health, education, and safety nets after 1985. Yet the great powers' social policy preferences remained relatively static from 1980 to 2000. This contradicts the conventional view that powerful states control IOs. We argue that highly institutionalized IOs like MDBs require a complete model of possible member-state coalitions encompassing the preferences of all member states—not just major powers. We develop multiple measures of state preferences and include all member states in our coalitional model. We evaluate our model and alternatives with an analysis of more than 10,000 MDB loans from 1980 to 2000. We find that when we include all member states weighted by their voting shares, principal preferences are significantly related to lending outcomes.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Krista Nadakavukaren Schefer

**Corruption and the WTO Legal System
in Journal of World Trade**, Volume 43 Issue 4, 737–770

The World Trade Organization (WTO) has no substantive rules directly addressing corruption in trade relations. There are, however, numerous legal provisions in the various WTO texts that offer indirect support to traders facing corrupt trade administrators. Whether these provisions are sufficient to address the bulk of trade-related corruption is questionable, given the narrow range of corrupt practices that are affected by these, mainly procedural, obligations. This article sets out a framework for further research into the question of how corruption affects trade liberalization, and puts forth a suggestion for how the WTO could take a step towards remedying its avoidance of the topic of corruption while not exceeding its functional scope of regulating trade relations among Members.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Jeanne Olivier

**Debt Maturity and the International Financial Architecture
in American Economic Review**, Vol. 99, No 5, December 2009, 2135–48.

This paper presents a theory of the maturity of international sovereign debt, and derives its implications for the reform of the international financial architecture. The analysis is based on a model in which the need to roll over external debt disciplines the policies of debtor countries, but makes them vulnerable to unwarranted debt crises due to bad shocks. The paper presents a welfare analysis of several measures that have been discussed in recent debates, such as international lending-in-last-resort or the establishment of a mechanism for suspending payments on the external debt of crisis countries.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Humberto Zúñiga Schroder

Definition of the Concept 'International Standard' in the TBT Agreement

in *Journal of World Trade*, Volume 43 Issue 6 , 1223–1254

The definition of the concept 'international standard' in the Technical Barriers to Trade (TBT) Agreement is of paramount importance within the World Trade Organization (WTO) general framework, because it allows a precise understanding of Articles 2.4 and 2.5 which encourage 'harmonization' as one of the ways to tackle the potential negative effects to trade derived from the existence of different standards. Given that the WTO is a non-standard-setting organization, the task of drafting international standards has been delegated to different standardizing bodies. The Sanitary and Phytosanitary (SPS) Measures Agreement clearly defines which bodies are entitled to issue these standards, but not the TBT Agreement. Considering this, this article focuses on the analysis of the different interpretative possibilities through which it is possible to define this concept (from a trade law perspective) and on the advantages and disadvantages of the TBT Agreement and other third parties' approaches.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Park Susan

Designing accountability, international economic organisations and the World Bank's Inspection Panel

in *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 64, n. 1 / February , 13-36

Over the last two decades, demands for greater international economic organisation (IEO) accountability have been both prominent and vitriolic. This article demonstrates how an influential IEO, the World Bank, took up concerns of its lack of accountability through creating the Inspection Panel in 1993, in response to civil society pressures and member state demands. Drawing loosely on John Campbell's argument that ideas operating in the 'foreground' and 'background' influence policy decisions, it traces how the idea of external accountability gained strength, leading to the Inspection Panel's emergence. This contrasts with competing rational design explanations that derive 16 conjectures to explain why states design the institutions they do. The article proceeds in four parts: first, the basis for examining IEO and World Bank accountability is outlined, before detailing how a rational design argument would apply to the establishment of the Inspection Panel. A constructivist account of how ideas of accountability emerged and shaped the policy formation process is then provided, which establishes a comprehensive explanation of how and why the Inspection Panel was created the way it was and not otherwise. The conclusion then reflects on the importance of the formation of external accountability mechanisms for IEOs and of ideas in shaping international institutions.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Armin Steinbach

EC Liability for Non-compliance with Decisions of the WTO DSB: The Lack of Judicial Protection Persists

in *Journal of World Trade*, Volume 43 issue 5 , 1047–1069



In the past, the European Court of Justice (ECJ) has strongly favoured not intervening in any way in the international process of dispute resolution and has denied the direct effect of World Trade Organization (WTO) law at the expense of judicial enforcement of WTO rules. This article discusses the Court's recent extension of this well-established case law in the context of an action for compensation brought by companies subjected to retaliatory measures authorized by the Dispute Settlement Body (DSB). The analysis focuses on the Court's interpretation of the binding nature of the Dispute Settlement Understanding (DSU) and the implications for the particular function an action for damages fulfils in the context of judicial protection under EC law. The Court's approach to considering the notion of direct effect as a criterion for an action for damages is questioned in light of the Court's own jurisprudence. The article concludes that the Court's well-established stance vis-à-vis WTO rules should not be upheld for the purposes of a claim for damages.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Norio Komuro

FTA Outward Processing at the Crossroads

in *Journal of World Trade*, Volume 43 Issue 4 , 797–846

Several modern Free Trade Agreements (FTAs) contain a so-called 'outward processing' exception to their rules of origin (ROO). FTAs require that for a good from a Party to enjoy preferential treatment in another Party the good must be made without interruption in the FTA territory. An exception to this territoriality principle is the outward processing scheme. Under this exception, a producer in a Party may send materials to a non-Party for outward processing and re-import the processed goods for finishing. Final products can then enjoy the FTA preference in the importing Party provided that relevant conditions are met.

This article examines various outward processing schemes under current FTAs concluded by, inter alia, Israel, the EU, European Free Trade Association (EFTA), Singapore and South Korea, and compares them with neighbouring regimes (i.e., third-country content and third-country materials rules). This article also assesses the scheme from economic-political and legal viewpoints. Finally, this article suggests some solutions for overcoming problems with the scheme.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Valentin Zahrnt,

For a New Classification System of Domestic Support in the WTO Agreement on Agriculture

in *Journal of World Trade*, Volume 43 Issue 6 , 1325–1343

The Uruguay Round Agreement on Agriculture classifies domestic support to agriculture into three 'boxes': Amber, Blue, and Green. This legal distinction fails to smartly manage the trade-off between policy space to pursue domestic non-trade objectives and limiting trade distortions. The weak link between the box structure and economic analysis accentuates mercantilist bargaining and sends wrong signals to policy makers and domestic constituents. A more nuanced classification framework should be developed that is responsive to the degree of legitimacy different subsidies enjoy.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations



Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Wade Robert

From global imbalances to global reorganisations

in **Cambridge Journal of Economics**, Volume 33, Number 4, July 2009

The world feels itself to be in transition, but to what is unclear. Will the liberal market model retain its normative primacy once some semblance of normality is restored, or will other varieties of capitalism, with a bigger role of the state, acquire more legitimacy? The answer depends partly on one's explanation for the current crisis. This essay argues, first, that global imbalances had too important a role to ignore, in contrast to a mainstream view that focuses on mistakes in monetary policy and financial regulation. It argues, second, that in light of global dynamics, the crisis is likely to become worse by early 2010—which, on the face of it, makes significant reorganisations of capitalism more likely. The third section lays out what should be done to reconfigure capitalism at national and international levels. The final section discusses the political economy of policy reforms in terms of the difficult translation from what should be done to what can be done. The broad conclusion is that in five years from now the liberal market model will have been restored to normative primacy and 'we must have more globalization' will again be the elite rallying cry; but the crisis will have left behind sufficient doubts about factual propositions and value priorities that political parties and economists advocating alternatives will have more scope than they have had for the past three decades.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Elias Juanita

Gendered political economy and the politics of migrant worker rights: the view from South-East Asia

in **Australian Journal of International Affairs**, Vol. 64, n. 1 / February , 70-85

Focusing on the South-East Asian region and looking specifically at activism around the position of migrant domestic workers in the region, this article seeks to evaluate why migrant activist organisations appear to have had, at best, modest influence on gendering the International Labour Organization's approach to labour rights. The author argues that this is largely due to how dominant understandings of labour rights have neglected the significance of social relations of reproduction (i.e. those 'care-related' activities associated with the household) to the functioning of the labour market. Furthermore, a transnationalisation of social relations of reproduction is manifested in the increased feminisation of labour migration in the region and this highlights further problems with dominant labour rights perspectives that remain largely state-centric in their approach. The significance of South-East Asian states in promoting localised regimes of citizenship/immigration and industrial relations greatly limits the ability of activist groups to claim and utilise the language of human rights. Nonetheless, the article argues that a concern with the human rights of female migrants can potentially destabilise dominant understandings of labour and human rights. More generally, the article seeks to demonstrate the insights that a critical feminist human rights approach can bring to studies of work and employment within international political economy.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Dreher Axel, Sturm Jan-Egbert, Vreeland James Raymond

Global horse trading: IMF loans for votes in the United Nations Security Council

in **European Economic Review**, Volume 53, Issue 7, October 2009 , Pages 742-757



We investigate whether temporary members of the United Nations Security Council receive favorable treatment from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) using panel data for 197 countries over the period from 1951 to 2004. Our results indicate a robust positive relationship between temporary Security Council membership and participation in IMF programs, even after accounting for economic, political, and country-specific factors. There is also evidence that Security Council membership reduces the number of conditions included in IMF programs. IMF loans seem to be a mechanism by which the major shareholders of the Fund can win favor with voting members of the Security Council.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Martha Rutsel Silvestre

International Organizations and the Global Financial Crisis: The status of their Assets in Insolvency and Forced Liquidation Proceedings

in *International Organizations Law Review*, vol. 6, n. 1 , 117-154

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Erber Georg, Thießen Ulrich

International Trade Under Threat. Stopping Protectionism Through Institutional Reforms

in *Economic Bulletin*, 15 / 2009 , 101-107

The global economic crisis has led to a massive increase in unemployment, and nearly all governments have declared the protection of domestic jobs to be a central economic policy aim. In the US, an additional \$790-billion economic stimulus package was adopted immediately after President Obama took office. The package includes a "Buy American" clause intended to give preferential treatment to domestic suppliers in public procurement, and is leading to countermeasures by other countries. In some cases, there have been tariff increases and trade-distorting currency depreciations. Already the announcement of protectionist measures can have immediate adverse effects on policy decisions elsewhere and one is reminded of the US Smoot-Hawley act of 1930 with its dramatic negative consequences on global trade and economic growth afterwards. Efforts should be made to strengthen multilateral organizations at this moment in the current global crisis. DIW Berlin advocates the reform of the International Monetary Fund. In addition, the G-20 should play a larger role in combating international financial crises. Finally, in the future, the EU should only be represented in the G-20 by a single representative.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Brusis Martin

Konzepte, Messansatz und Validierung der Sustainable Governance Indicators Eine Replik auf Sebastian Jäckle und Rafael Bauschke

in *Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft* , 19. Jahrgang (2009), Heft 4 , 537-551

Concepts, Methods of Measurement and Validation of the Sustainable Government Indicators



A Reply to Sebastian Jäckle and Raphael Bauschke

The Bertelsmann Stiftung has developed the Sustainable Governance Indicators (SGI) as a means to evaluate government performance and political outcomes in 30 OECD countries. In contrast to Jäckle and Bauschke's criticism in ZPol 3/09, I argue that it is possible to measure both democracy and performance. The questions on democratic quality are only designed to evaluate minima only designed to evaluate minimal standards in the context of the measurement of government performance. It is necessary to standardize evaluations by experts in order to link them to quantitative indicators. The method to do this is equivalent to a relative ranking. Due to their conceptual fuzziness the World Bank's „Government Indicators“ cannot replace the performance measurement of the SGI , nor can it validate the SGI's evaluation of government performance.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Ruiz Jorge Fernández

La reducción de la deuda de los países más pobres y su relación con la ayuda

in *Foro Internacional*, VOLUMEN XLIX - NÚMERO 1

The indebtedness of a group of very low-income countries grew rapidly in the 80s decade and in the beginning of the 90s, becoming a serious problem for their development. In 1996 the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank presented an initiative to relieve this debt which meant an important change in the manner of addressing the issue. The present article makes a survey of this initiative and examines its grounds and limitations, which serves as a basis for studying the role of debt reduction and other forms of aid as mechanisms to promote the development of the poorest countries..

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Francisco Rodríguez Ortiz

Las relaciones euro - dólar: diez años de equilibrio inestable

in *Cuadernos europeos de Deusto*, n. 41 , 113-134

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Goldberg Linda , Tille Cédric

Macroeconomic interdependence and the international role of the dollar

in *Journal of Monetary Economics*, Volume 56, Issue 7, October 2009 , 990-1003

The U.S. dollar holds a dominant place in the invoicing of international trade. In addition to a direct role for most U.S. exports and imports, it plays a global role for trade flows outside the United States. Using a simple center-periphery model, we show that this global role magnifies the exposure of periphery countries to the U.S.'s monetary policy even



when trade flows with the U.S. are limited. This generates gains from coordinated monetary policy, as U.S. policy leads to inefficient movements in intra-periphery relative prices. Despite this inefficiency, flexible exchange rates remain valuable.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Masini Fabio

New Consensus On Global Money? A Note

in *Perspectives on federalism*, Vol. 1, single issue , N 42-50

This note deals with the Chinese proposal for a new international monetary architecture. The Chinese proposal was the last of a series which suddenly appeared on the international diplomatic scene last March: starting from it the author presents a brief reflection on the common elements of such proposals.

Full text available at:

<http://www.on-federalism.eu/index.php/notes/50-consensus-on-global-money-a-note>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

European Economy News

No continent is an island

in *European Economy News*, October 2009 – Issue 15

The crisis shows that major economies of the world are highly interdependent. While not the direct cause of the banking crisis and subsequent recession, global macroeconomic imbalances were a contributing factor. A new framework for macro-financial surveillance must be built at the international level and the role of the IMF, the Financial Stability Board and other international organisations should be reinforced.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Cho Sungjoon

Of the World Trade Court's Burden

in *European Journal of International Law*, Vol. 20, n. 3 , 675-727

This article argues that in adjudicating sensitive disputes, such as those concerning human health, the WTO tribunal (Court) acts as a Dworkinian Hercules which provides its own answers on risks and science. In judging which party should win the case, this Hercules assesses parties' arguments and evidence on risks and regulatory responses through a technical rule labelled the 'burden of proof' (BOP). Yet the BOP is more the Court's burden than parties' burden (who to prove) in that the final outcome of the case hinges eventually on those elements which the Court requires parties to prove (what to prove), as well as whether the Court approves that a party has discharged its BOP and allows the burden



to shift to the other party (whether to prove). As long as the Court plays the role of Hercules by handing down substantive justice on issues of high controversy, such as risks and science, whatever decision it makes will hardly satisfy the parties concerned, and thus will never fully resolve their disputes. If the Court's own answer (substantive justice) cannot put an end to parties' antimonial struggle, the Court should contemplate guiding parties to discover the solution between them via constructive regulatory dialogue. The Court can achieve this new goal by transforming its current substantive hermeneutics over the BOP into a 'procedural' one. The Court's new interpretation can reoperationalize the BOP in a way that brings out certain important administrative law elements, such as transparency and reason-giving, embedded in major SPS obligations such as risk assessment.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Fabienne Femenia, Alexandre Gohin

On the European Responsibility in the Agricultural Multilateral Trade Negotiations: Modelling the Impacts of the Common Agricultural Policy

in *World Economy*, Volume 32 Issue 10 , 1434 - 1460

The present round of multilateral trade negotiations is still deadlocked over agricultural trade. The European Union (EU) is urged by its trading partners to open its agricultural markets. Economic evaluations of trade liberalisation scenarios unanimously conclude that a substantial opening of agricultural markets is required for a successful (welfare-improving) Doha Round. In this paper, we perform new evaluations to identify precisely the contributions of the European farm policy and to examine the robustness of these evaluations in the representation of this complex policy. Using the same specifications as in major previous studies, our first simulations show that the EU has a major responsibility in delivering significant gains to the developing countries. On the other hand, when we conduct the same experiments with a more relevant calibration and modelling of the European farm policy instruments, the gains that these developing countries may reap from the EU liberalisation are considerably reduced. Accordingly the current charge against the EU is simply inopportune.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Jun Kazek

Permanent Group of Experts under the SCM Agreement

in *Journal of World Trade*, Volume 43 issue 5 , 1031–1045

This article examines the Permanent Group of Experts (PGE) that has been established by the Committee on Subsidies and Countervailing Measures (SCM Committee) under Article 24.3 of the Agreement on Subsidies and Countervailing Measures (SCM Agreement). World Trade Organization (WTO) Members have been actively engaged in the election process of the experts since 1996, and they often refer to the PGE as an example of a consulting or assisting body in the context of rulemaking. However, very little is known about the reality of the PGE except for the fact that the body has never been consulted or utilized. The article hopes to contribute to deepening understanding of the PGE and its process for the election of experts by describing the past experience in the SCM Committee. It draws practical lessons from the experience for the future decision making of the WTO bodies, including the importance of gradual and wider participation in the process as well as the need for careful institutional building in rulemaking.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Ilona Cheyne

Proportionality, Proximity and Environmental Labelling in WTO Law

in **Journal of International Economic Law**, Volume 12, Number 4 , 927-952

Consumer information labelling is a vital part of modern environmental regulation, which has significant advantages over traditional command and control and market mechanism approaches. However, labelling has been accused of distorting competitive conditions by promoting discrimination between imported and domestic like products and by misleading consumers about certain types of products. The problem is qualitatively different from other types of trade dispute because labelling speaks directly to the consumer and her role within freely operating markets. The conflict has become entrenched in textual and ideological disagreements and demands a new approach that acknowledges the importance of providing consumers with information about the environmental implications of their purchasing decisions, while continuing to protect the rights of exporting WTO Members. This article explores the nature of consumer information labelling in regulatory theory and environmental law and policy, and develops an analytical framework that may help to break the current deadlock. This points towards the use of a proportionality approach with particular emphasis on the distance between consumers and the transboundary impacts of their purchasing choices.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Krishanti Vignarajah

Reconciling Free Trade and Safe Trade: New Paradigms for Regulating Imports in the Twenty-First Century

in **Journal of World Trade**, Volume 43 Issue 4 , 771–795

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Ling-Ling He, Razeen Sappideen

Reflections on China's WTO Accession Commitments and Their Observance

in **Journal of World Trade**, Volume 43 Issue 4 , 847–871

China was one of the original contracting parties to General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) 1947. It ceased to be a member in the aftermath of her 1949 Revolution and establishment of an alternative seat of government by the 'Nationalist Party' in Taiwan. Following more than fifteen years of sustained negotiation, China once again became a member of the World Trade Organization (WTO) – its 143rd member – in December 2001. In the period between the original GATT agreement of 1947 and the Uruguay Round WTO agreement of 1994, GATT itself had been transformed from being an effete, uncoordinated body to the dominant force in international trade it now is. This article examines the reasons that prompted China to press on with her attempt to rejoin the international trading body in the face of the reputedly onerous accession commitments she was required to fulfil, and of the skirmishes she continues to have with some of the major players in the WTO, namely the EU and the US on her progress in fulfilling these commitments. This



article is divided into the following four sections. Section 1 provides a historical perspective of the evolution of China's foreign trade-related laws and its decision to regain membership of the WTO. Section 2 discusses the changes to China's domestic trade laws to comply with the WTO laws, mainly the GATT, General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS), and Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS), as required by the Protocol on the Accession of the People's Republic of China (PRC). Section 3 discusses some continuing issues relating to the fulfilment of her accession commitments, and Section 4 concludes by an evaluation of the progress made thus far and of future directions relating to the legal convergence of China's trade-related laws and the WTO laws.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Motomichi Ikawa

Reform of the International Monetary System Based on Special Drawing Rights and its Implications for Asia in Pacific Economic Review, Volume 14 Issue 5 December 2009 , 668-681

In the midst of the current global economic crisis, China's central bank governor came out with a proposal to reform the international monetary system based on special drawing rights, contrary to the general expectation of the international community. Although many believe the announcement was politically motivated to address the dollar problem, the reform idea may have important bearings upon the future evolution of the economic integration of Asia. This paper reviews the implications of the reform proposal for the Asian region.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Batshur Gootiiz, Aaditya Mattoo

Services in Doha: What's on the Table?

in Journal of World Trade, Volume 43 issue 5 , 1013-1030

Services trade reform matters, but what is Doha doing about it? It has been hard to judge because of the opaqueness of services policies and the opaqueness of the request-offer negotiating process. This paper attempts to assess what is on the table. It presents the results of the first survey of applied trade policies in the major services sectors of fifty-six industrial and developing countries. These policies are then compared with these countries' Uruguay Round (UR) commitments in services and the best offers that they have made in the current Doha negotiations. The paper finds that at this stage, Doha promises greater security of access to markets but not any additional liberalization. Uruguay Round commitments are on average 2.3 times more restrictive than current policies. The best offers submitted so far as part of the Doha negotiations improve on Uruguay Round commitments by about 13% but remain on average 1.9 times more restrictive than actual policies. The World Trade Organization's (WTO's) Hong Kong Ministerial had set out ambitious goals for services, but the analysis here shows that much remains to be done to achieve them.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Crotty James

Structural causes of the global financial crisis: a critical assessment of the 'new financial architecture'

in Cambridge Journal of Economics, Volume 33, Number 4, July 2009



We are in the midst of the worst financial crisis since the Great Depression. This crisis is the latest phase of the evolution of financial markets under the radical financial deregulation process that began in the late 1970s. This evolution has taken the form of cycles in which deregulation accompanied by rapid financial innovation stimulates powerful financial booms that end in crises. Governments respond to crises with bailouts that allow new expansions to begin. As a result, financial markets have become ever larger and financial crises have become more threatening to society, which forces governments to enact ever larger bailouts. This process culminated in the current global financial crisis, which is so deeply rooted that even unprecedented interventions by affected governments have, thus far, failed to contain it. In this paper we analyse the structural flaws in the financial system that helped bring on the current crisis and discuss prospects for financial reform.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Eichengreen Barry

The Dollar Dilemma

in **Foreign Affairs**, September/October 2009, Volume 88, Number 5

The economic crisis is hurting the world's top currency. But the pound, the yen, the euro, the renminbi, and the IMF's accounting currency are no match for the dollar. At least for now.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Varella Marcelo Dias

The Effectiveness of the Dispute Settlement Body of the World Trade Organization: an analysis of its first twelve years of existence and proposals for its improvement

in **Revista Brasileira de Política internacional** , vol.52 - No.2/2009 , 5-21

This article analyses the performance of the Dispute Settlement Body of World Trade Organization, between 1995 and 2007. This organ is one of the most important fora for conflict resolution today, because the number of cases, states and amounts in dispute. I intend to study the fulfillment of proceedings; the originality of the mechanisms to induce compliance; the progressive legitimacy of the whole system and the main suggestions to reform it.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Varella Marcelo Dias

The Effectiveness of the Dispute Settlement Body of the World Trade Organization: an analysis of its first twelve years of existence and proposals for its improvement.

in **Revista Brasileira de Política internacional** , vol.52 - No.2/2009 , 5-21

This article analyses the performance of the Dispute Settlement Body of World Trade Organization, between 1995 and 2007. This organ is one of the most important fora for conflict resolution today, because the number of cases, states and amounts in dispute. I intend to study the fulfillment of proceedings; the originality of the mechanisms to induce compliance; the progressive legitimacy of the whole system and the main suggestions to reform it.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Debra P. Steger

The Future of the WTO: The Case for Institutional Reform

in **Journal of International Economic Law**, Volume 12, Number 4 , 803-833

Institutional reform of the World Trade Organization (WTO) is needed to equip it for the challenges of the future. However, the major problem with rule making and decision making in the WTO is not the consensus rule or the decision-making rules in the Marrakesh Agreement Establishing the WTO. It is not the final phase of adoption of a rule-making proposal that causes the delays and blockage in the WTO system, but rather the lack of formal mechanisms at the initial and intermediate stages of the rule-making process and the absence of a management or executive body, analogous to the executive boards of the International Monetary Fund and World Bank, that leads to the lack of direction and drift in the Organization. This article maintains that it is necessary to establish a formal, limited-membership management committee or executive board within the WTO. The roles of the Director-General and the Secretariat of the WTO should also be enhanced. The WTO has been criticized for its lack of transparency and accountability vis-à-vis NGOs and civil society. Developing a parliamentary dimension to the WTO would go a long way to remedying these deficiencies. Finally, the idea of developing more formal mechanisms for receiving input from non-state stakeholders, with an emphasis on business and consumer groups, should be explored.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

J. Michael Finger

The Genesis of the GATT

in **Journal of World Trade**, Volume 43 Issue 4 , 893–901

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Lang Andrew - Scott Joanne

The Hidden World of WTO Governance

in **European Journal of International Law**, Vol. 20, n. 3 , 575-614

In academic literature the WTO is largely viewed as synonymous with its novel system for the settlement of disputes. We seek to demonstrate in this article that there is more to the WTO than this, and to exemplify this claim by reference to two specific sites of non-judicial governance in the WTO. We suggest that these two WTO committees perform important functions which are largely hidden from view. In particular, we point to the role that they play in generating and disseminating information, and as facilitators of technical assistance and regulatory learning. We also suggest that these committees contribute to the emergence of interpretive communities which serve to elaborate upon the open-ended norms laid down in the relevant agreements. Having surveyed the activities of these two sites of non-judicial governance in the WTO, we then situate them in the context of three contemporary narratives of global governance



(transgovernmental networks, global administrative law, and managerialism), and use these as a way of critically evaluating the developments we describe. It is our view that the material that we have uncovered in relation to these two examples is sufficiently rich to justify further research in this domain.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Broome André

**The International Monetary Fund, crisis management and the credit crunch
in *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 64, n. 1 / February , 37-54**

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) has become one of the most controversial international institutions in history. The IMF's crisis management responsibilities expanded via its involvement with a series of international economic crises during the last three decades, which led to widespread calls for radical reform of the organisation in the aftermath of the emerging market crises of the 1990s. This article examines the IMF's initial response to managing the effects of the global credit crunch, focusing on the new round of large IMF loans approved in late 2008 and early 2009, to assess how much IMF lending policies have changed in practice compared with earlier international crisis episodes. While the organisation has continued to promote conventional loan policy targets aimed at achieving low inflation, low budget deficits, and sustainable public debt, the preliminary evidence also suggests the IMF is developing a more flexible approach to crisis management in borrowing member states. Changes include a greater tolerance for unorthodox policies such as short-term capital controls, greater differentiation in the treatment of borrowers based on their economic circumstances, easier access to precautionary IMF financing for prime borrowers, and more flexibility in the use of loan conditionality.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Arie Reich

**The New Text of the Agreement on Government Procurement: An Analysis and Assessment
in *Journal of International Economic Law*, Volume 12, Number 4 , 989-1022**

This article describes and analyzes the new, tentatively agreed text of the WTO Agreement on Government Procurement; and it compares this text with the existing agreement of 1995, offers interpretation of its provisions and discusses its potential implications for the regulation of international government purchasing. The objective of the article is to examine whether the new text has indeed delivered on its promise, namely to improve the existing agreement and to eliminate any remaining discriminatory measures and practices. To that aim the article presents the critique that has been leveled against the provisions of the existing GPA and examines to what extent the flaws detected by this critique have been rectified in the new text. The article concludes with a scorecard of the new text assessing its overall strengths and weaknesses.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Pauly Louis W.

The Old and the New Politics of International Financial Stability



in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 47, Issue 5, November 2009 , 955-975

The cross-border financial crisis that began in the United States in the summer of 2007 tested a 30-year experiment in international integration. In the background were expanding macroeconomic imbalances that leading states had neglected to address. Spawned by imprudence and regulatory failures, the crisis soon deepened and the collaborative impulse that might have prompted earlier and more fundamental macro-policy action became focused on emergency management. Ad hoc policy co-ordination ensued as liquidity was injected into turbulent markets and troubled financial intermediaries were recapitalized or reorganized. The collective performance was inelegant, not least inside the European Union. The crisis shed a harsh spotlight on the weak fiscal foundations of the Union and on the now-pressing need for collaborative adjustments in national macroeconomic policies. Since overt political innovation on such matters remains difficult, both within Europe and globally, the crisis underlined the crucial importance of much better collaborative instruments for the oversight and stabilization of integrating financial markets.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Angeloni Ignazio

The Pittsburgh G20 Summit

in **Intereconomics**, Volume 44, Number 5 / September, 2009 , 262-263

Judgements on the outcome of international meetings depend largely on what one expects to begin with. Expectations regarding the G20 summit that took place last week in Pittsburgh were not very high; with the crisis apparently over, the window of opportunity for ambitious policies seemed to have closed and many felt that the meeting would revert to routine or concentrate on details. National debates in recent weeks had in fact tended to focus on issues – like the compensation of managers, or the crackdown on tax havens – which are politically appealing but hardly central to the broad issues of international financial reform.

Well, here is the good news: the outcome of the meeting was rather encouraging, and not only because expectations were low. Concrete progress was made on a number of fronts. Unfortunately, it is extremely difficult to extract the substance from the document circulated at the end of the meeting, an astonishingly long and convoluted paper of 24 single spaced pages, probably a record in the annals of international financial cooperation. So, let's try to summarise it, focusing only, for brevity, on (what I regard to be) the three main achievements of the summit.

The first urgent priority facing the leaders was to put the G20 itself on more solid ground. A G20 at ministerial level had existed for ten years already, but its impact had been virtually zero. In spite of its impressive composition (19 industrial and emerging countries plus the European Union, and several other international institutions as observers), the G20 was a political dwarf relative to its smaller but older brother, the G7/G8. In November 2008 a meeting of G20 heads of state and government was summoned in a rush, at the peak of the financial crisis, following the demise of Lehman Brothers and the hasty rescue of AIG. That unusual display of international cohesion helped, or so it seemed, to restore market confidence. The leaders met again in April this year, but once again the meeting seemed ad hoc, without an organisational structure behind it or a well structured follow-up. The



credibility and effectiveness of the G20 as a policy actor remained questionable. Pittsburgh changed this. The leaders decided that the G20 summit would become a regular event, replacing the G7/G8 at the top of the international financial architecture. The “G20 architecture” was given a stronger and more transparent structure: who delivers what, and to whom. The ministers will act as deputies to their leaders, preparing agendas and implementing decisions, supported by two “operational arms”: the Financial Stability Board (FSB; the expanded successor of the Financial Stability Forum) and the International Monetary Fund. The former is to be responsible for financial markets, the latter for macroeconomic surveillance and last-resort lending. Both “arms” were strengthened, the former by broadening its representation, the latter by improving its legitimacy through a further quota shift towards emerging nations and also by increasing its financial resources.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Faizel Ismail

The Role of the Chair in the WTO Negotiations from the Potsdam Collapse in June 2007 to July 2008
in *Journal of World Trade*, Volume 43 Issue 6 , 1145–1171

This paper discusses two recent attempts to develop a theory to analyze the role of the chair in international negotiations and considers their validity to the World Trade Organization (WTO) negotiations. The focus of the study is on the WTO Agriculture and Non-Agricultural Market Access (NAMA) modalities negotiations after the G4 Potsdam collapse in June 2007 to the July 2008 G7 ministerial meetings. The analysis focuses on the role of the chair of NAMA in biasing the outcomes against the developing countries. The NAMA chair’s role is contrasted with that of the Agriculture chair’s more inclusive and bottom-up process. The paper offers some tentative proposals that could foster a more efficient and balanced outcome in future WTO negotiations.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Kurtz Jürgen

The Use and Abuse of WTO Law in Investor–State Arbitration: Competition and its Discontents
in *European Journal of International Law*, Vol. 20, n. 3 , 749-771

This article offers a contribution to the broader project of isolating the causes of inconsistency in investor–state arbitral jurisprudence. It examines the norm of national treatment and explores the methodological tendency of arbitrators to draw on complex WTO jurisprudence as a means of guiding the application of a similar but not identical legal norm in the investment treaty setting. It argues that, when one unpacks the complicated arbitral jurisprudence on national treatment, misuse of WTO law is the controlling factor for critical inconsistency in the jurisprudence. The article examines a central question surrounding national treatment under investment treaties being the role for competition between foreign and domestic actors in determining whether they stand ‘in like circumstances’. It also focuses on two key cases – *Occidental v. Ecuador* and *Methanex v. USA* – both of which are under-analysed in the secondary literature. The article concludes by identifying implications of the problematic interpretative methods at play and canvasses suggestions on reform models to incentivize probity and consistency in interpretation in this field of



international law.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Umut Turksen

The WTO Law and the EC's GSP+ Arrangement

in *Journal of World Trade*, Volume 43 issue 5 , 927–968

The European Communities (EC) has developed a Generalized System of Preferences (GSP), including the 'Special Incentives for Sustainable Development and Good Governance', also known as GSP+. Under the World Trade Organization (WTO) law, GSPs are generally authorized by the Enabling Clause, allowing developed countries to grant trade preferences to the advantage of developing countries on a non-reciprocal basis. However, trade negotiations and disputes pertaining to these preferences have been some of the most difficult and acrimonious. This article argues that the GSP+ violates the most-favoured-nation (MFN) principle of Article I:1 GATT and therefore is only compliant with WTO law if it can be justified on appropriate legal grounds.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Robert Wolfe

The WTO Single Undertaking as Negotiating Technique and Constitutive Metaphor

in *Journal of International Economic Law*, Volume 12, Number 4 , 835-858

Nothing is agreed until everything is agreed. Negotiations in the World Trade Organization (WTO) proceed simultaneously, not sequentially, and all Members must accept all the results. I show that the so-called Single Undertaking is both a negotiation technique and a constitutive metaphor. It does not cause an outcome to negotiations, whether in a round or the daily life of the WTO, but it shapes the possibility of an outcome. The methodological innovation of the article is the use of counterfactual analysis to assess whether the Single Undertaking can be relaxed using concepts suggested by the various critiques. I consider rounds of negotiations, the consensus principle, diffuse reciprocity, critical mass decision making, the WTO acquis and special and differential treatment for developing countries. One aspect of integrative bargaining strategies, issue linkage, is also considered. The Single Undertaking emerged in the interaction structured by the regime, and the same process could lead to it being eliminated, but that is unlikely.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Erich Vranes

The WTO and Regulatory Freedom: WTO Disciplines on Market Access, Non-Discrimination and Domestic Regulation Relating to Trade in Goods and Services

in *Journal of International Economic Law*, Volume 12, Number 4 , 953-987

This article addresses the question as to how the principal World Trade Organization (WTO) obligations on market access relate to those on non-discrimination and domestic regulation. This issue has appropriately been referred to as



'the single most potent underlying source of legal and political tension in all free trade regimes'.¹ The present contribution focuses on the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS), but by way of introduction it also briefly addresses pertinent WTO rules on trade in goods, so as to delineate a background against which the considerably more complicated legal situation in the GATS can be compared.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Feichtner Isabel

The Waiver Power of the WTO: Opening the WTO for Political Debate on the Reconciliation of Competing Interests

in *European Journal of International Law*, Vol. 20, n. 3 , 615-645

This article analyses the potential of the WTO waiver as a legal instrument to reconcile conflicting norms and interests. It is argued that conflicts between WTO law and other international legal regimes are often an expression of underlying conflicts of interest and that these should be addressed in political processes. The article proposes that the waiver process has the potential to become a forum for political debate which is open not only to economic interests, but also to other public interests and perspectives. The waiver decision which concludes such a process can provide a solution to conflicts of interest either by modifying the existing rules of WTO law or by limiting the WTO's jurisdiction in favour of another international legal regime. These theses are explored with reference to the TRIPS and Kimberley waiver decisions.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

D'Arista Jane

The evolving international monetary system

in *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, Volume 33, Number 4, July 2009

The global financial and economic crisis has prompted renewed interest in international monetary reform. The key-currency status of the US dollar has been challenged but discussion of what might be reasonable objectives and institutional structures for a new system has not yet broken new ground. Nevertheless, as interest in the issue begins to include policymakers and non-governmental organisations, new proposals are likely to emerge. To assist the process, this paper provides an overview of how the international monetary system has evolved since the inauguration of the gold standard in the late 1800s to provide a context for some of the reform ideas that emerged during and after the discussions at Bretton Woods and some of the proposals that were offered subsequently. It concludes with an outline of three proposals by the author that are intended to expand the debate.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Engel Susan

The international development institutions and regionalism: the case of South-East Asia

in *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 64, n. 1 / February , 55-69



Why is it that the World Bank has failed to effectively incorporate the impact of regionalisation within its economic development strategies and policy advice for borrowing countries? This is an interesting puzzle given the increasing importance that scholarly observers, policy practitioners and development agencies have attached to regionalism and regionalisation in recent years. In the fiscal years 1995-2005, the World Bank provided only US\$1.7 billion in support for regional (or multi-country) operations across the globe—this is less than 1 percent of its project and other funding overall. In South-East Asia, while the Asian Development Bank has had a particularly strong engagement with regionalism, the World Bank has only recently started to come on board with regional analysis and programs. The article proposes that the gap is due to a combination of institutional and ideological factors, and explores this proposition through a study of the World Bank in Vietnam.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Vadi Valentina S.

Trade Mark Protection, Public Health and International Investment Law: Strains and Paradoxes
in *European Journal of International Law*, Vol. 20, n. 3, 773-803

This article aims at exploring the antinomies and paradoxes of trade mark protection in international investment law. The negative impact of trade mark protection on public health seems counterintuitive or even paradoxical. Strong trade mark protection is usually associated with positive effects on consumer protection and, more generally, there is a sort of mystical thinking about trade marks. Brand names are deemed the keystone of a competitive economy, where individuals are encouraged to do the best they can and make their products recognizable to the public, who will determine their eventual success. However, it is a common criticism that in recent years law makers and judges have expanded the rights of trade mark owners too far, at the expense of the common weal. In some cases, trade marks have been used in an aggressive fashion by corporations in order to chill public health regulation. At the international level, this expansion ultimately determines the emergence of antinomies between intellectual property law and other branches of public international law. This article critically assesses international trade mark protection in order to verify whether such a paradox and the consequent systemic antinomies may be resolved. It also puts forward some legal mechanisms which may help policy makers and adjudicators to reconcile trade mark protection and public health in international investment law.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Pfaff William

Von der G20 zur G2?

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, Januar, 2010, 30-31

Die mittlerweile grassierenden Gedankenspiele über eine 'G2', ausgehend von der Hypothese, China und die Vereinigten Staaten stünden jetzt auf einer Stufe, seien Partner oder übten als Supermächte-Paar vereint die Weltherrschaft aus, habe ich nie verstanden. Wird denn irgendeine dieser Vorstellungen, die zuletzt die Berichterstattung über Barack Obamas Asientour prägten, der Realität wirklich gerecht? Von Sowjetrußland und den Vereinigten Staaten konnte man mit einer gewissen ...



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Kregel Jan

Why don't the bailouts work? Design of a new financial system versus a return to normalcy

in **Cambridge Journal of Economics**, Volume 33, Number 4, July 2009

The innovative support measures introduced by the US Central Bank and Treasury in response to the current crisis to bolster bank balance sheets have had little success in restoring liquidity to financial markets. These policies mirror similar policies employed in the 1930s in the USA and the 1990s in Japan, in both cases with little impact. This paper identifies three policies impacting incomes rather than prices, the assessment of system failure, and proposals for system design that were employed in dealing with prior financial crises. That they have not been introduced in response to the present crisis may explain why current measures have not yet had their intended impact of restoring bank lending to the productive economy.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Brzezinski Zbigniew

An Agenda for NATO

in **Foreign Affairs**, September/October 2009, Volume 88, Number 5

In the course of its 60 years, NATO has united the West, secured Europe, and ended the Cold War. What next?

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Glebov Sergei

Concerning "Strange" Relations

in **Russian politics and law**, vol. 47, n. 5, September-October , 52-65

The author analyzes diverse perceptions of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the security dilemmas facing Ukraine, as part of the East European borderland, and Russia. He proposes to resolve these dilemmas by means of a broader concept of Euro-Atlantic security.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Grillot Suzette R., Cruise Rebecca J., D'Erman Valerie J.

Developing security community in the Western Balkans: The role of the EU and NATO

in **International Politics** , Volume 47, Issue 1, January , 62-90

This article examines how external third parties, particularly international organizations, can facilitate the development of security community and international integration within post-conflict societies. Focusing on seven countries in the Western Balkan region, this study offers unique insight into how and why feelings of trust and a sense of community can be encouraged by external actors – the EU and NATO in this case – and how and if trust and community can filter down



to the most local levels within post-conflict societies. Ultimately, we argue that both the EU and NATO have, primarily through membership requirements to engage in regional interaction and cooperation, significantly contributed to the development of security community among Western Balkan neighbors at the elite level. However, we also find that feelings of trust and belongingness are still very much lacking among the general population of the Western Balkan region. Such insights will further efforts to enhance conflict resolution and post-conflict reconstruction in the Western Balkans and elsewhere.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Lipow Jonathan, Melese Francois

Does NATO have a Role to Play in the Global Financial Crisis?

in European Security, Volume 18, Number 1, March , 55-62

The financial crisis endangers the security of NATO's members and partners. As such, NATO has a formal obligation to mobilize its resources to aid members in overcoming current economic challenges. NATO can play a valuable role on three levels. First, NATO can aid members in rationalizing their military procurement and manpower systems, thus reducing the fiscal burden of maintaining adequate defenses. Second, NATO can press the ECB and the EU to modify arrangements governing the Euro so as to minimize the risk that EMU will collapse. Finally, NATO has a "soft power" role in vigorously defending the liberal economic order and democratic political institutions of the Western Alliance from the ideological attacks that inevitably follow financial crises.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Shuster Simon

Eastern Europe's Third Wheel

in Foreign Policy, Issue 174, November / December

NATO and Russia are getting closer -- and leaving Ukraine out.

http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2009/12/14/eastern_europes_third_wheel

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Daalder Ivo H.

I sessanta anni della NATO

in Affari Esteri, Anno XLI, n. 164 , 780-787

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations



Giacconi Marco

Il nuovo concetto strategico della NATO

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLI, n. 164 , 823-830

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Alfieri Franco, Kummel Arnold

In search of a structure: the EU's foreign policy strategy against the background of a missing global order

in *European View* , vol. 8, n. 2, December , 285-292

Alfieri and Kummel describe the evolution of the global power structure after the end of the Cold War equilibrium between the United States and the Soviet Union. The 1990s represented a period of intense global change marked by two realities: the dominant role of the US and the difficulty of defining a multipolar balance. The establishment of a multipolar equilibrium will necessarily include Asia's growing forces—India and China—and Russia, whereas the role of the EU remains uncertain.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Meyer Christoph O.

International terrorism as a force of homogenization? A constructivist approach to understanding cross-national threat perceptions and responses

in *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* , Vol. 22, n. 4, December , 647-666

Has the emergence of international jihadist terrorism led to common threat perceptions and responses in Europe? The article argues that the homogenization thesis is based around a misguided functionalist notion of a single 'optimal response' to an alleged new and potentially catastrophic kind of threat with uniform consequences for all 'Western' countries. Drawing on insights from different bodies of literature, the article elaborates a theoretical framework to understand variations in threat perceptions vis--vis international terrorism and enrich the socio-linguistic securitization approach of Barry Buzan, Ole Wver and Jaap de Wilde (*Security: a new framework for analysis*, London: Lynne Rienner, 1998). The article then empirically examines the rise and fall of threat perceptions among selected European publics between 2000 and 2008. Threat perceptions did converge in the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks, but soon afterward started diverging. The article considers the reasons for this finding as well as the implication for the evolution of counter-terrorist policies in the European Union.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Mackenzie Hector

Knight Errant, Cold Warrior or Cautious Ally? Canada on the United Nations Security Council, 1948-1949

in *Journal of Transatlantic Studies* , vol. 7, n. 4, December , 453-475



Canada's self-image in world affairs has been as a bold internationalist, with its status and responsibility as a middle power and its role as a mediator emphasised. Assessments highlight the transformation of Canada's international relations after the Second World War and contrast its engagement in the United Nations with its performance at the League of Nations. Curiously, these appraisals ignore Canada's first term on the UN Security Council (1948-1949), particularly its response to crises which challenged world peace and the UN's authority. From an examination of unpublished and published papers in Canada, the United States, and the United Kingdom, this article contends that Canada's performance did not correspond with the popular image of its role in world affairs, nor did the government take advantage of this exceptional opportunity to demonstrate its international commitment. Moreover, it also shied away from taking a leading part in advocating the ideals and objectives of the western alliance. Instead, it preferred to play a supporting role as the divisions of the cold war deepened. When the UN Security Council dealt with controversies and clashes, Canada followed the lead of the United States and the United Kingdom, and its priority was to maintain a common outlook and approach within the North Atlantic Triangle. Canada's early post-war foreign policy, as evident in its first term on the UN Security Council, seems remarkably consistent with its longstanding concerns and priorities in world affairs and considerably less indicative of any significant departure in approach or policies.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Klich Bogdan

L'Alliance : un point de vue d'Europe centrale

in *Politique Etrangère*, vol. 74, n°4, Hiver

Dans l'Alliance qui entend faire face à des défis nouveaux, la Pologne tient toute sa place. Varsovie soutient naturellement tout ce qui peut consolider le lien entre les États-Unis et l'Europe. Mais elle favorise aussi le développement des capacités de l'UE, en complément de celles de l'Alliance. Et si la Pologne reste en faveur de l'élargissement à l'Ukraine et à la Géorgie, elle souhaite également l'approfondissement de la coopération avec Moscou.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Rogov Sergeï

L'OTAN et la Russie : vu de Moscou

in *Politique Etrangère*, vol. 74, n°4, Hiver

L'élargissement à l'Est de l'OTAN s'inscrit dans une mémoire russe qui décompte les tentatives de l'« Ouest » pour détruire ou marginaliser la Russie. Le dialogue ouvert avec Moscou par la nouvelle Administration américaine, les déclarations et propositions du président Dmitri Medvedev permettent pour tant de penser qu'une nouvelle ère de coopération pourrait s'engager: sur l'Afghanistan, sur les défenses antimissiles, sur le désarmement, et même sur le prochain concept stratégique de l'OTAN.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Anthony Ian

L'OTAN et les armes nucléaires

in *Politique Etrangère*, vol. 74, n°4, Hiver

Le dispositif dissuasif de l'Alliance issu de la guerre froide ne peut qu'évoluer avec l'environnement actuel. Les éléments de la stratégie nucléaire de l'OTAN doivent donc être revus. Quel rôle ont désormais les armes affectées à l'Alliance ? Comment serait prise une décision en temps de crise et comment seraient utilisées ces armes ? Les accords de partage demeurent-ils pertinents ? Et comment arriver à un accord avec Moscou sur la disparition des armes nucléaires à courte portée ?

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Kamp Karl-Heinz

L'OTAN, de Washington (1949) à Strasbourg-Khel (2009)

in *Politique Etrangère*, vol. 74, n°4, Hiver

On peut tenter de cerner l'histoire de l'Alliance en repérant trois phases. La première est constituée par les quatre décennies de la guerre froide. Puis l'Alliance revêt le rôle d'accoucheur du changement politique en Europe. Dans l'après-11 septembre, le débat rebondit sur les défis de sécurité internationale et le rôle de l'Alliance. Il est aujourd'hui encore ouvert sur des questions fondamentales : entre autres la nécessaire redéfinition de ses missions, et des moyens correspondants.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Rasmussen Anders Fogh, Jacob Antoine

La Deuxième vie de l'OTAN

in *Politique internationale*, n°125 - Automne

In April 2009, Anders Fogh Rasmussen, Denmark's prime minister since 2001, resigned his national office to take up the position of Secretary General of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Leaving Copenhagen for Brussels, this energetic and ambitious statesman has taken on a heavy burden. NATO is at a turning point in its history. Contested by certain observers since the end of the Cold War, considered (justifiably or otherwise) as the "strong arm" of the United States, sometimes accused of hindering by its very existence the emergence of an overarching European defense strategy, NATO is far from meeting unanimous approval, even as it engages in an extremely complex operation in Afghanistan. In this exclusive interview, NATO's new Secretary General deals forthrightly with all the most thorny issues; describes the reform that is currently transforming his organization; and declares that in an unstable world with many dangers, in particular terrorism, NATO is needed more than ever.

http://www.politiqueinternationale.com/revue/article.php?id_revue=125&id=864&content=synopsis



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Vaisse Maurice

La France et l'OTAN : une histoire

in *Politique Etrangère*, vol. 74, n°4, Hiver

Cofondatrice de l'Alliance, la France adopte en 1966 une position qui prend acte de son échec à la réformer de l'intérieur et qui garantit son indépendance. Les décisions récentes de réintégration sont les héritières de trois facteurs: des bouleversements géopolitiques redéfinissant le rôle de l'Alliance; un rapprochement continu dans la gestion des crises depuis les années 1990; et la volonté de construire une Europe de la défense, qui ne peut être que complémentaire de l'OTAN

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Gerstenmaier Eugen

La réforme de l'OTAN et le système de sécurité du monde libre

in *Politique Etrangère*, vol. 74, n°4, Hiver

Le texte que nous republions ci-après fait écho à une présentation prononcée le 24 octobre 1964 devant les membres du Centre d'études de politique étrangère de Paris. Il a été publié pour la première fois dans *Politique étrangère* 4/1964 et peut être consulté en ligne dans son édition originale sur Persée.fr (doi : 10.3406/polit.1964.2266).

Eugen GERSTENMAIER (1906-1986) s'est illustré en prenant part à la résistance allemande contre le nazisme à travers le cercle de Kreisau, et au complot contre Hitler qui devait aboutir à l'attentat du 20 juillet 1944. Membre de l'Union chrétienne-démocrate (CDU) allemande, il a été président du Bundestag de 1954 à 1969.

<http://www.ifri.org/42009gerstenmaier.pdf>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Ruiz Palmer Diego A.

La réforme de l'OTAN: besoin, obstacles et nouvelles perspectives

in *Politique Etrangère*, vol. 74, n°4, Hiver

L'histoire de l'OTAN, pendant et après la guerre froide, est celle de multiples réformes organisationnelles, greffées sur une trame institutionnelle très peu structurée. Il s'agit aujourd'hui, à l'occasion du débat sur le nouveau concept stratégique, de poursuivre cette dynamique de réforme en réaffirmant les objectifs fondamentaux de l'Alliance, en redéfinissant les équilibres entre ses diverses composantes, bref d'en arriver à une Alliance à la fois plus dynamique et plus pertinente.



<http://www.ifri.org/42009ruizpalmer.pdf>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Clarke Michael

Le débat sur une OTAN globale

in *Politique Etrangère*, vol. 74, n°4, Hiver

Le débat sur la « globalisation » est au cœur des échanges sur le nouveau concept stratégique. Il s'inscrit dans ce qui apparaît depuis 1994 comme une dynamique continue d'élargissements, des membres et des missions. Il renvoie également aux diverses lectures possibles de la réalité géopolitique présente : menaces globales, ou menaces rémanentes en Europe ? Il pose enfin une question morale : pourquoi et dans quelles circonstances l'Alliance est-elle légitime à user de sa force militaire ?

<http://www.ifri.org/downloads/pe42009clarcke.pdf>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Chevenement Jean-Pierre

Le « retour » de la France dans l'OTAN : une décision inopportune

in *Politique Etrangère*, vol. 74, n°4, Hiver

La décision de la France de rejoindre la structure intégrée de l'OTAN confirme des évolutions déjà anciennes. Elle n'en est pas moins contestable. Symbolique, elle affecte l'image du pays sur la scène internationale. Elle ne garantit nullement une évolution de l'Alliance correspondant à nos intérêts de nation, et n'aide pas à lever les ambiguïtés sur son propre avenir. Elle risque enfin de réduire progressivement à néant la volonté de la France de se défendre par elle-même.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Sanders Deborah

Maritime security in the Black Sea: can regional solutions work?

in *European Security*, Volume 18, Number 2, June , 101-124

The Black Sea is bordered by three NATO members: Bulgaria, Romania and Turkey, as well as Ukraine, Russia and Georgia and it faces a number of maritime security threats that affect European security. These include direct threats to ships, shipping and maritime personnel as well as threats from the way in which the Black Sea is used for illegal activities by criminals and terrorists. This paper argues that despite the acceptance by NATO that regional maritime security operation performed by littoral states will provide a safe and secure maritime environment in the Black Sea, these serious maritime threats cannot be dealt with effectively by the littoral states. Poor relations between littoral states



and lack of investment in maritime capabilities suggest that maritime security cannot be achieved in the Black Sea in the short to medium term. Instead, Black Sea will continue to be a major source of insecurity and instability for Europe.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Kumar Radha

New Potential for US-India Relations under Obama

in *International Spectator (The)*, Vol. XLIV, n. 4, October-December

Many in India feared that the burgeoning US-India relationship would collapse under President Obama, but his policies so far have alleviated these concerns. The US has not tried to mediate in Kashmir, has gone ahead on the civil nuclear energy agreement, and entered into a high-level strategic dialogue with India. The biggest potential thorn in US-India relations could be the US approach to Pakistan: Obama could be tempted to tolerate a military-dominated Pakistan and, in order to enable a speedy exit from Afghanistan, could seek a Chinese guarantee in Afghanistan and (indirectly) Pakistan. This would have serious consequences for India and would bring back bitter memories of US instrumentalism in South Asia.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Howorth Jolyon

OTAN et PESD : complexités institutionnelles et réalités politiques

in *Politique Etrangère*, vol. 74, n°4, Hiver

Sur le terrain, la relation OTAN/PESD se passe bien. La confusion, politique et fonctionnelle, domine pourtant entre l'Alliance et l'Union européenne. Elle renvoie aux genèses, et aux logiques, très différentes des politiques des deux institutions. Il faut sans doute, pour l'avenir immédiat, préférer les accords ponctuels, secteur par secteur, à une entente générale rendue difficile par la mue accélérée que connaissent aujourd'hui à la fois l'Alliance et l'UE.

<http://www.ifri.org/downloads/42009howorth.pdf>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Gomart Thomas

OTAN-Russie: la "question russe" est-elle européenne?

in *Politique Etrangère*, vol. 74, n°4, Hiver

La relation Russie/OTAN a hérité des élargissements de l'Alliance, ou du Kosovo de 1999, une image et des perceptions croisées complexes. Mais elle ne peut désormais se penser dans un strict cadre de sécurité européen: le nouveau potentiel et les ambitions russes obligent à la resituer à un niveau plus général. Le triangle



États-Unis/Europe/Russie est dorénavant au centre de la sécurité globale, et c'est dans ce cadre que peuvent être pensés les futurs rapports Russie/OTAN.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Ebert Theodor

Per una politica di sicurezza democratica, ecologica, sociale e nonviolenta

in *Quaderni Satyagraha*, n. 15 - Le rose sbocciano in autunno. La rivoluzione nonviolenta dell'89 , 111-139

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Chivvis Christopher S.

Quelle orientation future pour l'OTAN ?

in *Politique Etrangère*, vol. 74, n°4, Hiver

L'orientation future de l'Alliance dépend de la réponse à deux questions: quels sont aujourd'hui les défis de sécurité pour les États-membres; et quels sont ceux que peut traiter l'Alliance? On examine ici quatre hypothèses, qui pourraient organiser le débat sur le futur concept stratégique : la focalisation sur le Grand Moyen-Orient, une attention centrale portée aux États fragiles, la focalisation sur les menaces non gouvernementales, ou un recentrage sur l'Europe.

<http://www.ifri.org/downloads/pe42009chivvis.df>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Kramer David J.

Resetting U.S.-Russian Relations: It Takes Two

in *Washington Quarterly (The)*, Volume 33, Number 1, January

<http://www.twq.com/10january/index.cfm?id=375>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Prasad Rajendra

Road to Nuclear Disarmament: From Base Camp to Top

in *Federalist Debate (The)*, Year XXII, n. 3, November

<http://www.federalist-debate.org/fdb/archive/detail.bfr>



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Tow William T., Loke Beverley

**Rules of engagement: America's Asia-Pacific security policy under an Obama administration
in Australian Journal of International Affairs**, Vol. 63, n. 4 / December , 443-457

The United States' strategy in the Asia-Pacific stands at a historic juncture. How the new Obama administration conceives and implements its Asia-Pacific policy during its first term of office will have major and enduring ramifications for America's future. The new administration must have a clear vision of its country's national security interests in the Asia-Pacific as well as a better appreciation of the evolving dynamics of the region. To this end, it should continue to underwrite its bilateral security commitments, albeit through a less threat-centric lens, and be more cognisant of the region's multilateral overtures by further anchoring US participation in regional multilateral institutions. This shift from a position of bilateral primacy to one of engaged bilateral and multilateral partnership—a 'convergent security' approach—is the best strategy for Washington to advance its strategic interests in the Asia-Pacific.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Makarychev Andrey

Russia, NATO, and the "Color Revolutions"

in Russian politics and law, vol. 47, n. 5, September-October , 40-51

The author demonstrates the inconsistency and instability of Russian official discourse regarding neighboring post-Soviet states (especially Ukraine and Georgia). He argues that these qualities reflect the absence of a coherent foreign policy strategy.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Lukyanov Fyodor

Shucking Cold War Inertia in Russia-US Relations

in International Spectator (The), Vol. XLIV, n. 4, October-December

Obama's declared approach of taking account of the views of other countries, reliance on multilateral institutions and consensus diplomacy will help to reshape Russian-US relations. The recent dialogue on strategic offensive armaments could well be the spark that will ignite the engine of Russian-American interaction on a wide range of issues. It is increasingly clear, however, that ideologies and nuclear arms will not be the driving forces of world politics in the 21st century. Under these circumstances, Russia can be either an opponent or a partner for Washington. Previously, the main problem in their relationship was the US' unwillingness to sacrifice any of its interests, even secondary ones. A new Russian-US partnership could be built on the similarities in their foreign policy priorities - their focus on regional conflicts and the need for stability in Eurasia.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Barany Zoltan

Stretching the umbrella: NATO's eastern expansion

in European View , vol. 8, n. 2, December , 231-238

This article discusses how obtaining membership in NATO has played a role in advancing Western values in former Warsaw Pact countries over the last 20 years. The author elaborates on why it was desirable for these post-Communist governments to attain NATO membership, and how the membership of these former Cold War enemies has since fundamentally expanded the strategy of the organisation. Analysis points to the conclusion that the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001 on the US compelled NATO to evolve again in its strategy and priorities, and once again triggered NATO expansion.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Tolstrup Jakob

Studying a negative external actor: Russia's management of stability and instability in the 'Near Abroad'

in Democratization, vol. 16, n. 5, October , 922-944

The literature on transition and democratization was for long dominated by internal explanatory factors such as economic performance, civil society, institutions, etc. Only recently have external actors' democratizing efforts - like those of the US and the EU - been systematically incorporated. But the perspective remains too constrained, since only 'positive' external actors are considered, while possible 'negative' actors are left aside. This article attempts to rectify some of the imbalance. First, an analytical framework that can be used to analyse both positive and negative external actors is proposed. Then, the framework is put into use through an analysis of the negative effects of Russia's foreign policy in the so-called 'Near Abroad'. It is argued that two general effects take shape: the 'policy of managed stability' and the 'policy of managed instability'. Both are weakening the democratic perspectives in the post-Soviet area, so I argue that Russia's foreign policy in the 'Near Abroad' is a, hitherto, underestimated and badly understood 'negative' factor in the literature on transition and democratization in the post-Soviet space.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Allison Roy

The Russian case for military intervention in Georgia: international law, norms and political calculation

in European Security, Volume 18, Number 2, June , 173-200

The Russian military intervention in Georgia in August 2008 has raised significant questions about Russian thinking and practice on the legitimate use of military force abroad, especially in relation to neighbour states. The arguments advanced by Russia to justify this campaign show how Russian interpretations of customary international law as well as norms related to the use of force have served as an instrument of state policy, rather than being rooted in any broader international consensus. The Russian discourse in this context about sovereignty, self-determination and the legitimacy



of recognising South Ossetia and Abkhazia as states appears similarly to be strongly influenced by political self-interest and Russian views about its entitlement within the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) region. Among Russian claims, Moscow's commitment to support its 'citizens' abroad has been particularly controversial. This article examines these issues and also the possibility that, through its justifications for waging war against Georgia, Russia is more broadly contesting the interpretation of certain international norms, that it regards as essentially constructed by Western states. Some potential implications of these legal and normative arguments for future Russian policy in the CIS region, including Ukraine, are also examined.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Gibert Marie V.

The Securitisation of the EU's Development Agenda in Africa: Insights from Guinea-Bissau

in Perspectives on European Politics and Society, vol. 10, n. 4, December , Special Issue: The Politics of European Security Policies: Actors, Dynamics and Contentious Outcomes , 621-637

Sub-Saharan Africa, although not among Europe's closest neighbours, has, over the past decade, increasingly been perceived as a source of threats to Europe's security. This article will attempt to outline European perceptions of African security and justice issues and how these perceptions have in turn influenced the EU's policies in Africa. Specific attention will be given here to Guinea-Bissau, which is a particularly interesting and illustrative case study, as this small country in West Africa has attracted considerable European engagement in such fields as illegal immigration, counter-terrorism, drug-combating and security sector reform. This European engagement through different, at times uncoordinated and overlapping, channels does not always make for a consistent approach and underlines a profound gap between what has come to be a generally accepted diagnostic - that international insecurity is caused, or at least facilitated, by weak states - and the remedies applied by the EU. While Europe increasingly perceives Africa's weak governance as a security threat, it remains unwilling to engage politically and on a longer-term basis on the continent.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Dietl Ralph

The WEU: a Europe of the Seven, 1954-1969

in Journal of Transatlantic Studies , vol. 7, n. 4, December , 431-452

The history of the Western European Union after 1954-1955 is still a terra incognita. This article examines the function of the Western European Union in the Euro-Atlantic security architecture of the Cold War up to the 1960s. The paper studies the prime shifts of the tectonic plates forming the Western partial system of the bipolar Cold War system - and their systemic repercussions. The relationship between the Western umbrella organisation, NATO, and its European subsystem is analysed in four case studies: (1) the Arms Pool Negotiations of 1955; (2) Selwyn Lloyd's Grand Design of 1956-1957; (3) the wider Political European Union agenda of 1960-1962 and (4) the Western European Union nuclear force project of 1963.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations



Wolff Andrew T.

The structural and political crisis of NATO transformation

in *Journal of Transatlantic Studies* , vol. 7, n. 4, December , 476-492

Under the moniker of transformation, NATO members initiated reforms that have greatly expanded alliance responsibilities. These reforms have redefined security concerns to encompass terrorism, nuclear-proliferation, and energy security and have enlarged the geographic reach of Article V guarantees by extending membership to 12 East European states. Also, NATO has added two new responsibilities to its mandate: democratisation tasks and global peacekeeping operations. Evidence suggests these ambitious transformation policies are creating instabilities within the alliance. The three transformation spheres of responsibilities - security guarantor, democracy promoter, and global interventionist - structurally conflict with one another in NATO operations in Afghanistan and the Balkans. There is a lack of political support for NATO's broadened responsibilities and this threatens alliance credibility. Only by diminishing the transformation mission set or increasing coordinated political support can NATO remedy the structural and political crises caused by NATO transformation.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Brzezinski Zbigniew

Un programme pour l'OTAN : vers un réseau de sécurité mondiale

in *Politique Etrangère*, vol. 74, n°4, Hiver

Le succès historique de l'Alliance est d'avoir unifié l'Occident face à la menace soviétique; puis d'avoir, après la guerre froide, réussi à élargir cet Occident. L'Alliance doit pourtant aujourd'hui s'adapter à un monde nouveau marqué par l'éveil chaotique des peuples. Sa crédibilité dépend de la négociation d'une sortie politique de l'engagement en Afghanistan. À plus long terme, l'OTAN doit se penser comme centre d'un réseau d'organisations de sécurité à l'échelle du monde.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Robertson George

Une Alliance bien vivante et qui s'adapte

in *Politique Etrangère*, vol. 74, n°4, Hiver

Née d'une volonté de défense contre l'Union soviétique, l'Alliance a été réinventée à la fin de la guerre froide. Elle est engagée partout où les intérêts des Alliés sont menacés, et il n'existe pas aujourd'hui d'autre option de sécurité crédible pour ses membres. Mais l'Alliance doit savoir évoluer, s'adapter à de nouveaux défis, politiques et économiques, et ajuster ses modes de fonctionnement à la multiplication de ses membres.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations



Ruffa Chiara

What colour for the helmet? Major regional powers and their preferences for UN, regional or ad hoc coalition peace operations

in *Perspectives on federalism*, Vol. 1, single issue , E 68-97

After the end of the Cold War, peacekeeping operations have increasingly been launched by new actors (such as regional organizations and ad hoc coalitions) despite the continued and important role of the United Nations.

What do major regional powers prefer? Do they opt for the UN, for 'coalitions of the willing', or for regional organizations when establishing peacekeeping missions? And do they tend to prefer one of the three?

In this paper, I argue that major regional powers tend to deploy their troops with regional organizations or 'coalitions of the willing' when launching peacekeeping operations; I also try to develop possible explanations for this phenomenon. This research can make a contribution in an almost unexplored field of the literature and it can also tell us more about how core principles of peacekeeping are being modified by the emerging role of new actors.

Full text available at:

<http://www.on-federalism.eu/index.php/essays/22-what-colour-for-the-helmet-major-regional-powers-and-their-preferences-for-un-regional-or-ad-hoc-coalition-peace-operations>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Tow William T., Taylor Brendan

What is Asian security architecture?

in *Review of International Studies (The)*, Vol. 36, Issue 1, January , 95-116

'Architecture' has emerged as the new catchphrase in Asian security politics. Despite its growing centrality, insufficient attention has thus far been given to defining the term, often leading to its imprecise usage. This article seeks to redress that shortcoming. It reviews the ways in which various scholars and practitioners have employed the term 'security architecture' and highlights the anomalies that their often differing employment has created. The article proposes a set of guidelines to aid conceptualisation and application of the term. In so doing it establishes criteria to ascertain what 'security architecture' actually exists in the Asian region, and must ultimately exist to assure regional security.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Miller David

'A spoonful of sugar helps the medicine go down': Gillian Brock on global justice

in *Journal of Global Ethics*, Volume 5, Issue 3, December 2009 , 253-259

No abstract available



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Paavola Jouni

A New Deal on Climate Change in Copenhagen?

in **Environmental Values**, Volume 18, Number 4, November , 393-396

Full text available on-line: <http://www.ericademon.co.uk/EV/EditEV184.html>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Pettit Philip

A Republican Law of Peoples

in **European Journal of Political Theory**, Vol. 9, n. 1, January , 70-94

Assuming that states will remain a permanent feature of our world, what is the ideal that we should hold out for the international order? An attractive proposal is that those peoples that are already organized under non-dominating, representative states should pursue a twin goal: first, arrange things so that they each enjoy the republican ideal of freedom as non-domination in relation to one another and to other multi-national and international agencies; and second, do everything possible and productive to facilitate the representation of less fortunate peoples in non-dominating states and to incorporate them in a non-dominating international order. This republican ideal stands midway between a utopian ideal of cosmopolitan justice and a sceptical ideal of non-intervention. The article explores its attractions and the broad institutional measures that it would support.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Baratta Joseph P.

A Stage in the Formation of World Citizenry

in **Federalist Debate (The)**, Year XXII, n. 3, November

<http://www.federalist-debate.org/fdb/archive/detail.bfr>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Rajamani Lavanya

Addressing The 'Post-Kyoto' Stress Disorder: Reflections On The Emerging Legal Architecture Of The Climate Regime

in **International & Comparative Law Quarterly** , Volume 58 - Issue 04 , 803-834

In December 2007, the international community adopted the Bali Action Plan which launched a process to reach an



'agreed outcome' on long-term cooperative action on climate change, with a scheduled end in Copenhagen, December 2009. The term 'an agreed outcome' suggests a lack of agreement on both the legal form that the likely outcome of this process could take, and the level of ambition that it should reflect. This lack of agreement continues to haunt the process. There are a range of legal form options for a new climate instrument—from a set of Conference of Parties decisions to a legally binding instrument, either to replace or supplement the Kyoto Protocol—and the choice between them for States is predicated primarily on political and strategic considerations. Nevertheless the legal status, procedural requirements, symbolic signalling effects and regime-building characteristics of different legal form options will play an important role in determining the legal form of the Copenhagen 'agreed outcome'. This article identifies and explores the range of legal form options available to States in the negotiation process, and outlines the political and strategic considerations at play and will ultimately govern choice of legal form. This article argues that one of the most significant factors hindering substantive progress on a post-2012 climate agreement is what is characterized here as the 'post-Kyoto stress disorder', a lack of trust amongst some developing countries that industrialized countries will, given current and past form, honour their commitments, and/or take the lead in the new climate agreement. This article makes the case that post-Kyoto stress disorder will likely prevent certain legal form options from acquiring traction in the process and favour others.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Rajamani Lavanya

Addressing the "post-Kyoto" stress disorder: Reflections on the Emerging Legal Architecture of the Climate Regime

in International and Comparative Law Quarterly, vol. 58, n. 4, october , 803-834

ABSTRACT: In December 2007, the international community adopted the Bali Action Plan which launched a process to reach an 'agreed outcome' on long-term cooperative action on climate change, with a scheduled end in Copenhagen, December 2009. The term 'an agreed outcome' suggests a lack of agreement on both the legal form that the likely outcome of this process could take, and the level of ambition that it should reflect. This lack of agreement continues to haunt the process. There are a range of legal form options for a new climate instrument—from a set of Conference of Parties decisions to a legally binding instrument, either to replace or supplement the Kyoto Protocol—and the choice between them for States is predicated primarily on political and strategic considerations. Nevertheless the legal status, procedural requirements, symbolic signalling effects and regime-building characteristics of different legal form options will play an important role in determining the legal form of the Copenhagen 'agreed outcome'. This article identifies and explores the range of legal form options available to States in the negotiation process, and outlines the political and strategic considerations at play and will ultimately govern choice of legal form. This article argues that one of the most significant factors hindering substantive progress on a post-2012 climate agreement is what is characterized here as the 'post-Kyoto stress disorder', a lack of trust amongst some developing countries that industrialized countries will, given current and past form, honour their commitments, and/or take the lead in the new climate agreement. This article makes the case that post-Kyoto stress disorder will likely prevent certain legal form options from acquiring traction in the process and favour others.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Tosa Hiroyuki

Anarchical Governance: Neoliberal Governmentality in Resonance with the State of Exception in International Political Sociology, Volume 3, Issue 4, December 2009, 414-430

Beside the promotion of a politics of inclusion, implemented by governing at a distance, the global governmentality also promotes a politics of exclusion, such as establishing targeted governance that is aimed at deviant groups at the periphery of global politics. This highly disciplinary social control that is imposed upon the marginalized population sometimes leads to instances of the state of exception, in which people are forced to endure "bare lives." This kind of exception existing at the marginalized periphery of the neoliberal global governmentality becomes normal. This neoliberal governmentality creates an informal sector of an enormous scale, whose spatial representation is the global slum, and where vicious cycles of violence become normal.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Carluccio Mercedes

Argentine Congress Supports United Nations Parliamentary Assembly in Federalist Debate (The), Year XXII, n. 3, November

The Campaign for the United Nations Parliamentary Assembly (UNPA) is a global network of parliamentarians and NGOs that defend and struggle for citizens representation at the United Nations. It is based on the idea that the great challenges facing humanity, such as global social inequality, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, terrorism and environmental degradation, can only be overcome by a joint effort of all human beings.

To achieve this, the Campaign proposes the creation of a consultative Parliamentary Assembly within the UN system, which does not need the reform of the UN Charter as a requirement. This would create an important link between the UN and its agencies, governments and national parliaments and civil society. Thus, the Parliamentary Assembly would operate as the voice of citizens, giving them a democratic space of representation.

The Secretariat of the campaign, led by the Committee for a Democratic UN, formally began its work in 2007. It started working steadily to achieve its objectives, which are related to the creation of networks of local individuals and national organizations, governments and parliamentarians demanding a UNPA in their sphere of influence, the establishment of a coalition between them and the civil society, facilitating contacts and discussions with governments and parliaments. Thus, the Secretariat of the Campaign helps define objectives, develop policies and strategies to realize these goals.

Within this framework, on Thursday 6th of August, 2009, the Argentine Chamber of Deputies approved unanimously a draft statement that supports the creation of the UNPA (Parliamentary Assembly at the United Nations system). Such a support came from legislators across the whole political spectrum: the Civic and Social Coalition party, the Frente para la Victoria party, the party of the Concertación, and Unión PRO party. This evidences the large range of principles that support this initiative. Last November 2008, the Senate had already approved a similar legislative statement. Therefore, the Argentine Parliament became the first one in the world to support this global campaign.



The statement claims that the creation of a Parliamentary Assembly at the United Nations will strengthen “the effectiveness, transparency, representativeness, diversity and legitimacy of decisions of the institutions of the UN system” and it argues that the establishment of an institution composed of “parliamentarians and NGOs that defend the representativeness of citizens” is “a decisive step in strengthening the United Nations system”.

It must be highlighted that in this part of the world there is no supranational federalist tradition like there is elsewhere, say in Europe. This makes such an initiative particularly significant in a region that lacks supranational regulations and limitations able to check the negative aspects of globalization, like Latin America is – an area of extreme vulnerability –.

The UNPA Campaign has toured worldwide from its inception in 2007, and since then the Committee for a Democratic UN (the organization that directs it) came in contact with Global Democracy-Movement for the South American Union and the World Parliament (DG), an NGO currently leading the campaign in Argentina. DG began to spread the voice of those who believe that it is necessary and possible to create a World Parliament where all the citizens of the world would be represented and that would complement the existing State representations in the UN system.

The spirit of the campaign is in line with Global Democracy's vision and mission, based on the idea that the nation-state system is no longer consistent with the purposes for which it was created, as a result of the progress of the interchange of people, information, technology and knowledge that globalization brings about.

Considering that, as the DG declaration of principles says:

- Humanity faces global challenges that affect the lives of everyone, like the existence of an ecological, economic and demographic crisis, as well as the loss by national states of the control of technology and the monopoly of violence;
- The scientific and technological revolution and the globalization of economic processes have led to profound social changes, that generate a manifest imbalance of power between global economic organizations and political institutions;
- The progressive difficulty of nation states to perform the functions for which they were created and to promote a world ruled by Liberty, Equality and Fraternity, and view the consequences of the erosion of their capacities in terms of loss of legitimacy of the representative democracy;
- In a global world there is no room for national democracy alone, without building democracy beyond the nation-state in each of the levels at which there is an urgent need of political decisions to meet the challenges of globalization.

We believe it is essential to promote a participatory body in a world that seems ready for further work for a greater democratization of existing supranational institutions, and for creating new ones.

In this context, Fernando Iglesias, Executive Secretary of DG, has promoted, as a member of the House representing the Civic Coalition, the main opposition force in the country, this draft resolution that strongly supports the global campaign.

This achievement was not only a result of the continuing effort of the members of DG and the support of the global campaign (without which it would not have been possible) but of an international situation that clearly shows the need for global citizens to feel represented in a pluralistic and democratic space, together with the obvious flaws of national states. A historic opportunity to create new democratic entities capable of diminishing the negative aspects of globalization and of reinforcing the positive ones is presented to us.

Furthermore, this resolution paves the way for further work in Latin America towards the creation of supranational parliamentary spaces where the political power democratically discusses issues that concern every citizen, as well as for



empowerment of the existing institutions, such as the Parliament of Mercosur, the Latin American Parliament, the Andean Parliament and the Central American Parliament, having in mind that these last two already have a system of direct election of their members, like the European Parliament.

It is a joint commitment by all of us who are part of this planet, and our effort will not be possible without the union of federalists to build a democratic world that binds us together and represents us, beyond our different regions.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Koch Martin

Autonomization of IGOs

in International Political Sociology , Volume 3, Issue 4, December 2009 , 431-448

This article attempts to explain how international governmental organizations (IGOs) become autonomous. It argues for a conceptual shift to an organizational studies perspective that puts the concept of the organization at the center of attention. Although some approaches in IR already apply particular organizational theories, an open-system perspective offers a promising representation of IGOs, their internal dynamics, and external relations. Within an open-system perspective, modern system theory is useful for examining how autonomization processes can be explained by taking into account the momentum of self-referential closure on the basis of decisions.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Armstrong Chris

Basic needs, equality and global justice

in Journal of Global Ethics, Volume 5, Issue 3, December 2009 , 245-251

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Lawson George, Shilliam Robbie

Beyond hypocrisy? Debating the 'fact' and 'value' of sovereignty in contemporary world politics

in International Politics , Volume 46, Issue 6 - Special Issue: Beyond Hypocrisy?:Sovereignty Revisited, November , 657-670

It is no exaggeration to say that sovereignty is the foundation both of International Relations (IR) as a field of enquiry and of international politics as an 'actual existing' field of practice. Whether seen as the archetypal IR101 topic or in debates about the rights and wrongs of humanitarian intervention, the capacity of international organisations to exert control over significant spheres of international politics, or in discussions about the legitimacy of bodies such as the International Criminal Court, sovereignty appears as the central referent point of international politics. Over recent years, however, there has been considerable debate over both the substantive content ('fact') and normative framing ('value') of sovereignty. The former comes about as a result of a series of political, economic and security challenges which see



states as assuming a role as 'one-amongst-many' in an increasingly complex international topography; the latter stems from concerns about whether national states form the optimal site for the articulation of authority claims. This forum engages with both of these debates, focusing on how they relate to understandings of the emergence, development and possible emasculation of sovereignty in the contemporary world. In the introduction to the forum, we outline the ways in which scholars have contested the emergence of the sovereign state and examine the ethical issues surrounding the normative value of this form of rule. In the process, we lay out the ways in which the papers that make up this forum make uncomfortable, if important, contributions to the debate about the fact and value – or 'is' and 'ought' – of sovereignty in contemporary world politics.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Megret Frederic

Beyond the 'Salvation' Paradigm: Responsibility To Protect (Others) vs the Power of Protecting Oneself
in *Security Dialogue*, vol. 40, n. 6, december

ABSTRACT: The emergence of the idea of a 'responsibility to protect' has dominated debates about what should be done to stop atrocities. I argue that, despite notable progress, R2P remains embedded in a vision of 'international' rescue as primarily coming from outside, and as such ends up neglecting the very real and often much more decisive role that 'people' — individuals, civil society, resistance movements — have had in protecting themselves. I argue for a rehabilitation of the role of resistance to atrocities, a better understanding of how the international intervention paradigm may affect it, and a new understanding of the proper role of the international community — one of helping people to help themselves in the face of massive violence.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Martinez-Diaz Leonardo

Boards of directors in international organizations: A framework for understanding the dilemmas of institutional design
in *Review of International Organizations (The)* , vol. 4, n. 4, december , 383-406

ABSTRACT: This article develops an analytical framework for studying international organization (IO) boards of directors and applies the framework to a sample of 12 international organizations. It argues that the boards of IOs are asked by their political masters to play four distinct roles: (1) political counterweight, (2) performance police, (3) democratic forum, and (4) strategic thinker. Because there are trade-offs among them, no IO board can play all four roles effectively. Policymakers must therefore choose among them, and they must make choices of institutional design accordingly. The article also shows how in practice, international organizations fall into three governance "models" based on the characteristics of their boards of directors. Each model has a different combination of strengths and weaknesses. The analysis suggests that because trade-offs are inescapable, state actors sometimes willingly surrender a measure of control in order to strengthen other aspects of institutional performance. IO autonomy is often not something that surprises or annoys governments, but rather something that was built into the institutional design as the result of a conscious trade-off.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Armijo Leslie Elliott , Burges Sean W.

Brazil, the Entrepreneurial and Democratic BRIC

in *Polity*, Volume 42, Issue 1, January , 14-37

By most objective metrics, Brazil is the least imposing of the “BRICs countries”—less populous than China and India, slower-growing in recent years than China, India, or Russia, and the only member of the group lacking nuclear weapons. We argue that Brazil's material capabilities are more significant than commonly supposed. Moreover, Brazil's democratic transition in the mid-1980s, along with that of its neighbors, has for the first time enabled Brazil to realize its promise of becoming a regional leader in South America. On the basis of its democratic and regional prominence, Brazil has become an effective political entrepreneur at the global level, initiating and participating in multilateral fora as diverse as the trade G20, the financial G20, and now the BRICs club. On issues of style, inclusion, and distributive justice, Brazil reliably sides with the “South.” Yet its core public policy instincts embrace familiar “Northern” preferences: liberal, and mixed-capitalist, democracy.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Moellendorf Darrel

Brock on the justification, content, and application of global justice

in *Journal of Global Ethics*, Volume 5, Issue 3, December 2009 , 261-267

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Halldenus Lena

Building Blocks of a Republican Cosmopolitanism

in *European Journal of Political Theory*, Vol. 9, n. 1, January , 12-30

A structural affinity between republican freedom as non-domination and human rights claims accounts for the relevance of republicanism for cosmopolitan concerns. Central features of republican freedom are its institution dependence and the modal aspect it adds to being free. Its chief concern is not constraint, but the way in which an agent is constrained or not. To the extent I am vulnerable to someone's dispositional power over me I am not free, even if I am not in fact constrained. Republican freedom adds a substantial element to a justification of human rights in terms of entitlement, rather than mere satisfaction of interests. A satisfied interest is not a satisfied right if the satisfaction is dependent on personal goodwill and can be withdrawn at any time. Like republican freedom, human rights claims add a modal aspect to enjoyment. Both can be violated by institutional arrangement alone and can be secured only within accountable institutions. National borders may well be irrelevant to the dispositional powers to which people are vulnerable. An international set of institutions globalizes those circumstances in which republican liberty arises as a concern.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

List Christian, Koenig-Archibugi Mathias

Can There Be a Global Demos? An Agency-Based Approach

in Philosophy and Public Affairs, Volume 38, Issue 1, Winter 2010 , 76-110

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Glosny Michael A.

China and the BRICs: A Real (but Limited) Partnership in a Unipolar World

in Polity, Volume 42, Issue 1, January , 100-129

Although Chinese leaders and analysts believe it is too early to judge the U.S. to be in fundamental decline, they do recognize that “newly emerging powers” (xinxing daguo) are an increasingly important force in international politics. In the past couple of years, the BRICs (Brazil, Russia, India, and China) have transformed themselves from an abstract notion into a more formal political grouping. For China, besides helping to minimize dependence on the U.S. and possibly to constrain American unilateralism, BRIC cooperation serves several other functions. China also benefits from this cooperation by stabilizing its international environment, helping other developing countries, strengthening its identity as a developing country, coordinating its position with other BRICs to maximize leverage, and hiding in a group to avoid negative attention. This recent cooperation and interaction with the BRICs has been important, but the space for future BRIC cooperation is limited by fundamental differences among the BRICs, the continued importance of the U.S. for each of the BRICs, and intra-BRIC competition. To date, there is little evidence that China and the BRICs are trying to overthrow the existing international order. Instead, China has accepted and joined the existing order, and has been working together with other powers to reform its shortcomings. Although this negotiation is in its early stages and will likely be difficult, the willingness of China and the BRICs to work within the system and the openness of western countries to meet some of their demands makes it much less likely that China and other rising powers will try to overthrow the order.

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Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Kulovesi Kati, Gutiérrez María

Climate Change Negotiations Update: Process and Prospects for a Copenhagen Agreed Outcome in December 2009

in Review of European Community & International Environmental Law, Volume 18, Issue 3, November , 229-243

This article provides an update on the status of negotiations under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change 3 months before the fifteenth Conference of the Parties is scheduled to reach an historic agreement on enhancing international climate change cooperation. It gives a brief overview of the process that is taking place under two distinct negotiating tracks and highlights the key substantive issues under the main areas of cooperation – namely



mitigation, adaptation, technology and capacity building, as well as finance. It also briefly addresses the legal form of the outcome and outlines the main options for the post-2012 legal framework.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Macey Adrian

Climate Change: Governance Challenges for Copenhagen

in **Global Governance**, vol. 15, n. 5, october-december , 443-450

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Brock Gillian

Concerns about 'Global Justice': a response to critics

in **Journal of Global Ethics**, Volume 5, Issue 3, December 2009 , 269-280

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Deléage Jean-Paul

Copenhague, et après?

in **Ecologie et politique**, n. 39 - Écologie critique de la pub , 5-10

Full text available on-line: http://www.ecologie-et-politique.info/IMG/pdf/39_EDITORIAL_JPD.pdf

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Held David

Cosmopolitanism after 9/11

in **International Politics** , Volume 47, Issue 1, January , 52-61

Thinking about the future of humankind and the basis of political association in the early years of the twenty-first century does not give grounds for optimism. In particular, 9/11 has become a moment associated with a return to empire, geopolitics, political violence and the primacy of sovereignty. Yet, it is easy to overstate the meaning of 9/11 and exaggerate from one set of historical experiences. This article explores the ways in which the twentieth century set down key political and legal 'cosmopolitan steps' toward a transformation of the global order. These steps are explored and defended, and it is shown how they created the grounds for a very different response to 9/11 to the one pursued by President Bush and Prime Minister Blair. Although clearly this opportunity has been temporarily lost, the failure of the Blair–Bush War on Terror reaffirms strong reasons for further developing a cosmopolitan global order.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Bexell Magdalena, Tallberg Jonas, Uhlin Anders

Democracy in Global Governance: The Promises and Pitfalls of Transnational Actors

in **Global Governance**, vol. 16, n. 1, january-march , 81-101

ABSTRACT: The participation of transnational actors in global policymaking is increasingly seen as a means to democratize global governance. Drawing on alternative theories of democracy and existing empirical evidence, we assess the promises and pitfalls of this vision. We explore how the structuring and operation of international institutions, public-private partnerships, and transnational actors themselves may facilitate expanded participation and enhanced accountability in global governance. We find considerable support for an optimistic verdict on the democratizing potential of transnational actor involvement, but also identify hurdles in democratic theory and the practice of global governance that motivate a more cautious outlook. In conclusion, we call for research that explores the conditions for democracy in global governance through a combination of normative political theory and positive empirical research.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Rosanvallon Pierre

Democratic Universalism as a Historical Problem

in **Constellations**, Vol. 16, Issue 4, December , 539-549

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Jordaan Edward

Dialogic Cosmopolitanism and Global Justice

in **International Studies Review**, vol. 11, issue 4, december , 736-748

ABSTRACT: Although the term "cosmopolitan-communitarian debate" never really caught on, a national-global fault line remains prominent in debates about global justice. "Dialogic cosmopolitanism" holds the promise of bridging this alleged fault line by accepting many of the communitarian criticisms against cosmopolitanism and following what can be described as a communitarian path to cosmopolitanism. This article identifies and describes four key elements that distinguish dialogic cosmopolitanism: a respect for difference; a commitment to genuine dialogue; an open, hesitant and self-problematising attitude on the part of the moral subject; and an undertaking to expand the boundaries of moral concern to the point of universal inclusion. While offering much that is attractive, the dialogic cosmopolitan approach ultimately stumbles by failing to include large swathes of the global poor into the transnational moral community it aims to construct and by paying inadequate attention to matters of distributive justice.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations



Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Müller-Franken Sebastian

Die demokratische Legitimation öffentlicher Gewalt in den Zeiten der Globalisierung: Zur unhintergehbaren Rolle des Staates in einer durch Europäisierung und Internationalisierung veränderten Welt

in *Archiv des öffentlichen Rechts* , Band 134, Heft 4, Oktober 2009 , 542-571

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Timothy M. Shaw; Andrew F. Cooper; Gregory T. Chin

Emerging Powers and Africa: Implications for/from Global Governance?

in *Politikon: South African Journal of Political Studies* , Volume 36 Issue 1 , 27 - 44

This article examines the increasing engagement between the 'emerging powers' and African countries, and the implications for international governance. The global power dynamic is undergoing a cumulative reordering process, where countries including China, India, Brazil and Russia are occupying increasingly prominent roles in the international system. In their approach to Africa, the 'BRIC' countries have employed a mix of soft power, public diplomacy, direct investment and private sector partnerships to deepen relations. This article suggests that strict macro-economic explanations do not allow for the myriad political, strategic and social matters that are arising in this engagement. The analytical complexities of these emerging modes of South-South cooperation are examined at state and societal levels from a political economy perspective. Despite their differing intentions, Africa and the emerging powers appear to share common goals of advancing their respective national economies and enhancing their diplomatic status. These shifts are further giving rise to a new 'global middle'. The emergence of this multi-layered international order challenges scholars to stretch conceptions of world order, multipolarity and interdependence. The article concludes by surveying the relevance of BRIC interests in Africa for various subfields in international relations and points to areas for further research.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Farer Tom, Sisk Timothy

Enhancing International Cooperation: Between History and Necessity

in *Global Governance*, vol. 16, n. 1, january-march , 1-12

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Bührs Ton

Environmental Space as a Basis for Legitimizing Global Governance of Environmental Limits

in *Global Environmental Politics*, Volume 9, Issue 4, November , 111-135



The notion of environmental space, based on the principles of environmental limits and sharing environmental resources equitably, offers a starting point for a positive approach to the global “return of scarcity” challenge, notably by providing a basis legitimating and strengthening the global governance of environmental and resource limits. First, it provides a cognitive framework for determining limits and for dealing with these more comprehensively and effectively, at all levels of government. Second, the environmental space approach supports, notably at the global level, a more equitable distribution of access to, and/or the benefits from, increasingly scarce resources. Third, it can be used as a basis for designing and introducing institutions and processes that enhance democracy and community control over the use of resources. Although the adoption of the environmental space approach at the national, international and global levels faces formidable obstacles, more people stand to gain from it, materially, socially, and politically, than from the nationally based “environmental security” approach. The basis of support and agency for the environmental space approach is most likely to be strengthened by the development of institutional designs that enhance economic democracy, giving all people a material and political stake in the management of resources.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Persson Åsa

Environmental policy integration and bilateral development assistance: challenges and opportunities with an evolving governance framework

in International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics, Volume 9, Number 4, November , 409-429

The aim of this article is to examine progress so far, as well as current challenges and opportunities for EPI in bilateral official development assistance (ODA). A short review of progress shows that effectiveness has so far been limited. Although there has been intense donor activity in relation to stating commitment to the EPI principle and developing a wide range of processes, institutions, and tools, a large part of ODA still is likely to have directly harmful impacts on the environment. The implications for EPI of the emerging governance framework for ODA, namely, the principles stipulated in the 2005 Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness, are then discussed. Both challenges and opportunities are presented, and these are empirically illustrated with a case study of the integration of climate change adaptation in ODA. Finally, this article proposes that at least four special conditions apply to EPI in the bilateral ODA context as compared with domestic EPI: two or more jurisdictions, electorates, and governments are involved; a negotiation context characterized by sovereign states but with a potential power asymmetry; potential conflicts of interest and equity concerns in cases where environmental objectives refer to global environmental problems primarily caused by developed countries; and a policy-making process characterized by a comparatively wide span of both strategic and operational decisions, where EPI can take on very different meanings. The initial exploration presented in this article suggests that these conditions hold, and that, as a consequence, EPI arguably involves more ‘high-politics’ decisions and questions than in a domestic policy context.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Biermann Frank, Davies Olwen, van der Grijp Nicolien

Environmental policy integration and the architecture of global environmental governance

in International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics, Volume 9, Number 4, November , 351-369



This article discusses environmental policy integration—a concept so far mainly applied to domestic and European politics—at the global level. The article distinguishes between integration of institutions, of organizations, and of their bureaucracies, and it addresses both internal integration (within the environmental policy domain) and external integration (between environmental policies and non-environmental policies). The overall focus is on one set of policy reform proposals that have been salient in the global environmental governance debate for the last decades: the question of whether the creation of a world environment organization would improve the effectiveness, legitimacy, and efficiency of global environmental governance. We revisit this debate and explore the options for organizational change, including clustering, upgrading, streamlining, and hierarchical steering, with a focus on whether the reform proposals can bring about environmental policy integration. We conclude that in the longer term, upgrading of the UN Environment Programme to a UN specialized agency, with additional and increasing streamlining of other institutions and bureaucracies, offers the most potential for environmental policy integration and does not appear to be unrealistic.

Full text available on-line: <http://www.springerlink.com/content/603554682rx0t033/fulltext.pdf>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Holtug Nils

Equality, priority and global justice

in **Journal of Global Ethics**, Volume 5, Issue 3, December 2009 , 173-179

Abstract

Derek Parfit has argued that prioritarianism “naturally” has global scope, i.e. naturally applies to everyone, irrespective of his or her particular national, state or other communal affiliation. In that respect, it differs from e.g. egalitarianism. In this article, I critically assess Parfit’s argument. In particular, I argue that it is difficult to draw conclusions about the scope of prioritarianism simply from an inspection of its structure. I also make some suggestions as to what it would take to argue that prioritarianism has either global or merely domestic scope.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Barnett Michael

Evolution Without Progress? Humanitarianism in a World of Hurt

in **International Organization**, vol. 63, issue 4, october , 621-663

ABSTRACT: Many theories of international relations contain a narrative of progress and explain that progress with reference to evolutionary imagery. This article examines critically: the relevance of Darwinian and Lamarckian models of international relations to the evolution of international ethics and institutions; and the possibility that the ethics and norms are likely to be more consistent with existing world orders than challengers to it. Specifically, this article draws from evolutionary social science and organizational theory to develop a framework to explore the initial diversity of the meaning and practices of humanitarianism; how the combination of environmental mechanisms and organizational culture led many humanitarian agencies to adapt to their environment in ways that incorporated politics; and the subsequent countermovement by some agencies who wanted to purify humanitarianism. I then apply this framework to explain the recent history of four international aid agencies. I conclude with several observations regarding how the model as applied to these cases allows us to examine critically the selection mechanisms that do and do not account for



ethical change and how scholars of international norms, ethics, and progress should be attentive to how principled actors are creatures of the world they want to transform.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Alger Chadwick

Expanding Governmental Diversity in Global Governance: Parliamentarians of States and Local Governments in Global Governance, vol. 16, n. 1, january-march , 59-80

ABSTRACT: Almost no attention has been given to the expanding governmental diversity in participants in global governance that has been stimulated by the impact of technological change on the global range of human activities. The global reach of parliamentarians of states has roots in formation of the International Parliamentarian Union in 1889, and that of local governments in founding of the International Union of Local Authorities in 1913. This article first provides a brief overview of the interstate organizations developed by each, with emphasis on those global in scope. This is followed by a brief overview of their present involvement in the United Nations system. When considering the possible future involvement of these two actors in global governance, the creation of both a Parliamentary Assembly and a Congress of Local and Regional Authorities in the forty-seven member Council of Europe merits serious attention. A widely shared goal of both interstate organizations of parliamentarians and local governments is strengthening local self-government and local influence on global governance.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Pomarc iUlderico

Forma politica europea e mondializzazione
in *Rassegna di diritto pubblico europeo*, n. 1 , 3-24

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Stoett Peter

Framing Bioinvasion: Biodiversity, Climate Change, Security, Trade, and Global Governance
in *Global Governance*, vol. 16, n. 1, january-march , 103-120

ABSTRACT: This article introduces the complexities of framing the policy debate over invasive alien species or, more generally, bioinvasion. It suggests that there are six principal framing conceptualizations that have emerged or are gaining steam and credence: biodiversity and conservation; climate change and globalization; human security; "natural national security"; market failure; and the commons and global governance. Although the biodiversity approach dominates the international discourse at present, it presents a partial and hence distorting picture. Over time, as the problem of bioinvasion compounds, the inadequacy of the biodiversity frame will become generally apparent and so the others will gain in currency. Ultimately, bioinvasion must be viewed as a policy challenge for global environmental



governance and justice. The author concludes by raising the limited possibility of developing an International Convention on Alien Invasive Species.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Saran Shyam

Global Governance and Climate Change

in **Global Governance**, vol. 15, n. 5, october-december , 457-460

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Deere-Birkbeck Carolyn

Global governance in the context of climate change: the challenges of increasingly complex risk parameters

in **International Affairs** , vol. 85, issue 6, november , 1173-1194

ABSTRACT: It is well-acknowledged that there is an imbalance between the existing structures and processes for global governance and the threats that the world is facing to its environment and natural resources. When swift responses to risk and uncertainty are required, formal international institutions and legal frameworks are found wanting. Climate change is accelerating and exacerbating worst case scenarios in the areas of energy, fisheries, forests, food, water and desertification, to name but a few, and intensifying pressures of poverty on natural resource management. The importance of avoiding policy failures of the past and failures of global governance has thus become more urgent. This article reviews the global governance challenges arising from complex resource risks and explores what has been learnt about effective risk governance. Global governance can not continue as though the world faces a 'business as usual scenario' and climate-related risks—systemic, complex, uncertain and ambiguous—require us to focus on particular aspects of global governance, many of which are those where performance has hitherto been weakest.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Linklater Andrew

Human Interconnectedness

in **International Relations**, vol. 23, n. 3, september , 481-497

ABSTRACT: Kenneth Waltz's structural realism abstracts the international political domain from other spheres of social interaction to explain recurrent patterns of competition and conflict across the millennia. There are similarities between the structural realist 'grand narrative' and the process-sociological approach developed by Norbert Elias. But the latter supported 'high-level synthesis' in the social sciences in order to understand how relations between material, ideational and emotional forces have contributed to the growth of human interconnectedness. The analysis contended that one of the purposes of the social sciences is to increase knowledge of how humans can gain control of the processes that bind them together in global networks of interdependence. Elias was opposed to partisan inquiry such as Kant's notion of a universal history with a cosmopolitan intent. But a shared emphasis on how humans have developed the capacity to



cause distant harm reveals how future grand narratives can combine the analysis of the growth of interconnectedness with the ethical argument for greater transnational solidarity.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Margiotta Costanza

Il problema dei confini statali nell'ordinamento internazionale

in **Ragion Pratica**, numero 2, dicembre 2009 , 423-436

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Bowman Jonathan

Immigrant Rights and Regional Inclusion: Democratic Experimentalism in the European Union

in **Theoria**, Volume 56, Number 121, Winter 2009 , 32-56

Although justification and implementation of human rights are typically dealt with as separate issues, the lines between them become particularly opaque when dealing with contested rights claims, particularly those made by immigrant groups. The relevant lessons from Europe seem to indicate that in these sorts of cases, questions of justification can become embedded in deliberative practices that lead to their greater institutional entrenchment. The heterogeneity of deliberative practices out of diverse Member State administrative contexts can be turned into an epistemic virtue when including additional perspectives that increase the likelihood of avoiding error and alleviating bias. With a focus on immigrant rights in the EU, I first give a stylized rendition of the shortcomings of three views—post-national rights theorists, liberal nationalists, and cosmopolitans. In contrast, experimentalists highlight the democratic potential of realizing rights on a pragmatic model of the Open Method of Coordination that better responds to regional problems not necessarily tied to a single site of sovereignty. Since immigrants in the EU are party to multiple overlapping political communities, the democratic justification of rights in contested cases can be directly tied to this novel institutional implementation, forging a modified social imaginary in the process for all affected actors.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Sinha Aseema, Dorschner Jon P.

India: Rising Power or a Mere Revolution of Rising Expectations?

in **Polity**, Volume 42, Issue 1, January , 74-99

In 2009–2010 India faces dramatically different foreign policy challenges than it faced even ten years ago. Similar to other ascendant powers such as China and Brazil but unlike smaller powers, India must not only cope with a transformed international system and project the country's global aspirations, but also ensure that its emergence as a rising power responds to its domestic dilemmas and constraints. India's actions and aspirations on the global stage have changed dramatically toward greater activism and leveraging of its newfound economic strengths. Yet, despite powerful pressures and opportunities nudging India toward a greater role in the global system, India must also attend to crucial



capacity building to mobilize its potential and aspirations. The path toward a major power role and status needs to be paved with more than good intentions and be accompanied by political will and institutional flexibilities that can transform India's traditional emphasis on autonomy and self-reliance and new ambitions into real power that is sustainable at the global level and yields crucial benefits for India's diverse population.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Wettestad Jørgen

Interaction between EU carbon trading and the international climate regime: synergies and learning

in International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics, Volume 9, Number 4, November , 393-408

This article discusses the developing interaction and cross-scale effects between the company-focused EU emissions trading (ETS) and the country-focused international climate regime, in particular the Kyoto Protocol. Key questions discussed are first, what has been the character of selected interactions so far—synergistic or disruptive? Second, what kinds of interaction mechanisms have been driving the interactions; normative, cognitive, or utilitarian? Third, with regard to cross-scale effects, has significant learning taken place between institutions at different levels? Four sub-cases of interaction are analysed: first, the interaction between the Kyoto Protocol as source and the ETS as target which started after the adoption of the Protocol in late 1997. Second, a next phase of interaction started in 2004 when the EU states started to develop national allocation plans (NAPs) where bringing in credits/allowances developed under the Clean Development Mechanism (CDM) became one compliance strategy. Third, the opposite relationship is examined, i.e., with the ETS as the source and the Kyoto Protocol institutions as targets. The first phase started after the adoption of the 2003 ET Directive and with the developing ETS possibly leading to a more rapid and extensive CDM development than would otherwise have been the case. Fourth and finally, a separate case of interaction deals with the possible role the ETS plays and could play for an emerging global carbon market. Key findings are that these cases are mainly of a synergistic nature. Furthermore, in order to understand the driving forces, it is necessary to draw upon several interaction mechanisms, particularly cognitive and utilitarian ones. Finally, as to cross-scale learning, the post-2012 global regime may avoid pitfalls related to the allocation process experienced by the ETS. But the learning and diffusion potential should not be exaggerated.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Nilsson Måns, Pallemmaerts Marc, von Homeyer Ingmar

International regimes and environmental policy integration: introducing the special issue

in International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics, Volume 9, Number 4, November , 337-350

Pressure is mounting for states to become better at integrating its environmental policies into sector policy, a challenge often referred to as environmental policy integration (EPI). Policy research on EPI has grown to become a distinct and substantial field of study at the national and EU levels, where political commitment and interest in the topic have been large. In the study of international regimes, EPI analytical concepts have so far not been applied although the EPI quest is at least as important and critical at this level. This special issue addresses this gap, by combining these two sets of literature and examining various aspects of EPI in international regimes, its manifestations and its challenges. This introductory paper introduces key conceptual discussions underlying the development of this special issue, distills and discusses some of the key findings and messages from the four ensuing research articles and presents directions for



future research. It finds that many EPI challenges and institutional barriers are strongly accentuated at international levels of governance, but also that similarities with the national level suggest that closer interactions between the two fields of study are warranted. At both levels, the EPI "game" is full of inherent tensions and goal conflicts, institutional constraints abound, and cognitive interactions and learning processes appear as key mechanisms to advance EPI. Suggestions for how to enhance EPI in international regimes are still tentative, and analysis beyond international relations and regime theory is needed to capture potential institutional innovations for advancing EPI.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Oberthür Sebastian

Interplay management: enhancing environmental policy integration among international institutions

in International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics, Volume 9, Number 4, November , 371-391

This article investigates how and to what extent the current management of inter-institutional relationships within International Environmental Governance ('interplay management') contributes to Environmental Policy Integration (EPI), and identifies options for enhancing EPI among international institutions. To this end, it first develops a framework for the systematic analysis and assessment of interplay management as a means for achieving 'strong' EPI, distinguishing four levels and two principal modes of management. On this basis, the article assesses the current contribution of International Environmental Governance to advancing EPI as regards three categories of institutional interaction. The analysis demonstrates the need to fit interplay management to the particular governance conditions of varying interaction situations and highlights the lack of systematic and consistent support for EPI among international institutions. Options to improve this situation include in particular promoting inter-institutional learning and assistance for the benefit of environmental institutions as well as ensuring consideration of and respect for environmental requirements. Adapting the statutes and mandates of individual institutions and developing suitable guidance under general international (environmental) law have the highest potential for implementing these options. In contrast, joint management initiatives and a strengthened international environmental organisation have a much more limited, supplementary potential.

Full text available on-line: <http://www.springerlink.com/content/a5l5m3x664t87119/fulltext.pdf>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Padis Marc-Olivier

Introduction. Après le krach et avant Copenhague : de quelle « reprise » parle-t-on?

in Esprit, décembre 2009 , 51-59

The full text is free:

www.esprit.presse.fr/review/article.php?code=15553

Pourquoi établir un lien entre la crise financière de l'automne 2008 et les questions environnementales ? Est-ce un artifice rhétorique de mettre en rapport les excès de la finance et les risques créés par la surexploitation des ressources naturelles ? Le calendrier, qui fait intervenir le rendez-vous crucial des négociations sur le climat à Copenhague dans la



suite de la séquence des effondrements boursiers, semble faire le rapprochement pour nous. Mais plus que cette coïncidence, il y a aussi l'intuition selon laquelle, au-delà des excès de la finance, c'est l'ensemble de notre modèle de développement qui est mis en cause par la crise.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Moehler Michael

Justice and peaceful cooperation

in **Journal of Global Ethics**, Volume 5, Issue 3, December 2009 , 195-214

Abstract

Justice is important, but so is peaceful cooperation. In this article, I argue that if one takes seriously the autonomy of individuals and groups and the fact of moral pluralism, a just system of cooperation cannot guarantee peaceful cooperation in a pluralistic world. As a response to this consideration, I develop a contractarian theory that can secure peace in a pluralistic world of autonomous agents, assuming that the agents who exist in this world expect that peaceful cooperation is the most beneficial form of interaction for them in the long run. The theory specifies the restrictions on the behavior of autonomous individual and collective agents that are indispensable for peaceful cooperation in a pluralistic world. In particular, I argue for the need of (i) a globally valid rule of conflict resolution to settle all intra- and inter-group conflicts that cannot be resolved locally, (ii) a world court to apply this rule in cases where local group authorities are inadequate to do so, and to serve as a final court of appeal, and (iii) a world police to enforce the rule.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Walton A.

Justice, authority, and the world order

in **Journal of Global Ethics**, Volume 5, Issue 3, December 2009 , 215-230

This paper defends the pertinence of global justice in the contemporary world. It accepts, for the sake of argument, Nagel's view that matters of justice arise only when political authority is asserted or exercised and, connectedly, his rejection of the cosmopolitan thesis. However, it challenges his conclusion that considerations of justice do not apply beyond the state. It argues that on any plausible account of the relationship between authority and justice international institutions, such as the World Trade Organisation, are now authoritative in the right way to justify their evaluation from the point of view of justice.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Norrlof Carla

Key Currency Competition. The Euro versus the Dollar

in **Cooperation and Conflict**, vol. 44, n.4, december , 420-442

ABSTRACT: In this article, I investigate whether the euro is set to eclipse the dollar as the world currency. Although the euro has gained in importance at the expense of the dollar in all key currency functions, I argue that it is not about to



replace the dollar as the unique currency of global importance. Notwithstanding America's current weakness, I argue that different preferences for monetary and fiscal policy inside the euro-zone, and the need to coordinate these, will make it difficult to accommodate and correct large-scale imports over the long term. I also find that taking on the role of the world's preferred import destination is bound to exacerbate internal differences and complicate decision-making.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Walk Heike

Krise der Demokratie und die Rolle der Politikwissenschaft

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 52, 2009

The full text is free:

www.bpb.de/publikationen/F6E4K6,2,0,Krise_der_Demokratie_und_die_Rolle_der_Politikwissenschaft.html#art2

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

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Trujillo Isabel

La giustizia e le nuove frontiere dell'eguaglianza

in *Ragion Pratica*, numero 2, dicembre 2009 , 459-472

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Moses Jeremy

Liberal internationalist discourse and the use of force: Blair, Bush and beyond

in *International Politics* , Volume 47, Issue 1, January , 26-51

This article analyses the liberal internationalist discourses that drew together the foreign policies of Tony Blair and George W. Bush. While it is clear that the two former leaders maintained a deep and abiding commitment to the spread of freedom and democracy to all corners of the world, very little work has been carried out to explain how these shared values related to their exercise of an aggressive foreign policy and, perhaps more importantly, what this can tell us about some of the most persistent undercurrents of liberal foreign policy practice. This article begins by illustrating the 'liberalisms' of both Blair and Bush before examining the place of globalisation, humanitarianism and democracy in their respective foreign policy doctrines. It then briefly examines whether these themes may continue under the Obama presidency. Finally, the international and domestic consequences of this form of liberal internationalism are raised. The article concludes with the claim that a failure to recognise and understand the inevitable violence generated in pursuit of unquestioned liberal values will lead those who follow Bush and Blair toward the same excessive use of force that has characterised the war on terror.



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Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Kwakwa Edward

Mainstreaming "Development" in International Organizations

in International Organizations Law Review, vol. 6, n. 1 , 1-6

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Posner Elliot

Making Rules for Global Finance: Transatlantic Regulatory Cooperation at the Turn of the Millennium

in International Organization, vol. 63, issue 4, october , 665-699

ABSTRACT: This article explains a shift in the way transatlantic authorities managed conflicts over the cross-border regulation of securities markets: from cooperation skewed heavily toward the preferences of U.S. officials and accepted grudgingly by European counterparts; to a Euro-American regulatory condominium characterized by close interactions among decision makers and mutual accommodation. In the final decades of the twentieth century, the asymmetric influence wielded by U.S. securities market authorities had few parallels in other regulatory areas. Why, then, did U.S. officials become more accommodating and European authorities more influential, and why did the turning point occur in 2002 and 2003, an unlikely moment for intensified transatlantic sovereignty sharing? My study shows that institutional change inside the EU recast the North Atlantic balance of regulatory leverage and thereby was the primary factor behind the reshaping of transatlantic cooperation. Internal EU regulatory centralization changed the expectations of U.S. and European firms and authorities and generated new incentives in Washington, D.C., for accommodation and closer transatlantic coordination. My explanation differs from models that, accepting U.S. financial pre-eminence as a given, attribute variance in cross-border regulatory cooperation to factors such as incentives derived from the particularities of issue areas or preferences rooted in domestic politics. While resonating with a well-established theme from the realist branch of IPE, my findings have broad theoretical significance, and open new avenues for dialogue between realists and constructivists about the social, political, and institutional foundations of power in global economic affairs. The transatlantic political process set off by financial transformation in Europe reveals contemporary sources of systemic change and raises questions about what the EU's ascendance as a global financial regulator will mean in the aftermath of the late-2000s crisis.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Muñoz Miquel, Thrasher Rachel, Najam Adil

Measuring the Negotiation Burden of Multilateral Environmental Agreements

in Global Environmental Politics, Volume 9, Issue 4, November , 1-13

The Global Environmental Governance (GEG) system has grown significantly since the 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro. In this paper we analyze ten leading Multilateral Environmental Agreements (MEAs), reviewing various quantitative indicators (related to time, resources and commitment) to chart their evolution and to measure the "negotiation burden" that the burgeoning GEG system is



imposing on states and secretariats. We find that these representative MEAs have not only grown in size but also have become busier over time, although there are indications that as the GEG system “matures,” it may also be stabilizing. Among other things, we find that the reported budget for these ten MEA secretariats has grown nine-fold in sixteen years, from US\$ 8.18 million in 1992 to US\$ 75.83 million in 2007. Counting only the most important of meetings, and using the number of meeting days as an indicator of the “negotiation load,” we find that the negotiation load for the leading MEAs has stabilized, averaging around 115 meeting days per year. Decisions also seem to plateau at about 185 per year.

Full text available on-line <http://www.mitpressjournals.org/doi/pdf/10.1162/glep.2009.9.4.1>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Xun Cao

**Networks of Intergovernmental Organizations and Convergence in Domestic Economic Policies
in *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 53, issue 4, december , 1095-1130**

ABSTRACT: We studied three potential causal mechanisms through which network dynamics of intergovernmental organizations (IGO) might cause convergence in domestic economic policies. First, IGO networks facilitate policy learning by providing relevant information. Second, they encourage policy emulation by creating a sense of affinity among countries that are closely connected by IGO networks. Finally, some powerful IGOs “coerce” their member states to adopt certain policies. We used causal modeling to test the relationships between different types of IGOs (and the causal mechanisms to which they mostly correspond) and policy convergence. The findings demonstrate the important roles played by salient IGOs such as the WTO, the EU, and the OECD, with each of them having a strong converging effect on their member states’ domestic economic policies. More interestingly, we find that the cumulative effects of multiple layers of even the weakest types of IGOs have strong causal effects on states’ domestic policies. Indeed, the shared memberships in IGOs with economic functions and with the minimal level of institutional capacity are not only statistically associated with, but also have converging causal effects on, countries’ domestic policies. This supports the information-driven policy learning mechanism. The emulation mechanism in which IGO networks create a sense of affinity and therefore facilitate policy diffusion and convergence, on the other hand, is not supported by empirical analysis.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Göhler Gerhard

**Neue Perspektiven politischer Steuerung
in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 2-3, 2010**

The full text is free:

www1.bpb.de/publikationen/BEC3FW,0,Neue_Perspektiven_politischer_Steuerung.html

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy



Guisan Catherine

Of September 11, Mourning and Cosmopolitan Politics

in *Constellations*, Vol. 16, Issue 4, December , 563-568

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Held David

Per un new global deal. Intervista di Giuliano Battiston

in *Lettera Internazionale*, n. 102, 2009

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Blatter Joachim

Performing Symbolic Politics and International Environmental Regulation: Tracing and Theorizing a Causal Mechanism beyond Regime Theory

in *Global Environmental Politics*, Volume 9, Issue 4, November , 81-110

This article demonstrates the empirical relevance and elaborates the theoretical foundation of a “polity-centered” causal mechanism of international environmental regulation which has been only superficially touched upon in international environmental regime theory and which challenges the policy-centrism of this field of research. Motorboat regulations on Lake Constance demonstrate the limits of established approaches in regime theory in explaining the strict regulations of this early regime. Rationalist explanatory approaches are not convincing since there are no helpful structural constellations and no functional need. According to normative-cognitive approaches, the institutional density and differentiation that exists in the transboundary Lake Constance region makes an “advocacy coalition” approach better suited than an “epistemic community” approach. Yet, even this perspective cannot explain the international breakthroughs towards strong regulations. To fill the remaining gap, it is necessary to account for the symbolic value of water in representing emerging transnational identities and institutions. Polity-centered coalitions of political leaders around the lake “performed” innovative regulations in a highly symbolic policy field in order to gain attention and recognition for their institutionalization of the idea of a “Euregio Bodensee.” The article ends by demonstrating the empirical relevance of this causal mechanism beyond Lake Constance and discusses the theoretical consequences in the field of transnational water governance.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Ritzi Claudia, Schaal Gary S.

Politische Führung in der

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 2-3, 2010



The full text is free:

www1.bpb.de/publikationen/5A1604,0,Politische_F%FChrung_in_der_Postdemokratie.html

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Platjouw Froukje Maria

Reducing Greenhouse Gas Emissions at Home or Abroad? The Implications of Kyoto's Supplementarity Requirement for the Present and Future Climate Change Regime

in Review of European Community & International Environmental Law, Volume 18, Issue 3, November , 244-256

Reducing greenhouse gas emissions at home or abroad has become one of the dilemmas within contemporary climate change policy, touching upon various concepts such as cost effectiveness, environmental effectiveness, equity and sustainable development, and challenging the North–South relationship in itself. Although Annex I parties to the Kyoto Protocol are legally obligated, through the supplementarity requirement, to meet their Kyoto Protocol emission reduction targets to a certain extent through 'domestic actions', various Annex I parties favour the use of flexibility mechanisms, arguing that actions to reduce emissions should be taken where it is cheapest, given the fact that the effect on the atmosphere will be the same. This article explores the limits to flexibility under the Kyoto regime and elucidates the implications of the supplementarity requirement in Articles 6, 12 and 17 of the Protocol. The article aims to provide an effective and justifiable interpretation of the supplementarity requirement that would be acceptable to both industrialized and developing countries, taking into account cost and environmental effectiveness, as well as equity considerations.

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Iverson Duncan

Republican Human Rights?

in European Journal of Political Theory, Vol. 9, n. 1, January , 31-47

The very idea of republican human rights, seems paradoxical. My aim in this article is to explore this disjunctive conjunction. One of the distinctive features of republican discourse, both in its civic humanist and neo-Roman variants, is the secondary status that rights are supposed to play in politics. Although the language of rights is not incommensurable with republican political thought, it is supposed to know its place. What can republican categories of political understanding offer for grappling with the challenges of global politics? Many philosophical expressions of human rights today are Kantian or neo-Kantian in inspiration, and as a result they are plagued by the familiar difficulties raised by Kantian approaches to politics in general. In particular, the growing prominence of human rights discourse has led to withering attacks on the appeal to human rights without any effective means of enforcement. Does republicanism offer any resources for rethinking human rights, and in particular, addressing the concern with the often moralistic and depoliticizing nature of human rights talk today? What conception of human rights best promotes freedom as non-domination? Are our practices of human rights effective instruments for minimizing domination?

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Laborde Cécile



Republicanism and Global Justice

in *European Journal of Political Theory*, Vol. 9, n. 1, January , 48-69

The republican tradition seems to have a blind spot about global justice. It has had little to say about pressing international issues such as world poverty or global inequalities. According to the old, if apocryphal, adage: extra rempublicam nulla justitia. Some may doubt that distributive justice (as opposed to freedom or citizenship) is the primary virtue of republican institutions; and at any rate most would agree that republican values have traditionally been realized in the polis not in the (oxymoronic) cosmopolis. The article sketches a republican account of global non-domination which suggests that duties of distributive justice are not bounded to the institutions of a single society. In particular, it argues that republicans have good reasons to seek to curb those global inequalities which underpin what I call capability-denying domination.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Esty Daniel

Revitalizing Global Environmental Governance for Climate Change

in *Global Governance*, vol. 15, n. 5, october-december , 427-535

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Roberts Cynthia

Russia's BRICs Diplomacy: Rising Outsider with Dreams of an Insider

in *Polity*, Volume 42, Issue 1, January , 38-73

Russia has been the leading proponent of transforming the BRICs from an investment strategy into a recognized coalition of emerging powers bearing significant implications for international relations. Since the end of the Cold War, Moscow has tried to deny the realities of unipolarity while grudgingly adjusting to its constraints. Now that American primacy is waning, Russia, the perennial outsider, aims to become an insider and a rule maker in the international system. Despite questioning the existing order's durability and legitimacy, Russia and the other BRICs seek to be among its managing directors, not to overthrow it. Russia has simultaneously sought to renegotiate the terms of its accommodation to the Euro-Atlantic order, drawing on its preference for cooperation without domestic conditionality requirements. Moscow's BRICs diplomacy has been one of its most successful international initiatives, although the group's future existence will probably be determined by China, the real contender for polar power status.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Gilligan Michael, Johns Leslie, Rosendorff Peter

Strengthening International Courts and the Early Settlement of Disputes



in *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, vol. 54, n. 1, february , 5-38

ABSTRACT: How does variation in the strength of a court's jurisdiction and enforcement affect strategic behavior by states involved in international disputes? The authors construct a formal model and identify three important ways that legal institutions can have a deleterious effect on international cooperation by magnifying the bargaining problems arising from incomplete information about the quality of the legal claims. First, strong courts create less information revelation in pretrial bargaining. Second, strong courts reduce the likelihood of pretrial settlements between states. Third, strong courts lead to more brinkmanship over high-value assets, which leads to conflict if the court refuses to intervene. The authors argue that a key policy implication of their model is that attempts to strengthen international courts must be accompanied by increased precision of international law to ameliorate the deleterious effects of strong courts.

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Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Veziagiannidou Sevasti-Eleni

The Climate Change Regime Post-Kyoto: Why Compliance is Important and How to Achieve it

in *Global Environmental Politics*, Volume 9, Issue 4, November , 41-63

This paper considers a climate policy architecture that would be conducive to wide participation and successful compliance. Compliance in particular is an aspect of climate policy that has been under-specified in current proposals for an architecture for climate policy. Although admittedly a successful regime would have to satisfy a number of criteria, including environmental goals, dynamic efficiency and cost-effectiveness, any agreement would have to be implemented and enforced. The focus here is both on how to construct a regime that is environmentally effective, and on how to reduce problems of compliance and leakage. Other criteria will be considered in the proposal, such as cost-effectiveness and how to facilitate the negotiation process, but the primary focus will be on participation and compliance. The main argument is that a climate agreement based on both emissions targets and policies and measures is the most conducive to maximum participation and a successful compliance mechanism.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Biermann Frank, Pattberg Philipp, van Asselt Harro, Zelli Fariborz

The Fragmentation of Global Governance Architectures: A Framework for Analysis

in *Global Environmental Politics*, Volume 9, Issue 4, November , 14-40

Most research on global governance has focused either on theoretical accounts of the overall phenomenon or on empirical studies of distinct institutions that serve to solve particular governance challenges. In this article we analyze instead "governance architectures," defined as the overarching system of public and private institutions, principles, norms, regulations, decision-making procedures and organizations that are valid or active in a given issue area of world politics. We focus on one aspect that is turning into a major source of concern for scholars and policy-makers alike: the "fragmentation" of governance architectures in important policy domains. The article offers a typology of different degrees of fragmentation, which we describe as synergistic, cooperative, and conflictive fragmentation. We then systematically assess alternative hypotheses over the relative advantages and disadvantages of different degrees of fragmentation. We argue that moderate degrees of fragmentation may entail both significant costs and benefits, while



higher degrees of fragmentation are likely to decrease the overall performance of a governance architecture. The article concludes with policy options on how high degrees of fragmentation could be reduced. Fragmentation is prevalent in particular in the current governance of climate change, which we have hence chosen as illustration for our discussion.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Reitan Ruth

The Global Anti-War Movement Within and Beyond the World Social Forum

in Globalizations , Volume 6, Issue 4, December 2009 , 509-523

Abstract

This article contributes to the ongoing activist debate over the nature and future of the World Social Forum as well as to scholarly reflection and theorization of the Forum as an open space versus a more action-oriented and partisan organization at the current stage of global struggles against neoliberalism and war. It does so by addressing whether and to what extent the WSF's organizational ethos of bounded diversity plus decentralization has fostered the creation and cross-pollination of movements at the transnational level of contention by analyzing the emergence of a global anti-war movement within the WSF. It finds that the Forums have provided a hospitable environment for movement crossovers to shift priorities, resources, frames, claims, campaign strategies, and coalitions in response to the emergent threat of war. It then addresses the more polemical critique of whether the WSF inhibits alliance-building with the most decisive anti-neoliberal and anti-imperial forces of our time, by examining the Beirut and Cairo anti-war conferences. It finds that the polarization and power imbalances exacerbated in these two initiatives suggest that the proscriptions delineated in the WSF Charter aimed at preserving and promoting diversity within the Forum milieu should be maintained.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Grills Nathan

The Paradox of Multilateral Organizations Engaging with Faith-based Organizations

in Global Governance, vol. 15, n. 5, october-december , 505-520

ABSTRACT: Multilateral organizations, such as the World Health Organization, have traditionally not closely engaged with faith-based organizations. However, more recently, there has been a growing willingness among MOs to engage with FBOs. Factors promoting this engagement have included the rise of economic neoliberalism and participatory paradigms, a realization that FBOs may enhance program effectiveness, and a need for greater cooperation to respond to HIV/AIDS. At the same time, paradoxically, engagement with FBOs conflicts with the Enlightenment ideology on which most MOs are based. This ideology has traditionally espoused secularism and relegated faith to the private domain. To reconcile this paradox, MOs have often imposed conditions requiring FBOs to remove faith activities from their programs. This potentially compromises the unique cultural identity of the FBO.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy



Anselmi Giorgio

The Pope for World Government

in *Federalist Debate (The)*, Year XXII, n. 3, November

<http://www.federalist-debate.org/fdb/archive/detail.bfr>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Honkonen Tuula

The Principle of Common But Differentiated Responsibility in Post-2012 Climate Negotiations

in *Review of European Community & International Environmental Law*, Volume 18, Issue 3, November , 257-267

The article examines the on-going negotiation process towards a post-2012 climate change agreement in the light of the principle of common but differentiated responsibility (CBDR). The said principle is often identified as the cornerstone upon which State commitments are to be built. Nevertheless, the diversity of views as to how the CBDR principle should actually be put into operation in the new agreement is rather discomfoting. The article reviews the negotiation work carried out in this respect and maps out the way that CBDR has been treated in the process.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Bellamy Alex, Davies Sara

The Responsibility to Protect in the Asia-Pacific Region

in *Security Dialogue*, vol. 40, n. 6, december , 547-574

ABSTRACT: In 2005, governments around the world unanimously agreed to the principle of the responsibility to protect (R2P), which holds that all states have a responsibility to protect their populations from genocide and mass atrocities, that the international community should assist them to fulfil this duty, and that the international community should take timely and decisive measures to protect populations from such crimes when their host state fails to do so. Progressing R2P from words to deeds requires international consensus about the principle's meaning and scope. To achieve a global consensus on this, we need to better understand the position of governments around the world, including in the Asia-Pacific region, which has long been associated with an enduring commitment to a traditional concept of sovereignty. The present article contributes to such an endeavour through its three sections. The first part charts the nature of the international consensus on R2P and examines the UN secretary-general's approach. The second looks in detail at the positions of the Asia-Pacific region's governments on the R2P principle. The final part explores the way forward for progressing the R2P principle in the Asia-Pacific region.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Barelli Mauro

The Role of Soft Law in the International Legal System: The Case of the UN Declaration on the Rights of the Indigenous Peoples

in *International and Comparative Law Quarterly*, vol. 58, n. 4, october , 957-983



No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Ian Taylor

The South Will Rise Again'? New Alliances and Global Governance: The India-Brazil-South Africa Dialogue Forum

in *Politikon: South African Journal of Political Studies* , Volume 36 Issue 1 , 45 - 58

The development of formalised South-South linkages and alliances reflect a potentially interesting development in global governance as elites from the global South seek to project their nascent economic and political power vis-a-vis their relationships with the developed world. However, there are limitations to these activities and it is premature to see them as reflecting a possible call for a revised New International Economic Order (NIEO). In fact, the policies and positions that key elites from the South are advancing reify neo-liberalism as commonsense and are hardly revolutionary. A revised Coxian/neo-Gramscian framework is deployed to construct a theorisation of such ongoing processes, with a specific focus on India, Brazil and South Africa Dialogue Forum (IBSA).

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Levi Lucio

The Stages of the Enlargement of the Democratic State and Federalism

in *Federalist Debate (The)*, Year XXII, n. 3, November

On last September 15, all Parliaments around the world celebrated the International Day of Democracy, declared by the UN General Assembly in 1997. I would like to take that occasion to make some reflections on the relations between democracy and federalism in the past, and its topical significance in the present time.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Martin Mary, Owen Taylor

The second generation of human security: lessons from the UN and EU experience

in *International Affairs* , vol. 86, issue 1, january , 211-224

ABSTRACT: The concept of human security, while much contested in both academic and policy debates, and highly fragmented across different meanings and forms of implementation, offers a potential locus around which global security discourse might converge, particularly in light of current shifts in US security thinking. However, key pioneers of human security, such as the United Nations and Canada, appear to be losing their enthusiasm for the concept, just at the moment when others such as the European Union, are advancing a human security agenda. This article examines the divergence of human security narratives between the UN and the EU. It argues that the UN's use of the concept ran aground owing to a triple problematic of lack of clarity, confusion between previously distinct policy streams on human rights and human development and conceptual overstretch. After assessing the EU experience with the concept to date,



the article argues that future use of human security will require greater focus on how it deepens ideas of individual security, rather than treating it as an agenda for broadening security. As well as a need to project clarity on the conceptual definition of human security, there is also a need to associate human security with greater clarity of intent. If successful, this would contribute to establishing second generation human security as a new policy paradigm.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Ferrarese Maria Rosaria

Transjudicial dialogue and constitutionalism: a risk or an opportunity for democracy?

in *Sociologia del diritto* , n. 2

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Sprague Jeb

Transnational Capitalist Class in the Global Financial Crisis: A Discussion with Leslie Sklair

in *Globalizations* , Volume 6, Issue 4, December 2009 , 499-507

Abstract

In an interview, Leslie Sklair, author of *The Transnational Capitalist Class* (2001) and Professor Emeritus in Sociology at the London School of Economics, discusses his thoughts on today's global financial crisis, its connections to a globally dominant social class—the transnational capitalist class—as well as his views on the US invasion and occupation of Iraq, and clarifications on his theoretical approach.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Bouleau Nicolas

Un, deux, trois... soleil. Pourquoi les négociations sur le climat sont mal parties

in *Esprit*, décembre 2009 , 85-105

The full text is free:

www.esprit.presse.fr/review/article.php?code=15556

Quels que soient les engagements issus des négociations de Copenhague, pris sur le papier, ils seront insuffisants pour éviter un réchauffement maîtrisé. Et ils ne garantissent aucunement des comportements plus vertueux des États, pris dans les logiques de compétition et de rivalité. Comment échapper à cette course au moins-disant et aux ajournements des décisions?

Section B) Global governance and international organizations



Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Benoit Anne

Vers une hiérarchie des normes internationales en droit interne suisse?

in *Zeitschrift für Schweizerisches Recht*, Vol. 128, issue 1/5, 2009, 453-472

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Neocleous Mark

War as peace, peace as pacification

in *Radical Philosophy*, Issue 159, January/February 2010

The full text is free:

www.radicalphilosophy.com/default.asp?channel_id=2188&editorial_id=28818

To stress one's own love of peace is always the close concern of those who have instigated war. But he who wants peace should speak of war. He should speak of the past one ... and, above all, he should speak of the coming one.¹ A remarkable consensus appears to have emerged on the Left: that in the context of the war on terror the distinction between war and peace has been destabilized. Alain Badiou suggests that the category of 'war' has become so obscured that ancient capitals can be bombed without serving notice to anyone of the fact that war has been declared. 'As such, the continuity of war is slowly established, whereas in the past declaring war would, to the contrary, have expressed the present of a discontinuity. Already, this continuity has rendered war and peace indistinguishable.' 'In the end', notes Badiou, 'these American wars ... are not really distinguishable from the continuity of "peace".' Antonio Negri and Éric Alliez likewise comment that 'peace appears to be merely the continuation of war by other means', adding that because peace, 'otherwise known as global war ... is a permanent state of exception', war now 'presents itself as peace-keeping' and has thereby reversed their classical relationship. Their reference to a concept made popular following Agamben's State of Exception is far from unusual in this new consensus. 'We no longer have wars in the old sense of a regulated conflict between sovereign states', notes Žižek. Instead, what remains are either 'struggles between groups of Homo sacer ... which violate the rules of universal human rights, do not count as wars proper, and call for "humanitarian pacifist" intervention by Western powers', or 'direct attacks on the USA or other representatives of the new global order, in which case, again, we do not have wars proper, merely "unlawful combatants" criminally resisting the forces of universal order. Hence 'the old Orwellian motto "War is Peace" finally becomes reality'. [...]

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Larson Christina

What to Watch for in Copenhagen

in *Foreign Policy*, Issue 174, November / December

Carbon targets, money honeys, watchdogs, and protests -- welcome to Climate-palooza 2009!



http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2009/12/07/the_list_what_to_watch_for_in_copenhagen

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Larson Christina, Lowrey Annie

Who Killed Copenhagen? An FP Whodunnit.

in *Foreign Policy*, Issue 174, November / December

This weekend, world leaders announced that they would not reach a legally binding deal on climate change at next month's Copenhagen summit. With the planet in the balance, who's the world's top culprit?

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Dingwerth Kalus

World Politics and Organizational Fields: The Case of Transnational Sustainability Governance

in *European Journal of International Relations*, vol. 15, n. 4, december, 707-743

ABSTRACT: Transnational rule-making organizations have proliferated in the area of sustainability politics. In this article, we explore why these organizations share a set of core features that appear overly costly at first sight. We argue that norms that evolved out of the social interaction among transnational rule-making organizations account for this phenomenon. Thus, in the early 1990s, an organizational field of transnational rule-making has gradually developed in the field of environmental politics. Responding to a broader social discourse about global governance that stressed a need for innovative forms of cooperation among different societal sectors, this organizational field gained in legitimacy and strength. A set of commonly accepted core norms, the increasing density of interaction among the field's members, and the success and legitimacy ascribed to the field's key players by the outside world helped to solidify the organizational field until it eventually developed a 'life of its own'.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Masini Fabio

India's Temptations and Opportunities... and European Responsibilities. A Short Note

in *Perspectives on federalism*, Vol. 1, single issue, N 59-62

This brief note provides an overview of some recent documents regarding the Indian position in the current world economy and its key role in a context of international cooperation.

full text available at:

<http://www.on-federalism.eu/index.php/fabio-masini/27-note/51-india-temptations-and-opportunities-and-european-responsibilities-a-short-note>



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Fogel Robert

\$123,000,000,000,000*

in **Foreign Policy**, Issue 175, January / February

*China's estimated economy by the year 2040. Be warned.

<http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2010/01/04/1230000000000000>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Salio Nanni

1989 e dintorni

in **Quaderni Satyagraha**, n. 15 - Le rose sbocciano in autunno. La rivoluzione nonviolenta dell'89 , 75-89

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Naazneen Barma, Giacomo Chiozza, Ely Ratner and Steven Weber

A World Without the West? Empirical Patterns and Theoretical Implications

in **Chinese Journal of International Politics (The)**, Volume 2, Number 4, Winter , 525-544

or the first time in a century, a set of large, populous, and increasingly wealthy countries—this time China, India, and Russia—are on the cusp of achieving, or regaining, great power status. With good reason, those concerned with the trajectory of world politics are carefully watching how these states handle their ascent to international power and status: both history and theory suggest that rising powers can have a profound, sometimes violent, effect on international politics. The goal of this article is to build upon the existing literature that addresses these critical moments of transformation in the global distribution of power. We chart a research agenda that stands in contrast to traditional power transition paradigms. In doing so, rather than seeking to prove a new theory, we provide a sampling of empirical tests and theoretical innovations that could be used to explore new avenues of research in this domain.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Stephen Matthew D.

Alter-Globalism as Counter-Hegemony: Evaluating the 'postmodern Prince'

in **Globalizations** , Volume 6, Issue 4, December 2009 , 483-498

This article seeks to provide a critical analysis of the alter-globalisation movement as a potential 'postmodern Prince' as



advanced by Stephen Gill. The article proposes that the social forces aligned under the rubric of alter-globalism have always had intractable difficulties articulating a postmodern Prince, and that in contrast to Gill's appropriation of Gramsci, these difficulties can be usefully understood through a reading of Gramsci which is attentive to the problems of collective political action. Recent debate among key participants at the World Social Forum (WSF) is used as a case study for analysing the possibility of formulating a common master-frame or strategy for social transformation. It is at the WSF that the problems of articulating a postmodern Prince have been most clearly confronted. It is shown that the weaknesses of alter-globalism can be understood, pace Gill, through Gramsci's own theory of social transformation as evinced in the modern Prince. This underlines the need for further investigation of the agents of progressive politics in an era of global social transformation.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Gielis Ruben

Borders Make the Difference: Migrant Transnationalism as a Border Experience

in *Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie (Journal of Economic & Social Geography)*, Volume 100, Issue 5, December, 598-609

This paper tries to accomplish cross-fertilisation between border studies and transmigration studies, research fields which exist almost separated from each other. It claims that the concept of border can contribute to the theoretical growth to maturity of the relatively young field of transmigration studies, and especially to a deeper understanding of the in-between lifeworlds of transmigrants (migrant transnationalism). In transmigration studies, borders are usually considered as boundaries, the physical lines on the ground, and therefore are seen as beginnings and endings of migrant transnationalism. In this paper, it is argued that borders can also have a constitutive role in migrant transnationalism. This constitutive function of borders has been thoroughly theorised in border studies in the last two decades. Contemporary border scholars regard borders not as passive lines, but as active and polymorphous social constructions which are the outcome of people's need to make differences. By bringing this broader notion of borders to the transmigration debate, it is argued that migrant transnationalism is about experiencing the border, or experiencing the difference. This broader sense of borders might help to bare the soul of migrant transnationalism, namely the condition of being continuously between here and there.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Overholt William H.

China in the Global Financial Crisis: Rising Influence, Rising Challenges

in *Washington Quarterly (The)*, Volume 33, Number 1, January

<http://www.twq.com/10january/index.cfm?id=371>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Hesse Markus

Cities, material flows and the geography of spatial interaction: urban places in the system of chains



in **Global Networks**, vol. 10, n. 1, January, 75-91

ABSTRACT: The emerging discourses on world cities and Global Commodity Chains are valuable spatial frameworks for conceptualizing globalization and its spatial consequences. However, both discourses have one thing in common: they neglect the territorial and thus physical dimension of global flows. Hence, in this article I take the perspective of material flows to reconnect the discourses on cities and chains. I aim to clarify the role of urban places and their ability to attract, manage and redirect flows in such networks. I do so by re-examining classical concepts of spatial interaction and reorganization in human geography, with particular reference to centrality and intermediacy. The case of seaports and port cities is further explored to demonstrate the concrete conflicts and opportunities that arise with chain developments and insertion. To determine the relative position of places with regard to global chains and flows, Sheppard's concept of 'positionality' is discussed.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Vind Ingeborg, Fold Niels

City networks and commodity chains: identifying global flows and local connections in Ho Chi Minh City

in **Global Networks**, vol. 10, n. 1, January, 54-74

ABSTRACT: Any analytical framework for understanding actual forms of the intensified incorporation of cities into the world economy needs to go beyond the exclusive focus on advanced producer services, which is characteristic of most of the World City Network (WCN) approach. Simultaneously, an account of the role of advanced producer services will strengthen Global Commodity Chain (GCC) analysis. A combination of the literatures on WCN and GCC can contribute to a broader conceptualization of the connections and connectivities of global cities. In addition, a combined approach will improve our understanding of globalization processes within many so-called 'third-world' cities that are experiencing booms in export-oriented industrialization and in migration from rural hinterlands as they are being integrated into Global Commodity Chains. We illustrate our argument with insights from GCC analyses of the electronics industry located in Ho Chi Minh City and the agricultural sector in its rural hinterland, the Mekong Delta.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Deana Heath

Communalism, Globalization, and Governmentality: Some Reflections on South Asia in globalization

in **Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and Middle East**, Volume 29, Number 3, 573-581

Any viable explanation of communalism must go beyond viewing all communalisms as nationalist fragments to delineate the differing natures of these fragments, as well as to study their changing configuration over time, including the ways in which they have been shaped by globalization. But since what distinguishes contemporary global processes from earlier geopolitical formations is that individuals are encouraged to voluntarily seek inclusion in the new global order, this article aims to extend the analysis of the relationship between communalism and globalization not only by exploring the ways in which the globalization of governmental processes that endeavour to fashion "the conditions in which the body is to live and to define its life" has served to shape contemporary communalisms but also by exploring the role of such communalisms in transforming the domain of global governmentality.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Abplanalp Kaitlin- Bruckmann Ronald

Conference Report — The Transnationalization of Legal Cultures

in *German Law Journal*, Vol. 10, n. 10 , 1399-1416

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Hoffstaedter Gerhard

Contested spaces: Globalization, the arts and the state in Malaysia

in *Ethnicities*, Vol. 9, n. 4 , 527-545

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

García Sayan Diego

Crisis económica global: impactos económicos y políticos en América Latina

in *Nueva Sociedad*, n. 223

After five years of windfall, Latin America is now bearing the consequences of the global crisis. Although the region's conditions are better than those of previous crises, there will be an impact, especially in countries like Mexico, highly dependent on the USA. In view of this panorama, the economic crisis could translate into higher political instability in some countries, resulting not only from economic factors but especially from political issues. In any case, the key is the fact that the economic storm will not necessarily generate a homogeneous trend or a mass opinion flow with a shared perspective, but rather multiple paths depending on each country's situation.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Farhi Maryse, Macedo Cintra Marcos Antonio

Crisis financiera internacional: contagio y respuestas regulatorias

in *Nueva Sociedad*, n. 224

The financial crisis which began in the United States, a product of a strong rise in the failure and devaluation of assets associated with high risk mortgages, has renewed questions about the architecture of the international financial system. After going over the principal events of the crisis and the reactions of governments and major banks, the article analyses the characteristics of the global shadow banking system, where many of the operations that led to the crisis were carried out. Then it presents the impact on the Brazilian financial markets from the operations of exchange products before,



finally, analysing the principal elements of the proposals for the reform of the financial systems, which aim to avoid the collapse of the systems in the future.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Castles Stephen

Development and Migration—Migration and Development: What Comes First? Global Perspective and African Experiences

in *Theoria*, Volume 56, Number 121, Winter 2009 , 1-31

Socio-economic change and human mobility are constantly interactive processes, so to ask whether migration or development comes first is nonsensical. Yet in both popular and political discourse it has become the conventional wisdom to argue that promoting economic development in the Global South has the potential to reduce migration to the North. This carries the clear implication that such migration is a bad thing, and poor people should stay put. This 'sedentary bias' is a continuation of colonial policies designed to mobilise labour for mines and plantations, while preventing permanent settlement in the cities. European policy-makers and academics are particularly concerned with flows from Africa, and measures taken by the European Union and its member states are often designed to reduce these - often in the guise of well-meaning development policies. By contrast, many migration scholars regard human mobility as a normal part of social transformation processes, and a way in which people can exercise agency to improve their livelihoods. This article examines these problems, first by providing a brief history of academic debates on international migration and development. It goes on to look at the politics of migration and development, using both EU policy and African approaches as examples. An alternative approach to migration and development is presented, based on a conceptual framework derived from the analysis of social transformation processes.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Dijkink Gert Jan, Van der Welle Inge

Diaspora and Sovereignty: Three Cases of Public Alarm in the Netherlands

in *Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie (Journal of Economic & Social Geography)* , Volume 100, Issue 5, December , 623-634

Studies in transnationalism raise the expectation that new forms of 'flexible citizenship' will attune the frozen world of territorial sovereignties and citizenship to the reality of global migration and borderless business. In the Netherlands, however, the focus of the integration debate has recently shifted to an affirmation of sovereignty. Three cases in which ethnic minorities in the Netherlands were exposed to (possible) action from their homelands (Turkey and Morocco) elicited political discussion in which dual citizenship and transnational political influence were rejected. We conclude that a changed policy of homeland governments (diaspora engagement) is not the most likely explanation of the public excitement. The new sovereignty discourse fits into a neo-nationalist trend but may also be explained as a way to contain the unpredictable effects of the sustained multiculturalism underlying Dutch policy toward migrant communities.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process



Mosconi Antonio

Don't Worry

in **Federalist Debate (The)**, Year XXII, n. 3, November

<http://www.federalist-debate.org/fdb/archive/detail.bfr>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

De Blasi Maxime

Décrire la mondialisation : vers un monde « gazeux » plutôt que « liquide »

in **Esprit**, janvier 2010 , 223-227

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Ffrench Davis Ricardo

El impacto de la crisis global en América Latina

in **Nueva Sociedad**, n. 224 , 67-85

The current crisis forms part of a process that began in recent years and that can be largely explained by peak and volatility of the financial flows. Its impact on Latin America is already being felt, and although the region stands in a better position than in the past, the forecasts indicate a 2% fall in GDP for 2009. The article analyses the origins and causes of the current crisis and its effects on Latin America, and then revises the international efforts to correct the most serious deficiencies in the financial markets, and redirect them towards financing for development, something which began in the Monterrey Summit in 2002 and had its latest episode in the G-20 accord on 2nd April 2009. Finally, the challenges that should be tackled to further advance towards sustainable development are analysed, particularly the regulation of financial flows.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Campillo Antonio

Filosofia e discussione pubblica in Spagna. Il concetto del politico nella società globale

in **Iride**, numero 2, agosto 2009 , 355-368

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Jarauta Francisco

Filosofia e discussione pubblica in Spagna. Mondializzazione e conflitti di civiltà



in *Iride*, numero 2, agosto 2009 , 369-382

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Paskal Cleo

From constants to variables: how environmental change alters the geopolitical and geo-economic equation in *International Affairs* , vol. 85, issue 6, november , 1143-1156

ABSTRACT: As a result of environmental change, we are in an era in which planning constants, such as site stability and the location of fisheries, are now variables. Climate change and shifting population and consumption patterns are altering the foundations upon which we have built our physical and legal infrastructures. This article examines examples of the disconnects between planning and the changing physical world, including global energy infrastructure and the UN Convention on the Law of Sea. Some of the potential geopolitical, economic and security consequences are assessed, and some thoughts on how to ensure a more stable future are offered.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Aneesh A.

Global Labor: Algoratic Modes of Organization

in *Sociological Theory*, Volume 27, Issue 4, December 2009 , 347-370

This study investigates a practice that allows workers based in India to work online on projects for corporations in the United States, representing a new mode of labor integration. In the absence of direct bureaucratic control across continents, the question arises how this rapidly growing labor practice is organized. The riddle of organizational governance is solved through an analysis of software programming schemes, which are presented as the key to organizing globally dispersed labor through data servers. This labor integration through programming code is distinguished from two other systems of organization—bureaucracy and the market—while bringing out the salient features of each system in terms of its ruling principle: bureaucracy (legal-rational), the market (price), and algoratic (programming or algorithm). The logic of algoratic systems is explored methodically to analyze global work.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Smith Michael Peter, Guarnizo Luis Eduardo

Global Mobility, Shifting Borders and Urban Citizenship

in *Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie (Journal of Economic & Social Geography)* , Volume 100, Issue 5, December , 610-622

Global migration has reached historic levels affecting every single country in the world. One of the most significant effects of this heightened mobility has been that a growing proportion of the residents of migrant receiving places lack national citizenship and are thus deprived of effective sociopolitical inclusion, representation, and participation in the



localities where they have moved to for work, refuge or retirement. This disjuncture between the spaces of citizenship and daily life, in turn, has led to a devolution of citizenship claims-making from national to urban space. This paper begins by identifying four key political economic developments operating at the global scale that have unsettled the established view of the close correspondence between nationhood and citizenship. It then focuses on the uses and limits of the increasingly voluble discourse on 'the right to the city' as a way to create alternative political spaces in which variously excluded groups of urban inhabitants might empower themselves. Three strikingly different examples of widely diverse group actions and state responses to illustrate the practical strengths and limits of 'the right to the city' discourse are narrated. We end by offering what we believe to be a more useful way to envisage and analyse the interplay between global mobility and urban citizenship.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Pernreiter Christof

Global cities in Global Commodity Chains: exploring the role of Mexico City in the geography of global economic governance

in *Global Networks*, vol. 10, n. 1, january , 35-53

ABSTRACT: In this article I assert that global cities are critical nodes in Global Commodity Chains because it is from them that producer services are provided. I explore forward linkages of producer service firms in Mexico City, showing that there are important service flows to companies responsible for the globalization of the 'Mexican' economy. Based on this finding I also indicate reasons why Mexico City is 'on the map' of global cities and of Global Commodity Chains. I argue that both access to local knowledge and close contact to clients are key factors. A third issue dealt with is the position of Mexico City in the geography of governance of commodity chains. The analysis suggests that it is useful to break up global city functions into the management of the world economy and into its command and control, because Mexico City is certainly a place for the former, while the scope of influence exercised from the city is rather limited.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Busmann Margit

Globalisierungskrise: Geburt einer neuen Weltwirtschaftsordnung?

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 52, 2009

The full text is free:

www.bpb.de/publikationen/SAYXZQ,0,Globalisierungskrise%3A_Geburt_einer_neuen_Weltwirtschaftsordnung.html

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Sonny Lo

Globalization, State Autonomy and the Fight against Cross-Border Crime: Greater China's Cooperation with the



World

in *Asian Journal of Political Science*, Volume 17 Issue 3 , 299 - 322

Although globalization has stimulated the rise in cross-border crime, it does not really undermine the autonomy of the mainland Chinese state, the Taiwan state, and the city-states of Hong Kong and Macao. Instead, through cooperation with law-enforcement agencies in other countries, the law-enforcement agencies of these four places, notably the police and customs, have ensured the persistence of state autonomy vis-à-vis cross-border criminal groups and individuals. In the case of Greater China (mainland China, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao), interstate cooperation involving the police and customs can maintain state autonomy vis-à-vis criminal groups and individuals. The mechanisms of such interstate and intergovernmental cooperation embrace the sharing of criminal intelligence, the occurrence of anti-crime joint operations, the holding of seminars and conferences, and the administrative arrangements of extraditions. In a nutshell, intergovernmental cooperation in the combat against cross-border crime can maintain state autonomy in the midst of globalization, as the case of Greater China shows.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Galgano Francesco

Globalizzazione dell'economia e universalità del diritto

in *Politica del diritto*, n. 2 , 177-192

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Bernardi Fabrizio

Globalizzazione, individualizzazione e morte delle classi sociali: uno studio empirico su 18 paesi europei

in *Polis*, n. 2 , 195-220

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Carlucci Francesco

I fondi sovrani

in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Volume 76, n. 3, luglio-settembre , 329-344

The Sovereign Wealth Funds are investment vehicles owned by national governments; they manage their assets according to a long-term approach and their investment policy has clear objectives, as the intergenerational savings and the diversification of the national Gdp. On the one hand, their resources arise from the surpluses of the balance of current payments, in general resulting from the export of oil; on the other hand, they are produced through a transfer of a part of official reserves in foreign currencies: the former arise from countries that save too little while the latter arise from countries that consume too little, but pro future generations. If the Sovereign Wealth Funds based on oil are justified



because

of development, the same justification cannot be used for China, Singapore or Hong Kong. Monetary policy justifies the conversion of a share of reserves into Sovereign Wealth Funds, but these countries save too much and overburden the present generations. In China a transfer of resources to the population would be better than a transfer abroad.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Wieviorka Michel

Identidades, desigualdades, globalización

in Metapolitica : revista trim. de teoría y ciencias de la política, Num. 67, noviembre - diciembre 2009

En los años sesenta y setenta disponíamos en las ciencias sociales de grandes teorías, de paradigmas extremadamente generales que nos permitían, al menos eso creíamos, comprender el mundo e incluso —para aquellos de entre nosotros, muy numerosos por cierto, que nos referíamos a Marx—, de pretender cambiarlo.

Posteriormente este conjunto de teorías y de paradigmas estalló en pedazos favoreciendo la aparición de una infinidad de aproximaciones, acompañadas de una gran desconfianza a cualquier pretensión general de explicar lo social. Algunos creyeron posible reducir la vida social a cálculos, a favor de un homo sociologicus que no era muy diferente del homo economicus de la teoría económica neoclásica. Otros propusieron centrarse únicamente en el estudio de las interacciones, a veces muy limitadas, y se desinteresaron de las dimensiones políticas o históricas de la acción, con la idea subyacente de que la sociedad no es más que la suma de las innumerables interacciones que entran en juego entre individuos. Otros más se orientaron rígidamente hacia un enfoque hipercrítico, que era una especie de perversión del pensamiento estructuralista y a veces también marxista de los años sesenta y setenta. Se podría prolongar la lista, pero en lo que yo quiero insistir de manera especial es en el hecho fundamental de que esta descomposición del funcionalismo, del marxismo, del estructuralismo nos obliga a renovar nuestras categorías de análisis.

Esta situación nos ha orillado, para hablar como Touraine, a pensar con la ayuda de un nuevo paradigma, y ha ocurrido no solamente porque el movimiento de las ideas ha cambiado, sino porque se ha producido en ellas mismas una evolución en cierta manera autónoma y sobre todo porque el mundo se ha transformado. Los grandes problemas actuales no son los mismos, se están planteando nuevos retos al tiempo que se renuevan problemas y desafíos a veces muy antiguos.

Entre los cambios que han ocurrido, quisiera evocar cuatro particularmente importantes. El primero, es la emergencia de identidades particulares diferentes a las identidades nacionales, que demandan reconocimiento en nombre de una religión, de ciertas tradiciones, de una cultura o de una memoria colectiva. Llamaría a estas identidades, identidades “culturales”, incluso si puede parecer peligroso meter a la religión en el seno de la cultura, lo que es un tema de reflexión que justificaría en sí mismo una conferencia. La religión propone una fe, esa fe reposa en convicciones, la cultura es un conjunto de prácticas y de valores. Pero en la vida concreta todo se mezcla, la pertenencia a una religión va junto a maneras de vestirse, de alimentarse, de hacer funcionar las relaciones de género, aspectos que en sí mismos son modalidades culturales. El segundo cambio es el de la aceleración de la globalización. El tercero es el del auge del individualismo, en sus dos dimensiones, la de demandas de participación individual a la modernidad, de acceso al consumo, al dinero, a la salud; y la de búsqueda de las condiciones que permitan controlar la experiencia personal, hacer elecciones y tomar decisiones. Y el cuarto cambio es el de la desaparición o el debilitamiento de los dos conflictos que estructuraban nuestra vida colectiva, uno a escala planetaria: el fin de la guerra fría, y el otro en el interior de nuestras sociedades: el declive histórico del movimiento obrero y de su oposición central y conflictiva con los amos del trabajo. Se podrían agregar muchos otros puntos importantes, como son el papel de las nuevas tecnologías



de comunicación, y el de las redes tan bien analizadas por Manuel Castells, o el conjunto de las víctimas en el espacio público, representada por toda clase de grupos que exigen ser reconocidos a partir de sus heridas históricas.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Bagnasco Arnaldo

Il Nord: una città-regione globale?

in **Stato e mercato**, n. 2 , 163-186

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Vacca Giuseppe

Il socialismo europeo e la globalizzazione. Le radici della crisi

in **ItalianiEuropei**, n. 5

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Jacobs Wouter, Ducruet Cesar, De Langen Peter

Integrating world cities into production networks: the case of port cities

in **Global Networks**, vol. 10, n. 1, january , 92-113

ABSTRACT: In this article we analyse the location patterns of firms that provide specialized advanced producer services (APS) to international commodity chains that move through seaports. Such activities can take place in world cities or in port cities. The analysis of APS location patterns in port cities provides a good opportunity to integrate the study of world cities into the framework of Global Production Networks. Based upon our empirical findings, we conclude that while port-related APS activities predominantly follow the world city hierarchy, a number of port cities stand out because they act as nodes in global commodity flows and as centres of advanced services related to shipping and port activities. Based on these empirical findings we address future avenues of research.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Tenscher Jens, Viehrig Henrike

Internationale Politische Kommunikation Annäherungen an eine transdisziplinäre Forschungsperspektive

in **Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft** , 19. Jahrgang (2009), Heft 4 , 553-580

International Political Communications Approaches to a Transdisciplinary Research Perspective



International political communication phenomena have become more and more relevant as processes of globalization and mediatization have been accelerating. Yet, these phenomena have only hesitantly been reflected in scholarly research and if so, they usually lack a unique international perspective. Against this backdrop, our paper bridges between International Relations approaches on the one hand and (Political) Communications on the other hand. We propose a transdisciplinary perspective to such political communications' phenomena which are characteristic for political decision-making in transnational and international contexts. In doing so, we provide a heuristic that identifies actors, structures, contents and perception patterns which are typical for the field of international political communications' research.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Mongin Olivier

Introduction. La métropole dans un monde de flux ou la mondialisation freinée par le bas
in *Esprit*, décembre 2009 , 124-126

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Hatoyama Yukio

Japan: Shifting Away from American-led Globalization
in *New Perspectives Quarterly*, Vol. 27, Issue 1, Winter , 23-30

Thanks to the draining effects of the Iraq war and the financial meltdown emanating from Wall Street, a powershift away from American dominance is taking place. Caught between a rising China and an America in relative decline, the new leadership in Japan is recalibrating its post-World War II relationships. The G-20 has usurped the role once played by the G-8 as the governing committee of globalization. And the symbiotic coupling of "Chimerica", born out of the credit bubble built up over the past two decades, is being put to the test.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Evers Hans-Dieter, Kaiser Markus, Müller Christine

Knowledge in development: epistemic machineries in a global context
in *International Social Science Journal* , Volume 60, Issue 195, March 2009 , 55-68

ABSTRACT

Knowledge has become a decisive and competitive resource for local and global development, especially since the paradigm "knowledge for development" was initiated and promoted by the World Bank in 1998–1999. Through



the use of novel management structures and technologically supported social networks, development organisations and development experts are central actors in producing and steering global knowledge. In the various regions of the world development experts have established a powerful transnational epistemic community and play a strategic role in knowledge sharing. In the process of electronic modification, knowledge is moderated, codified and standardised to facilitate distribution and possible acquisition. We will portray the emergence of this particular global knowledge architecture and its modes of knowledge engineering. The article indicates that these new efforts of development cooperation, with their ambitious aim of closing the North–South knowledge gap and the digital divide, reproduce exactly those disparities that they seek to overcome. Strategies conceived with the best of intentions end up creating a knowledge trap. The article will give empirical evidence from South-East and Central Asia as well as from West Africa. We plead for a strategy of diversity in development cooperation and for a new constellation in valuing global and local knowledge in the creation of substantial, strong and dynamic knowledge societies.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Höffe Otfried

Koexistenz der Kulturen im Zeitalter der Globalisierung

in **Information Philosophie**, Band 37, Heft 5, 2009

1. Interkulturelle Rechtsdiskurse

Im 16. Jahrhundert, vielleicht sogar früher, gründen zwei weitsichtige Politiker, zwei Staatsmänner, mit den Führern der "Fünf zivilisierten Nationen" einen Friedens- und Völkerbund. Unter den zivilisierten Nationen könnte man Deutschland erwarten. Beginnt man nämlich – im Alphabet und für Europa – mit Frankreich und Großbritannien und schließt Italien mit Spanien an, so bliebe noch ein fünfter Platz frei. Tatsächlich besetzt ihn Seneca, aber nicht der Zeitgenosse Ciceros. Es sind fünf Irokesenstämme (Cayuga, Mohawk, Oneida, Omondoga und eben Seneca), die sich dank zweier Häuptlinge (Deganawida und Hiawatha) einige Generationen vor den Europäern (1648 in Münster und Osnabrück) auf einen Frieden verständigen und sogar vier oder fünf Jahrhunderte vor der Europäischen Einigung eine politische Gemeinschaft bilden, geleitet von zwei Oberhäuptlingen und einem Rat von 50 Häuptlingen (Sachem). (Vgl. Morgan 1851 und Tooker 1978.)

"Koexistenz der Kulturen im Zeitalter der Globalisierung" – das Thema klingt nach einer für heute spezifischen Aufgabe. Tatsächlich stellt sie sich schon in zweierlei Hinsicht früher: sachlich früher, da sich der Kern der Aufgabe – zeigen die Irokesen – schon im subglobalen Maßstab stellt, und historisch früher, da die Globalisierung – wird ein zweites Beispiel zeigen – nicht grundsätzlich neu ist.

Den Ausdruck "Kultur" – der Moral- und Rechtsphilosophie ist er wenig vertraut – verwende ich deskriptiv. Er steht hier weder im Gegensatz zur Politik und Wirtschaft noch zur Zivilisation. Er bezeichnet vielmehr größere Gruppen mit Gemeinsamkeiten unterschiedlicher Art und unterschiedlicher Dichte. Dabei spielen Faktoren wie Sprache und Religion, wie Herkunft, Sitten und das Recht eine Rolle. Teils bilden derartige Kulturen ein eigenes Gemeinwesen oder werden durch ein Gemeinwesen nach einiger Zeit zu einer Kultur, teils sind sie Minderheiten, die es wiederum sowohl innerhalb eines Staates als auch staatenkruzend gibt.

Als Philosoph stelle ich die jetzt normative Frage, welche Form der Koexistenz legitim ist. Die Schwierigkeiten, diese Koexistenz in der realen Welt zu etablieren, werden nicht geleugnet, sind aber hier nicht das Thema. Die Frage zielt auf



eine verlässliche Koexistenzform. Deshalb bedarf es der verlässlichen Grammatik des Sozialen, des Rechts oder seiner Äquivalente. Heute geht es nicht um deren nähere Gestalt. Statt mikrologische Detailanalysen vorzunehmen, schraube ich ein Weitwinkelobjektiv ein. Ich suche gewisse Grundsätze auf und vorab die Methode, sie zu bestimmen: "Wie rechtfertigt man das für die Koexistenz legitime Recht?"

Die Richtung ergibt sich aus dem Anspruch der Sache. Um einer Minimalbedingung von Recht, der Unparteilichkeit, zu genügen, dürfen die Grundsätze nicht von einer der Parteien stammen. Statt die europäisch-amerikanische Rechtskultur zu privilegieren, In der Rechtstheorie berufen sie sich nicht auf spezifische Elemente einer Rechtskultur, weder auf deren normative Grundsätze noch deren historische Umstände. Auf einer zweiten Ebene, der Rechtsgeschichte, verbinden interkulturelle Diskurse historisches Bewusstsein mit sozialgeschichtlichen Kenntnissen, etwas das Wissen um außereuropäische Vorbilder wie den Irokesen-Bund. Mindestens ebenso wichtig ist die dritte Ebene, die Rechtspraxis. Ihretwegen plädieren interkulturelle Rechtsdiskurse nur für sehr formale Prinzipien und deren behutsame Verwirklichung. Denn die verschiedenen Kulturen sollen ein möglichst hohes Maß an Eigenständigkeit behalten. Jede Kultur hat gegenüber den Rechts- und Gerechtigkeitsansprüchen der modernen Zivilisation das Recht auf eine Akkulturation im wörtlichen Sinn: auf eine ihrer eigenen Kultur gemäßen Einverleibung.

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Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Yakemtchouk Romain

L'Islam et l'Europe

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 531, septembre , 502-510

Islam, which claims to penetrate all aspects of the socio-political lives of its believers, continues its expansion in EU countries, but this expansionism has sparked anxiety: nowadays, many European have a bad opinion of Islam, and several countries have adopted legislations which regulate the declaration of the Islamic religion and authorise expulsion of radical imams. Having denied the wearing of all ostentatious religious signs, the French authorities assessed the integral veil, the burqa, not as a religious problem, but as a sign of enslavement. Is the Islamic threat a myth or a reality? If the majority of terrorists are Islamic, not all Muslims are terrorists, and besides, the majority of Islamic countries consider the fundamentalism of Al-Qaeda a potential danger. Faced with this situation, enlightened minds ask for the opening of genuine inter-denominational talks and are pushing for connections between Islamic and Western civilisations, which they insist, claim to represent cultural communal values. This implies a greater open-mindedness on the part of Europeans and the abandonment of unfounded Islamophobia, and calls for political and socio-religious reforms on the part of Islamic countries, the majority of which are struggling with profound economic difficulties, reconciling Islam's relationship not only with the member states, but also with the West.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Hamdi Helmi, Sbia Rashid

La concurrence dans le marché bancaire à l'ère de l'économie numérique: le cas français

in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Volume 76, n. 2, aprile-giugno , 206-230

Due to the globalisation of the economy and the deregulation, the international banking landscape knew upheavals and



rapids structural changes during these last fifteen years. The irruption of the technological innovation, in particular the internet, also looked further into this change making the banking surround an open market to actors who do not have any dealings with the financial world. This new situation accelerated competition and put some banks in difficulties. The objective of this article is to study new dimensions which competition knew these last years and to analyze the new banking environment.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Ocampo José Antonio

La crisis económica global: impactos e implicaciones para América Latina
in *Nueva Sociedad*, n. 224

The impact of the global crisis has been strongly felt in Latin America, where the GDP will fall between 2% and 2,5% in 2009. By analysing the principal effects of the crisis and governments' responses, the article signals that the main route of transmission is not financial but commercial, as a result of the drop in demand from manufacturers in developed countries and the sharp fall in prices of staple products. As a result, for Latin America the current crisis is commercial more than financial, which implicates that the way out of recession via an increase in exports is limited and so, as such, it is necessary to rethink not only the role of the State, but also that of internal and regional markets as engines for development.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Frenkel Roberto, Rapetti Martín

La crisis mundial desde la perspectiva de los países en desarrollo: algunas reflexiones
in *Nueva Sociedad*, n. 224

The world economic crisis that began in the United States has affected the macroeconomic theory and revived some old ideas, whilst allowing developing countries to draw certain lessons. Firstly, the prevention of such situations requires not only the regulation of national financial markets, but also the implementation of consistent macroeconomic policies. Furthermore, it is necessary to create international norms to control the movement of capital. In developing countries, the crisis tended to affect the balance of payments and fiscal front, and in many cases led to recessionary adjustments, which is exactly the opposite of what should be done. The strengthening of the lending capacity of the IMF and the changing of the condition of the organisation are positive signs, but not enough.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Dowbor Ladislau

La crisis no es sólo económica. Reflexiones globales y algunos apuntes sobre Brasil
in *Nueva Sociedad*, n. 224

The global crisis raises a series of challenges which can be seen as opportunities. This article tackles six of them, which are particularly important as much on a world scale as in the case of Brazil; redefinition of the energy-production



paradigm, confrontation of inequality, recuperation of the central role of the State, reorientation of credit towards productive and socially beneficial activities, invigoration of the economy to boost production, and finding policies which integrate economic, social and environmental issues. It deals with broad and complex challenges that exceed technical solutions or those limited to solely economic aspects, challenges which require a long term perspective.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Liddle Roger

L'impatto della crisi economica globale sul futuro della socialdemocrazia europea in Italiani Europei, n. 5

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Coe Neil, Dicken Peter, Hess Martin, Wai-Cheung Yeung Henry

Making connections: Global Production Networks and World City Networks in Global Networks, vol. 10, n. 1, January, 138-149

ABSTRACT: This article offers a sympathetic critique of recent attempts to forge a dialogue between Global Commodity Chain (GCC) and World City Network (WCN) approaches to global economic change. While broadly supportive of the endeavour, we make three observations about this ongoing project. First, we question the utility of emphasizing the common roots of these approaches in World Systems Theory given that both have subsequently moved into new epistemological terrain and, additionally, that the language of core and periphery seems ever less pertinent to global economic realities. Second, we seek to highlight the potential dangers of essentializing the global system as one that is primarily shaped by certain kinds of connections – namely the intra-firm relationships of advanced producer service firms – between certain kinds of cities – namely the leading tiers of global cities. Third, we point to the need to expand the interpretations of relationality within global networks to include a wider variety of actors, particularly beyond the corporate realm, and to explore the dynamic power relations between those actors. We also discuss the methodological challenges of expanding the purview of research in this way. This commentary has been stimulated by the articles in the special issue of Global Networks on 'World City Networks and Global Commodity Chains'.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Sassen Saskia

Making connections: Global Production Networks and World City Networks in Global Networks, vol. 10, n. 1, January, 150-163

ABSTRACT: The article proposes five analytic operations that help in generating a larger frame that can encompass at least some foundational aspects of global city analysis and Global Commodity Chains analysis. Given the author's research, the ground from which this task is taken on here is the city. To do this requires going beyond the narrow empirical component that is at the centre of this special issue, namely World City Networks (WCNs). The five analytic



propositions range from the problematic of incomplete knowledge for global actors, one shared by actors in the WCN and in the GCC, to that of the locational correlates of command functions, which can be as diverse as functions concentrated in headquarters to functions distributed across the chain of operations. The article concludes by asking what a focus on the city and its messiness adds to what is basically an analysis of the current phase of global capitalism (rather than an urban theory as is often assumed).

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Lee Bernice

Managing the interlocking climate and resource challenges

in International Affairs , vol. 85, issue 6, november , 1101-1116

ABSTRACT: Energy security, climate change and food and water concerns are posing serious challenges to the management of international relations in an already turbulent world. These new developments—and the corresponding risk management strategies—will change the calculus of interests, powers and strategies for all actors, with significant impacts on the global political economy. Climate change action (such as targets for emissions reductions) will challenge the existing power structures, with the transition to a low-carbon economy creating new winners and losers in the global economy. Today, there is a fresh appreciation about the consequences of bad policy choices. Comparisons have been drawn between the fallout in the global financial system and the kind of risks that unmitigated climate change may bring. Even though the pressure on some resources may have eased since the onset of the global economic downturn in 2008, it is unlikely that the longer term trajectory has been reversed. This calls for renewed understanding and appreciation of the magnitude of risks foreseen. Multiple public goods need to be generated from the same production systems or sectors. In the context of climate change, international cooperation offers the only option that can best serve even narrowly defined national interests. Ensuring human security and peaceful relations among states in the decades to come will require short-term common action within the framework of long-term strategizing and visionary leadership as well as concerted efforts to deal head-on with worst case scenarios in our forecasting and policy planning.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Salamey Imad

Middle Eastern Exceptionalism: Globalization and the Balance of Power

in Democracy and Security, Volume 5, Issue 3, September , 249-260

The debate over “Middle Eastern exceptionalism” has encompassed various contested views regarding the phenomenal failure of Middle Eastern states to democratize. International relations theorists have turned particular attention to the Middle Eastern exceptionalism theory following the end of the Cold War era during which Middle Eastern states showed resiliency to a perceived epoch of great global liberal transformations. This paper examines the Middle Eastern exceptionalism thesis and the shortfalls of liberal international relations views. Contrary to most accepted globalization notions, this paper claims that global economic liberalization has strengthened the position of Middle Eastern states over society. It argues that the combination of global economic liberalization and the regional balance of power has consolidated the grip of regimes on power and undermined pressure for regime change, contributing further to the exceptional nature of Middle Eastern states. This proposition is examined by undertaking two contemporary cases of global and regional developments that are claimed to have undermined transformation momentum, namely, the



worldwide market financial crisis of 2008-2009 and the Israeli-Iranian power rivalry.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Bassi Nicola

Modelli di servizi pubblici planetari: i casi di Intelsat e del Global Navigation Satellite System

in *Rivista trimestrale di diritto pubblico*, n. 4 , 903 ss.

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Canale Damiano

Muri di confine. Trasformazioni dei confini pubblici nell'età della globalizzazione

in *Ragion Pratica*, numero 2, dicembre 2009 , 377-398

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Farer Tom

Obama's Foreign Policy: Bridging the Expectations-Capability Gap

in *International Spectator (The)*, Vol. XLIV, n. 4, October-December

Barack Obama's first year should appear disappointing only to persons blind to the constraints imposed by the Bush legacy, the still reeling world economy, an intimidating agenda of domestic problems, a polarised domestic politics, and at least temporarily intractable opponents of the President's undoubted ambitions to tame the Middle East and promote cooperation among the leading states without jettisoning a commitment to liberal values. By ordering an end to torture and moving to close Guantanamo, he has signalled the restoration of moral restraint on the exercise of American power and implicitly expressed belief in the efficacy of soft power assets. Additionally, he has attempted to create political space for change by pushing the conventional limits of American presidential discourse. A decent start, but the hard part lies ahead.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Stehr Nico, Ufe Ulrich

On the global distribution and dissemination of knowledge

in *International Social Science Journal* , Volume 60, Issue 195, March 2009 , 7-24

ABSTRACT



Our article centres on the question in the sense in which it may be possible to speak of global knowledge, in the first instance. Is it the necessary outcome and the intellectual mark of an age of globalising knowledge societies or is the global demand for the dissemination of knowledge systems trying to answer universally perceived problems? What changes occur to knowledge as it travels and for whom does its globalisation yield benefit or harm? Knowledge must be differentiated from mere information and its locally embedded nature poses serious challenges to opportunities and obstacles for its horizontal and vertical dissemination. Further, global worlds of knowledge raise questions over the ownership of knowledge. Intellectual property claims should be discussed with reference to opposing views, such as those concerning the thesis of knowledge's self-protective character. Some political and certain idealistic conceptions regard knowledge as common property par excellence. While trade in services and products as well as the digital communications revolution are identified as major vehicles for the dissemination of knowledge, it is yet an open question as to whether they will result in the unhindered dissemination of knowledge or in concentrating it. The second section of the article overviews and introduces the articles in this volume.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Haupt Andrea B.

Parties' Responses to Economic Globalization: What is Left for the Left and Right for the Right?

in Party Politics, Volume 16, Number 1, January , 5-27

Do parties adjust their economic policy positions in response to the international economy? I explore how international economic conditions affect Western Europe's welfare states by quantitatively analysing parties' ideological dynamics over time. Considering the convergence—divergence argument of the globalization literature, I evaluate the hypothesis that economic openness motivates parties to adjust their economic policies. My empirical analyses reveal that both left-wing and right-wing parties do indeed systematically adjust their positions in response to economic changes associated with globalization. However, the results contradict the neoliberal convergence argument, as parties shift in varying directions in response to different indicators of openness. Importantly, the differences between left-wing and right-wing parties' responses are not statistically significant, pointing to the importance of including right-wing parties in the globalization literature.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Curtis Fred

Peak globalization: Climate change, oil depletion and global trade

in Ecological Economics, Volume 69, Issue 2, 15 December , 427-434

The global trade in goods depends upon reliable, inexpensive transportation of freight along complex and long-distance supply chains. Global warming and peak oil undermine globalization by their effects on both transportation costs and the reliable movement of freight. Countering the current geographic pattern of comparative advantage with higher transportation costs, climate change and peak oil will thus result in peak globalization, after which the volume of exports will decline as measured by ton-miles of freight. Policies designed to mitigate climate change and peak oil are very unlikely to change this result due to their late implementation, contradictory effects and insufficient magnitude. The implication is that supply chains will become shorter for most products and that production of goods will be located



closer to where they are consumed.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Hobson John M.

Provincializing Westphalia: The Eastern origins of sovereignty

in International Politics , Volume 46, Issue 6 - Special Issue: Beyond Hypocrisy?:Sovereignty Revisited, November , 671-690

This article critiques the 'Westphalian narrative' of the sovereign state. The dominant Eurocentric account assumes that the sovereign state emerged through a series of developments that unfolded endogenously within Europe, none of which were influenced or shaped by impulses that emanated from the East or from the non-Western world. Having outlined the various Eurocentric theories of the rise of the sovereign state, the bulk of the article forwards a non-Eurocentric alternative narrative. While accepting that there were multicausal economic, discursive, political and military foundations to sovereignty, I argue that each of these was significantly enabled by Eastern influences, in the absence of which the sovereign state might not have made an appearance within Europe. In the process, I suggest that the rise of the sovereign state occurred during the era of, and through the impact of, 'Oriental globalization', thereby recasting the relationship between sovereignty and globalization more generally.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Buzelay Alain

Qu'en est-il des stratégies de régulation impulsées par la crise?

in Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne, n. 531, septembre , 495-501

The laxity of banking strategies, the excess of global liquidity and the speculation as well as the insufficiency of automatically balanced market mechanisms explain both the crisis and the progressively implemented regulation strategies simultaneously. Having analysed the objectives and forms of regulation proposed by the different member states in order to control finance and avoid new crises, this article will study the regulation policies established in order to escape the crisis and regain growth. It shows that aid given to the banks will not necessarily go hand in hand with aid given to investment, and that measures integrated at an European level would have been more effective: without questioning the local nature of reflation requirements, putting together the reflation plans would have allowed consideration of the economic interdependence trend and given a more solid foundation to national political decisions

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Marchat Philippe

Réflexions sur plusieurs crises étroitement liées

in Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne, n. 534, janvier , 8-19

Since the Tulip crisis in 1637, our world has gone through several financial crises. The 1929 one and the subsequent world war prompted the political world to draw up, in Bretton Woods in 1944, a first world financial and economical governance system. After the Rhine type community capitalism then comes the neoliberal capitalism of the Chicago



school, focused on individual success and short term profit, which overcomes socialism with the collapse of the Berlin wall. Anglo-Saxon economic and monetary liberalism makes it a powerful international financial world, a primary player in an exceptional growth. Yet its drifts caused several successive crises. The financial and mainly American subprime crisis turns into a world crisis with the titrisation of its junk bonds whose circulation was supposed to reduce risks! The sudden bankruptcy, on September 15, 2008, of the flagship Lehman Brothers and exhaustion of interbank markets lead to the subsiding of many banks and insurance companies, which are also affected, by even the most liberal countries. With layoffs, the crisis becomes economic and social. The growing unemployment forces countries into initiating further recovery plans. Yet latter increase the world's massive debt, which will need to be repaid too. Meeting those challenges requires an economic and financial governance system, which has been initiated by various summits, whose membership has gone from 6 to 20 to adjust to the new world balance. The necessary system supervision and control to prevent any reoccurrence of the crisis requires a consensus. It will be difficult to achieve, due to the disagreeing goals of a political world aimed at taking back a control whose boundaries remain to be determined, and a financial world rather anxious to limit any reform to what its strictly necessary.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Rojas Aravena Francisco

Siete efectos políticos de la crisis internacional en América Latina in Nueva Sociedad, n. 224

Although analysts can not agree on the duration and depth of the global crisis' impact, nobody doubts that serious economic and social effects will be seen in Latin America. The article tackles a side that is often overlooked: the political consequences of the crisis, which can be seen in areas such as tension in the political system, the problems of the consolidation of democracy and the limitations of regional integration. The central argument is that the crisis will lead to challenges in democratic governance which can not be met with just economic proposals, but through a strengthening of policies.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Zulu Leo C., Wilson Sigismond A.

Sociospatial geographies of civil war in Sierra Leone and the new global diamond order: is the Kimberley process the panacea?

in Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy, Volume 27, Issue 6, December , 1107-1130

We examine the relationship between diamonds and conflict, and performance of the Kimberley Process Certification Scheme (KPCS) in combating 'conflict diamonds' using Sierra Leone as a case study and theory on the social production of scale. A 'glocalization' process produced lawless spaces and economic opportunities for rebels to circumvent national controls through subregional networks and to access global capital to fund conflict, while KPCS arrangements stemmed conflict diamonds by restoring state regulation and transparency. We contend that the KPCS and its scaling were initially more about protecting economic interests of major diamond companies and trading countries than about 'ethical diamonds'. The KPCS externalized costs to national governments and poor alluvial-diamond-producing countries relative to industry players; hence the discordance between near elimination of conflict diamonds globally and relative failure in these countries. Findings suggest an approach differentiated by country



circumstances, and broadening the KPCS from conflict to illicit and development diamonds.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Cotterrell Roger

Spectres of Transnationalism: Changing Terrains of Sociology of Law

in **Journal of Law and Society**, Volume 36 Issue 4 December , 481-500

The growth of 'legal transnationalism'— that is, the reach of law across nation-state borders and the impact of external political and legal pressures on nation-state law – undermines the main foundations of sociology of law. Modern sociology of law has assumed an 'instrumentalist' view of law as an agency of the modern directive state, but now it has to adjust to the state's increasingly complex regulatory conditions. The kind of convergence theory that underpins analysis of much legal transnationalism is inadequate for socio-legal theory, and old ideas of 'law' and 'society' as the foci of sociology of law are no longer appropriate. Socio-legal theory should treat law as a continuum of unstable, competing authority claims. Instead of taking 'society' as its reference point, it should conceptualize the contrasting types of regulatory needs of the networks of community (often not confined by nation-state boundaries) that legal transnationalism addresses.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Jose Jim

Strangers in a stranger land: political identity in the era of the governance state

in **Social Identities**, Volume 16, Issue 1, January 2010 , 119-133

Abstract

The 'governance state' is characterised by radically reconfigured relations between public and private authority such that sovereign political authority comes to be dispersed along several axes of organised power. Paralleling the dispersal of sovereign political authority is a concomitant dispersal of familiar forms of political identity. Individuals and groups become disconnected from the familiarity of their respective social fabrics by the routine operations of a governance state having little or no concern with the nation-building agendas (and their related understandings of citizenship) of the past. The shifts of political identity possible in a context of nation-building states, of settler and postcolonial societies alike, become increasingly harder to effect. The individualising of ethical positions, of relegating such experiences to the sphere of the personal, creates a kind of closure in which resisting the state's authority comes to be interpreted by individuals as simply resisting their selves, their governance-state identities. This is precisely the kind of situation confronting us as contemporary citizens, an unfamiliar political terrain in which we find ourselves negotiating as strangers in a stranger land.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Fukuyama Francis

The "End Of History" 20 Years Later

in **New Perspectives Quarterly**, Vol. 27, Issue 1, Winter , 7-10



Twenty years after the fall of the Berlin Wall and the triumphant celebrations of the West, a new chapter of history has opened featuring the rising powers of Asia, led by China. Though embracing free markets, China has looked to its Confucian traditions instead of liberal democracy as the best route to good governance.

Will China manage to achieve high growth and a harmonious society through a strong state and long-range planning that puts messy Western democracy and its short-term mindset to shame? Or, in the end, will the weak rule of law and absence of political accountability in a one-party state undermine its promise?

Francis Fukuyama and Kishore Mahbubani, the Singaporean thinker who has become the apostle of non-Western modernity, debate these issues.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Mead Russell Walter

The Carter Syndrome

in **Foreign Policy**, Issue 175, January / February

Barack Obama might yet revolutionize America's foreign policy. But if he can't reconcile his inner Thomas Jefferson with his inner Woodrow Wilson, the 44th president could end up like No. 39.

http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2010/01/04/the_carter_syndrome

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Prontera Andrea

The Clash of Civilizations ten years later: The debate and the empirical findings on Huntington's thesis

in **Teoria Politica**, Vol. 25, Fascicolo 2

The article reviews recent contributions to the debate on the Clash of Civilizations by Samuel Huntington. The aim of the article is to present, in a schematic manner, how the debate on Huntington's thesis has developed during the last decade, and what is its legacy on contemporary international relations theories. Two different methodological approaches to the clash of civilization are identified, namely the qualitative and quantitative one. Focusing on the latter, the article analyzes the findings of recent studies on internal and international conflicts which test empirically Huntington's thesis. Finally, the article discusses some limits of Huntington's work and points out its importance for the development of international relations thinking after the Cold War.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

McWhorter John

The Cosmopolitan Tongue: The Universality of English

in *World Affairs*, Vol. 13, n. 3, Fall

<http://www.worldaffairsjournal.org/2009%20-%20Fall/full-McWhorter-Fall-2009.html>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Sklair Leslie

The Emancipatory Potential of Generic Globalization

in *Globalizations*, Volume 6, Issue 4, December 2009, 525-539

Abstract

The debate around globalization is entering a new and more mature phase reflected in the fact that it is now generally accepted that we live in an era of globalization. However, the concept is used in a bewildering variety of ways. Here I attempt to deconstruct it by distinguishing three modes of globalization in theory and practice, namely: generic, capitalist, and alternative globalizations. My argument is that globalization in a generic sense is too often confused with its dominant actually existing type, capitalist globalization. I define generic globalization in terms of (a) the electronic revolution; (b) postcolonialisms; (c) the subsequent creation of transnational social spaces; and (d) qualitatively new forms of cosmopolitanism. Capitalist globalization undermines the emancipatory potential of the four elements of generic globalization, resulting in what are termed here a new type of class polarization crisis and the crisis of ecological unsustainability. The article concludes with an attempt to sketch the main principles of a post-capitalist alternative form of democratic socialist globalization, based on networks of sustainable consumer-producer cooperatives operating at all appropriate social and geographical scales.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Keating Joshua

The End of the World

in *Foreign Policy*, Issue 174, November / December

While the apocalypse is pretty unlikely to come in 2012, it does have to happen sooner or later. Here are five possible scenarios for the end of humanity.

http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2009/11/13/the_end_of_the_world



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Chandler David

The Global Ideology: Rethinking the Politics of the 'Global Turn' in IR

in *International Relations*, vol. 23, n. 4, december , 530-547

ABSTRACT: Many commentators appear to take for granted the fact that the sphere of political power and contestation has shifted from the national level to the global level. This article seeks to question the assumptions made about politics at the global level, highlighting the elision of 'global politics' with the globalisation of the political. It will be suggested that major changes have taken place in terms of political subjectivity and how we view political community, blurring the lines of distinction between the domestic and international realms. The understanding of these changes in primarily spatial terms — from the level of the nation state to the global — mystifies the qualitative shift in political consciousness, political engagement and political instrumentality involved. In fact, the relationship between political subjectivity and the external world is inversed. The Global Ideology posits material changes at the global level as the explanatory factor for the breakdown of state-based forms of political identification and collective engagement, understanding these changes as marking the birth of global politics. In relocating this shift in consciousness in the attenuation of political engagement and collective identification it is possible to explain the shift in political subjectivity in terms of the globalisation of the political — as the result of our more individuated relationship to our external world.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Nunes Rodrigo

The Global Moment: Seattle, Ten Years On

in *Radical Philosophy*, Issue 159, January/February 2010

The full text is free:

www.radicalphilosophy.com/default.asp?channel_id=2187&editorial_id=28817

What are we to make of an anniversary that no one celebrates? The year 2009 may be remembered for many things: the greatest capitalist crisis in over a century, the first year of the Obama presidency, the transformation of the G8 into a G20 (and the first massive geopolitical rearrangement since the fall of the Soviet bloc), the ecological crisis definitively establishing itself as a widespread concern (even if it means very different things to different groups). One thing, however, was conspicuously absent from the year's calendar: the tenth anniversary of the protests against the World Trade Organization (WTO) in Seattle, which made of 1999 the year when the 'anti-' or 'alter-globalization' movement, or 'movement of movements', or 'global movement' became a visible phenomenon across the world...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Victor David G., Yueh Linda

The New Energy Order

in *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 2010, Volume 1, Number 89



Growing demand for energy in developing countries and calls for greener energy worldwide are putting unprecedented pressure on the global energy system. Existing energy institutions are struggling to remain relevant. A new mechanism for cooperation is needed.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Rapaport Orit, Levi-Faur David, Miodownik Dan

The Puzzle of the Diffusion of Central-Bank Independence Reforms: Insights from an Agent-Based Simulation
in *Policy Studies Journal*, Vol. 37, Issue 4, November , 695-716

The emergence of an ever-widening sphere of global public policy is a new reality in a world characterized by the blurring of boundaries between the national and the global; by flows of ideas, people, and commodities; and by new global risks and opportunities. In this context, this article explores the empirical puzzle of the sudden outbreak of reforms leading to central-bank independence. How can we best understand the outbreak of reforms in the 1990s? It is suggested here that the reforms were diffused in a contagious and uncoordinated manner in a global policy process that may best be captured by Kingdon's policy stream model. We develop an agent-based model to evaluate the effects of three little-explored aspects of the diffusion process. These are (i) the likelihood of the outbreak of reform, (ii) the rate of adoption of the reform, and (iii) the time to outbreak. We find that the likelihood of outbreak depends on the saliency of a problem, in conjunction with the length of time that a problem has been on the public agenda. We also find that an increase in the size of the environment surveyed before a decision is made increases the rate of adoption but also the time to outbreak. The more global the information available for agents, the longer is the time to outbreak, but outbreaks unfold much faster.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Cronin James

The United States In, or Against, the World
in *Government and Opposition* , Vol. 45, n. 1, January , 114-141

Review Article

<http://www3.interscience.wiley.com/journal/123204998/abstract>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Wodak Ruth

The glocalization of politics in television: Fiction or reality?
in *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, Volume 13, No. 1, February 2010 , 43-62

This article investigates the 'glocalization' of the US TV popular drama series *The West Wing*, while focusing on one (in



some ways) exceptional episode. Because politics is inherently linked to language, discourse and communication, I will take an approach from the perspective of critical discourse analysis (the discourse-historical approach), with a particular focus on elements of argumentation theory and rhetoric, and combine this with media studies. More specifically, I attempt to illustrate how a thorough understanding of the topoi operating within the complex dialogues and interactions helps to reveal the series' (manifest and latent) political and didactic objectives, embedded in a longstanding tradition of conveying US American liberal values via films and TV. The episode analyzed in this article, Isaac and Ishmael (which was broadcast immediately after 9/11) is exceptional because it explicitly relates to salient real life events; its topical focus on the 'war on terror' shifts attention from US domestic politics to an issue that, according to US policy rhetoric, concerns the whole world. Thus, this episode links the debates taking place in one of the world's most famous institutions, The White House, with those occurring in workplaces across the world: a truly 'g/local' moment. The interdisciplinary analysis allows insight into the intricate and complex discursive construction of new glocal narratives, particularly in times of political crisis, revealing which norms are projected and recontextualized both locally and globally, given the many translations of the series worldwide.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Verhoeven Harry

The self-fulfilling prophecy of failed states: Somalia, state collapse and the Global War on Terror
in **Journal of Eastern African Studies** , Volume 3, Issue 3, November , 405-425

Over recent decades, several states have experienced mounting difficulties in fulfilling classic state functions such as guaranteeing territorial integrity and law and order. Some "failing states" have even seen the disappearance of all central authority: "state collapse". Since 11 September 2001, this phenomenon has been particularly associated with terrorism, trans-border criminality and global instability. The international community presents this "Orthodox Failed States Narrative" as an objective, apolitical analysis of a "new" problem. The hegemonic account cherishes ideological assumptions that are seldom made explicit and veil power asymmetries in the international political economy. The securitisation of the Global South provides the pretext for confrontation and top-down restructuring of domestic politics by Coalitions of the Willing in the context of the Global War on Terror (GWOT). Through analysis of America's Somalia policy, this article illustrates theoretical flaws underpinning the Orthodox Narrative together with the disastrous implications of America's new "Long War" in Africa's Horn. The absence of central government produced state collapse's archetype in Somalia: anarchy, lawlessness and an "Al-Qaeda safe-haven", dixit Washington. This article challenges conventional wisdom by highlighting spontaneous emergences of new political complexes amidst the "chaos", capable of providing order and stability. It explores the rise and fall of the Union of Islamic Courts. The Courts resembled a national liberation movement, based on their concoction of Sharia-justice, security and welfare provision. However, the Islamists' tangible improvements in livelihoods were not permitted to continue. Imprisoned analytically by the Orthodox Narrative, Washington perceived the Courts as Somalia's "neo-Taliban". This reductionist stance led to a self-fulfilling prophecy: as bellicose rhetoric radicalised positions in Mogadishu and Washington, an American-backed invasion by Ethiopia pushed-out the Islamists. Today, an insurgency is ravaging Somalia and the humanitarian situation has worsened dramatically: the GWOT's narrow world-vision has hindered the re-emergence of legitimate authority and blocked bottom-up responses to human security questions.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

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Mahlmann Matthias

Theorizing Transnational Law – Varieties of Transnational Law and the Universalistic Stance
in *German Law Journal*, Vol. 10, n. 10 , 1235-1336

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Reinhart Carmen M., Rogoff Kenneth

This Time Is Different: Eight Centuries of Financial Folly
in *Foreign Policy*, Issue 174, November / December

Carmen Reinhart and Kenneth Rogoff know financial crises. In the preamble to their book, recommended by FP Big Thinkers Willem Buiter and Mohamed El-Erian, the two trace back the history of how, with each shock and economic trouble, the world believes that this time is different. It's not.

http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2009/12/03/this_time_is_different

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Desdoigts Alain, Jaramillo Fernando

Trade, demand spillovers, and industrialization: The emerging global middle class in perspective
in *Journal of International Economics*, Volume 79, Issue 2, November 2009 , 248-258

In this paper, we investigate international demand spillovers brought about by a global middle class and their impact on trade patterns and industrialization. We propose a multi-industry and two-country trade model featuring demand complementarities propagating increasing returns across industries and national boundaries. We show how the international extent of demand spillovers depends upon asymmetries in domestic income distribution, labor efficiency, and labor force size; that is, on the global distribution of real income.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Ernste Huib, Van Houtum Henk, Zoomers Annelies

Trans-World: Debating the Place and Borders of Places in the Age of Transnationalism
in *Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie (Journal of Economic & Social Geography)* , Volume 100, Issue 5, December , 577-586

In this introductory contribution to this special issue of TESSG, we want to question the usual way of conceptualising places and borders in the debate about transnationalism. We argue, that in studies of transnationalism, on the one hand the idea of nation-states as spatial containers is overcome, but on the other hand also reproduces the same spatial containers. Instead we suggest the use of the term 'trans-world' to avoid any connotation suggesting spatial containers. In this framework, places and borders are instead seen as multi-dimensional and dynamic concepts which can be



applied to almost any kind of relationships transgressing and reconfiguring borders and places at all scales. The papers which follow this introduction show how in particular situations and contexts, these transgressing and reconfiguring activities can be conceptualised in very different ways.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Marie-Josée Massicotte

Transborder Activism in the Americas: Exploring Ways to Better Assess and Learn from Less Powerful Forces, Towards Other Possible Worlds

in **Globalizations** , Volume 6, Issue 4, December 2009 , 411-431

Are we observing the emergence of a global civil society or a counter-hegemonic movement able to challenge the forces of neoliberal globalization? Is 'Another World' really possible and in the making, as World Social Forum (WSF) participants have suggested? Who could lead the movement toward a more just, democratic, and ecological world order? A growing number of scholars and activists are grappling with these questions. However, these questions mask other important aspects of transborder activism and political moments of resistance. Examining various cases of transborder activism in the Americas, this paper highlights the value and limits of a range of studies on contemporary forces promoting sociopolitical change, especially in the field of international political economy (IPE). The paper draws from field research and incorporates insights from activists' own situated knowledge to highlights the unexpected developments and political imaginaries that may emerge in the public realm during events like counter-summits or the World Social Forum (WSF) processes, for instance.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Pries Ludger

Transnationalisation and the Challenge of Differentiated Concepts of Space

in **Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie (Journal of Economic & Social Geography)** , Volume 100, Issue 5, December , 587-597

Terms like globalisation, transnationalisation, glocalisation, world society, world empire, and trans-world indicate that in social sciences there are different concepts applied to the increasing cross-border entanglement and internationalisation of the world. Meanwhile some scholars argue that geographic borders and territories are increasingly losing their importance for structuring human life and social spaces, others hold that new politics of belonging, new logics of inclusion and exclusion are leading to new divisions of social segmentation and spatial segregation. After discussing some recent conceptualisations of the ongoing process of internationalisation the paper develops a differentiated typology of internationalisation processes based on an explicit reflection on the tradition of methodological nationalism and on different concepts of space, mainly absolutist and relativist understandings of space. It is argued that the different concepts of space and the various ideal types of internationalisation have to be treated not in an 'either-or' but in an 'as well as' perspective.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process



Wuerth Ingrid

Transnationalizing Public Law

in *German Law Journal*, Vol. 10, n. 10 , 1336-1340

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Kane John

US leadership and international order: the future of American foreign policy

in *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 63, n. 4 / December , 571-592

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Altieri Rocco

Una rivoluzione negata

in *Quaderni Satyagraha*, n. 15 - Le rose sbocciano in autunno. La rivoluzione nonviolenta dell'89 , 7-29

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Derudder Ben, Witlox Frank

World Cities and Global Commodity Chains: an introduction

in *Global Networks*, vol. 10, n. 1, january , 1-11

ABSTRACT: The purpose of this special anniversary issue is to assess the possible cross-fertilization between two prominent analytical frameworks: the World City Network framework, in which researchers have studied the emergence of a globalized urban system for the provision of a host of advanced corporate services; and the Global Commodity Chain framework, in which researchers have scrutinized the interconnected functions, operations and transactions through which specific commodities are produced, distributed and consumed in a globalized economy. These two approaches have developed in parallel but have rarely been brought together. This introductory essay identifies the common roots and recent history of these two frameworks, and outlines how the six articles contribute to their theoretical and empirical cross-fertilization.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Brown Ed, Derudder Ben, Parnreier Christof, Pelupessy Wim, Taylor Peter, Witlox Frank

World City Networks and Global Commodity Chains: towards a world-systems' integration



in **Global Networks**, vol. 10, n. 1, january , 12-34

ABSTRACT: There are two literatures that explicitly describe the spaces of flows that constitute contemporary globalization – World City Network analysis and Global Commodity Chain analysis. We explore the possibilities of their integration by returning to their common origins in world-systems analysis. Each model is described and critiqued and it is argued that each can be used to address some of the other's limitations. This is illustrated through world city process additions to understanding the coffee commodity chain and commodity chain additions to understanding Mexico City and Santiago's positioning in the World City Network. This complementarity is just a first step towards a more complete integration; the conclusion describes the next steps towards just such a research agenda.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Maira Luis

¿Cómo afectará la crisis la integración regional?

in **Nueva Sociedad**, n. 224

With highs and lows, the process of regional integration in Latin America has moved forward in recent years, above all in South America. The article sustains that the crisis raises crucial challenges to integration, especially in areas like the connectivity of infrastructure, energy articulation, the overcoming of poverty and the integration of knowledge into society. If it manages to advance in these areas, South America has a real chance of becoming a region of global importance, like Europe or North America. But for this it is necessary that the region's governments realise the scale of the crisis and the resulting rupture of paradigms, and work towards projects that go beyond the old neoconservative perspective.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

Girault Christian

The Geopolitical Dimension of Regional Integration

in **Estudios internacionales : revista del Instituto de Estudios Internacionales de la Universidad de Chile**, Vol. 42 / 2009 / Nr 163

Regional power – constituted by large regional groupings – is generally misunderstood by geopolitics, notwithstanding the fact that this is a most relevant scale to consider the future of international relations. Indeed, many factors take part in the redefinition of relations between the traditional nation state and the international community, at a juncture where open conflicts are receding.

With the redefinition of the attributes of "power", regional associations are better equipped to preserve ecological and human equilibria because they much better take into account territories and common goods.

Within associations the problems of symmetry and asymmetry can be elements of recurrent debate. On the other side it is impossible to discard entirely the problems of defense which could be back at any time. However, the Author sustains that the solidification of regional groupings may contribute to the arrival of a multipolar and safer world, which could solve the serious social problems of the day.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Jamieson D.G.

AFRICOM: a threat or an opportunity for African security?

in *South African Journal of International Affairs* , vol. 16, n. 3, december , 311-329

ABSTRACT: The establishment of an African military command by the United States reflects the growing focus of the United States on Africa in the US National Security Strategy, which appears to be continuing under new US President Barack Obama. This article deals with several questions. What is the stated US National Security Strategy pertaining to Africa? What national interests does the United States have in Africa? What is the United States officially saying about its objectives in Africa and what has it actually been doing to date? And what are other opinion makers saying about US military involvement in Africa? Finally, it looks at the question of US perceptions of possible rivals in Africa and at potential scenarios for conflict before making a series of conclusions about the threats and opportunities posed by AFRICOM for Africa, and recommendations for a response to AFRICOM on the part of policymakers in South Africa.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Ndayi Zoleka

Contextualising NEPAD: regionalism, plurilateralism and multilateralism

in *South African Journal of International Affairs* , vol. 16, n. 3, december , 371-387

ABSTRACT: There is a dearth of literature on the nature and scope of the African Union's New Partnership for Africa's Development (AU/NEPAD) in relation to trends in the international trade system. Available literature concentrates on the neoliberal character of the programme and views it as exposing the uncompetitive African economies to the hostile international economic environment. Contrary to this view, this article argues that AU/NEPAD, because of its three-part approach within contemporary trade trends, could be a viable strategy to promote economic development in the continent. Firstly, AU/NEPAD promotes reformed developmental regionalism, since it combines collective self-reliance of member states with 'strategic linking' into the global market. Secondly, it connects strategic linking to new partnerships through plurilateralism, as depicted by the G8 Africa Action Plan. Finally, AU/NEPAD promotes multilateralism through engagements with the World Trade Organisation, the UN and the World Bank.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Anna Maria Mayda, Chad Steinberg

Do South-South trade agreements increase trade? Commodity-level evidence from COMESA

in *Canadian Journal of Economics/Revue Canadienne d'Economie*, Volume 42 Issue 4 , 1361 - 1389

South-South trade agreements are proliferating. Yet the impact of these agreements is largely unknown, as existing North-North and North-South micro-level studies are likely to yield misleading predictions for South-South trade agreements. This paper estimates the impact of COMESA on Uganda's imports between 1994 and 2003. Detailed import and tariff data at the 6-digit Harmonized System level are used for more than 1,000 commodities. Based on a



difference-in-difference estimation strategy, the paper finds that – in contrast to evidence from aggregate statistics – COMESA's preferential tariff liberalization has not considerably increased Uganda's trade with member countries, on average, across sectors. The effect, however, is heterogeneous across sectors. Finally, the paper finds no evidence of trade-diversion effects.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Hanafi Hazem

Economic Development and Integration in the Arab World

in European Security, Volume 18, Number 2, June

Within the Arab context, two questions normally arise when addressing the issue of economic integration in the Arab world: Why would rich states agree to integrate with poor ones, and what would be the economic benefit from this integration? The failure to adequately and practically address such an issue was one of the main reasons behind the demise of the Arab nationalism project, despite its rhetoric of creating one single Arab state that would integrate the region's economies for the benefit of all.

Difficulties with such a scenario fall between structures and policies. The structure factor refers to the disparities in economic power and population and the similarities of modes of production; while the policies factor refers to political conflict of interests and international influences on individual states through bilateral agreements. In terms of GDP, GDP per capita and population (see tables 1 to 3), the GDP of Saudi Arabia is 250 times that of Mauritania, the GDP per capita of Qatar is 90 times that of Mauritania, and the population of Egypt is almost 100 times that of Qatar. Modes of production (labour intensive) and composition of foreign trade are similar. The Gulf countries, because of the oil factor, are more vulnerable to foreign influence. Kuwait has kept its currency based on the US dollar, while others made currency baskets, Oman has opted out for the time being from the process of a unified Gulf custom union, signing a free trade agreement with the US. Several Arab countries, including Morocco, Tunisia, Egypt and Jordan, have also signed partnership agreements with the EU, which provide for preferential treatment for their products.

Table 1

GDP in 2004

in US Dollars in millions Table 2

GDP per capita 2004

in US Dollars Table 3

Population 2004

in millions

Mauritania 1,345.6 Mauritania 451 Qatar 0.67

Bahrain 11,066.5 Yemen 620 Bahrain 0.71

Jordan 11,514.4 Sudan 655 Oman 2.26

Yemen 12,908.0 Egypt 1,143 Kuwait 2.65

Lebanon 19,754.0 Iraq 1,242 Mauritania 2.99

Sudan 22,019.3 Syria 1,307 Lebanon 3.87

Syria 23,501.0 Morocco 1,636 Emirates 4.37

Oman 24,824.4 Jordan 2,163 Jordan 5.32

Libya 27,608.8 Algeria 2,411 Libya 6.42

Qatar 28,451.4 Tunisia 2,946 Tunisia 9.93



Tunisia 29,252.4 Libya 4,300 Syria 17.98
Iraq 33,700.0 Lebanon 5,108 Yemen 20.83
Morocco 50,031.0 Oman 10,965 Saudi Arabia 22.53
Kuwait 55,721.5 Saudi Arabia 11,122 Iraq 27.14
Egypt 78,491.8 Bahrain 15,631 Morocco 30.58
Algeria 84,799.8 Kuwait 21,067 Sudan 33.60
Emirates 103,832.5 Emirates 23,771 Algeria 35.17
Saudi Arabia 250,558.3 Qatar 42,656 Egypt 68.65
Source: Arab Monetary Fund, Economic Indicators, 2005

Fiscal and asymmetrical federalism could provide a framework and mechanisms for dealing with such disparities, which are also common to other federal systems. Germany has one large central pool for all incoming revenues. Out of this central pool, the federal government makes its distribution to Länder governments. However, because the latter are highly represented in the federal decision-making structure and are responsible for the implementation of policies, they can greatly influence which policies are adopted and how these are carried out. Western Australia wanted to secede from the Commonwealth in 1932, because of the high burden it carried in financing other poorer states since the establishment of the Federation in 1901. The matter was only resolved after the Federal Government made generous concessions. Provinces in Canada get their funding as a percentage of the national tax, and they have more freedom in designing and implementing programs than their German counterparts. The Arab states' disparity in wealth and population could also be translated, within an Arab federal union, into asymmetrical representation, veto power, more control of natural resources, different taxation systems and social benefits, opt-in or opt-out or time bound restrictions. The arguments for the economic benefits from a federal union could be traced back to the Federalist. Hamilton, in Federalist No. 11, 12 and 13, outlines the basic utility of the Union in commerce, revenue and taxation, and the need for a strong Union Navy to protect American trade routes, ships and interests. By creating a Union, Hamilton argues, "we may oblige foreign countries to bid against each other, for the privileges of our markets," and "Commercial enterprises will have much greater scope from the diversity in the productions of different States. When the staple of one fails from a bad harvest or unproductive crop, it can call to its aid the staple of another. The variety, not less than the value, of products for exportation contributes to the activity of foreign commerce. It can be conducted upon much better terms with a large number of materials of a given value than with a small number of materials of the same value."

Other benefits include the harmonization of government policies, reduction of bureaucratic administrative costs, diversification of productions, and internal equalization. The UNDP Arab Human Development Report 2002, citing high population growth rates, rising unemployment, and modest economic growth coupled with increasingly intense competition from emerging markets in Eastern Europe, Latin America, and Asia, has identified regional economic cooperation as essential for national regional development. The following paragraph best illustrates the UNDP approach to economic development in the region: "No Arab country alone can adequately achieve dramatic social and economic progress based on diversification of sources of income and acquisition of competitive capabilities in the fields of accumulated knowledge and industry. However, by coming together, Arab countries can reap the benefits of size and scale, diversify their combined economies, and open up opportunities for investment that would be unavailable in the absence of coordinated efforts and cooperation".

All the preceding arguments have been used in the Arab context, but more on ideological grounds than as a functional approach to fit the Arab nationalism project. The success of European economic integration, despite two World Wars, presents a sharp contrast to the failure of the Arabs to do the same, and adds another practical incentive in the age of regional economic blocks. However, some doubt the feasibility of modeling Arab economic integration on the European model.

Whether or not federalism is conducive to economic development in the developing world is an open question, but what



is clear is that while Arab nationalism, because of its centralist tendency, has failed to accommodate the disparities between Arab states, the Arab League, because of its weakness, has also failed to coordinate regional cooperation, development and integration plans. Federalism, with its ability to accommodate diversity and with the fiscal and asymmetrical tools available to it could provide a more successful framework.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Diaw Diadié , Dao Anh-Tran Thi

Intégration régionale et expansion du commerce sud-sud: le cas du Sénégal dans l'UEMOA

in *Revue Tiers Monde*, n. 199 , 627-646

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Foko A.

L'essor de l'expertise de gestion dans l'espace OHADA

in *Revue de droit international et de droit comparé.*, Vol. 86, n. 3 , 489-533

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Cattaneo Nicolette

Production networks, economic integration and the services sector: Implications for regional trade agreements in southern Africa

in *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, Volume 27, Issue 4 ,October , 527-546

Debate on an appropriate framework for economic integration in southern Africa has hitherto focused largely on matters relating to trade in final goods, with little analysis of the potential benefits of production sharing and fragmented trade, or of challenges related to the accompanying role of the services sector. The first goal of this article is thus to explore the possible benefits for the development of specialisation and trade expansion related to the international fragmentation of production, and whether such benefits may be better harnessed by southern African countries in a context of regional integration. Secondly, the critical role of the services sector in production-sharing arrangements leads to questions about developing country services sectors and regional versus multilateral services liberalisation. The article therefore considers the importance of the services sector in the fragmentation context, and the growing debates surrounding services aspects of developing country regional trade agreements. It is argued that while there may be a case for the promotion of production-sharing arrangements in regional trade agreements in southern Africa, key constraints that continue to hinder the region's trade and development agenda remain the conflicting rules of origin in economic arrangements with overlapping membership, and non-tariff barriers to trade, particularly intra-regional transport costs.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Soest Christian von

Regenbogennation als regionale Führungsmacht?

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 1, 2010

The full text is free:

www1.bpb.de/publikationen/FXSYS4,0,Regenbogennation_als_regionale_F%FChrungsmacht.html

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

N.PERIDY, A.GHONEIM

Regional integration, imperfect competition and welfare: the experience of the greater arab free trade area

in *Economie Appliquee*, N.4

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Mutambara Tsitsi Effie

Regional transport challenges within the Southern African Development Community and their implications for economic integration and development

in *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, Volume 27, Issue 4 ,October , 501-525

The Southern African Development Community (SADC) seeks to deepen economic integration among its members through the SADC free trade area that came into effect in January 2008. The thrust for a progressive reduction of tariff and no-tariff barriers, which the market integration model emphasises, has serious implications for the impact of transport and communication systems on economic integration and development within SADC. Transport and communications systems have an important bearing on economic integration and development because they can be significant non-tariff barriers. The SADC Protocol on Transport, Communications and Meteorology is the instrument through which transport and communications constraints are to be addressed. Through this protocol, some institutions have been established and others proposed to ensure that projects designed to deepen economic integration and development are implemented effectively.

The neo-functional integration approach is a relevant theoretical framework for analysing transport and communications issues and for implementing joint sectoral projects in areas that impact on overcoming development-related deficiencies in production and infrastructure. Transport and communications fall in this category of projects and the SADC region has benefited from functional co-operation in this sector. As integration proceeds, polarisation of industries could occur, raising concerns about the distributional effects of economic integration as this affects development. However, polarisation is not inevitable: it depends on transport costs. This might seriously address transport and communications



constraints because, if these are greatly reduced and eventually removed, weaker SADC countries need not lose industries to the core with the SADC Free Trade Area in place.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Assembe-Mvondo Samuel

Sustainable forest management practice in Central African States and customary law

in International Journal of Sustainable Development and World Ecology, Volume 16, Issue 4, August , 217-227

Sustainable forest management (SFM) has become a major focus for the international community. This is because of the multifunctional importance of forest resources for the entire planet, namely ecological, socio-economic, cultural and climatic balance. General awareness of forest importance unfortunately coincides with the observed increase in threats, especially anthropogenic, to this world heritage. To tackle the continuing deforestation and degradation, the international community, through the United Nations Forum on Forests (UNFF) and its predecessors, has attempted to adopt an international convention on SFM based on the 15 Rio Declaration principles. The limited success of international negotiations aimed at the adoption of such an instrument leads us to seek an alternative within international law theories, through analysis of the relationship between states practice in SFM and customary international law. To this end, this paper focuses on the practice of Central African States in sustainable forest management, especially statement of principles, sub-regional treaty and domestic legislation. The analysis shows that their practice fulfils all the requirements in order to be regarded as regional custom. Therefore, principles and state practices of SFM can thus be considered legally binding for this sub-region, despite some major implementation shortcomings.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Cavalli Giacomo

The New Organization of the Islamic Conference Charter

in Perspectives on federalism, Vol. 1, single issue , N 29-35

This note analyses the new Charter of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, adopted in 2008.

Full text available at:

<http://www.on-federalism.eu/index.php/notes/16-the-new-organization-of-the-islamic-conference-charter>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Williams Paul D.

The Peace and Security Council of the African Union: evaluating an embryonic international institution

in Journal of Modern African Studies , Volume 47, Issue 04, December , 603-627

How has the Peace and Security Council (PSC) of the African Union helped promote peace, security and stability on the



African continent? This article assesses the PSC's activities in light of insights generated by the literature on international security institutions. After providing an overview of the immediate origins of the PSC, it discusses five elements of the Council's institutional design. It then evaluates the PSC's activities during its first five years (2004–9), by examining the Council's political relevance, its efficiency and productivity, and whether it is the institution best placed to deal with the continent's security problems. It concludes that the PSC's future will hinge on whether more of the African Union's members can be persuaded to devote more serious levels of resources (human and financial) to it.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Dickinson Elizabeth

Think Again: Africom

in **Foreign Policy**, Issue 174, November / December

U.S. Africa Command was launched to controversy and has been met with skepticism ever since. Behind two years of mixed messages, a coherent mission might finally be emerging. Here's what you need to know about the world's next U.S. military hub.

http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2009/11/17/think_again_africom

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 3. Cooperations and integration in Central and North America

Léonard Eric, Losch Bruno

La inserción de la agricultura mexicana en el mercado norteamericano: cambios estructurales, mutaciones de la acción pública y recomposición de la economía rural y regional

in **Foro Internacional**, VOLUMEN XLIX - NÚMERO 1

The decline of Mexican agriculture began with the economic liberalization process and accelerated with the entry into effect of Nafta. However, the trade agreement did not produce the catastrophic results foreseen for various reasons: the prices of several products (corn, beans) were already falling, the growing volume of remittances sent by emigrants compensated for budget cuts, while some agricultural areas succeeded in entering the North American market, concealing the lag of the rest. Nevertheless, there is a growing gap between the regions that have succeeded in adapting to the change (north and west of the country) and those that live increasingly from poverty reduction and social welfare policies (part of the center and south of the territory).

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 3. Cooperations and integration in Central and North America

Blavy Rodolphe, Juvenal Luciana

Mexico's Integration into NAFTA Markets: A View from Sectoral Real Exchange Rates

in **Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis Review**, September/October 2009 Vol. 91, No. 5, Part 1



The authors use a threshold autoregressive model to confirm the presence of nonlinearities in sectoral real exchange rate dynamics across Mexico, Canada, and the United States for the periods before and after the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). Although trade liberalization is associated with reduced transaction costs and lower relative price differentials among countries, the authors find, by using estimated threshold bands, that Mexico still faces higher transaction costs than its developed counterparts. Other determinants of transaction costs are distance and nominal exchange rate volatility. The authors' results show that the half-lives of sectoral real exchange rate shocks, calculated by Monte Carlo integration, imply much faster adjustment in the post-NAFTA period.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Ávila Carlos Federico Domínguez

Brasil, el Gran Caribe y la reconfiguración de la agenda común: tendencias, desafíos y perspectivas en los primeros años del siglo XXI

in *Foro Internacional*, VOLUMEN XLIX - NÚMERO 1

The article analyzes the current economic, political and international security relations between Brazil and the 25 countries of the Caribbean Basin, that is, Mexico, Central America, the Antilles, Colombia, Venezuela, Guyana and Surinam, as well as some ten colonial territories administered by extra-regional powers. It can be verified that the economic relations are very intense, especially in trade terms and recently also as regards productive investments. The political dialogue among the parties is constructive, important and increasingly significant. As concerns security issues, it is worth highlighting their common features, but also certain profound differences of a geopolitical nature stemming from Brazil's South American project. At the end of the article three plausible scenarios are proposed for the future of Brazilian-Caribbean relations.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Mary Finley-Brook and Katherine Hoyt

CAFTA Opposition

in *Latin American Perspectives: a Journal on Capitalism and Socialism*, Volume 36, No. 6, 27-45

Overlapping transnational networks attempted to reconcile divergent perspectives— some favoring rejection, others reform—and leverage change in the U.S. government's framing of the Central American Free Trade Agreement (CAFTA). The experience of the Stop CAFTA Coalition shows that protest movements cannot be fully understood from the perspective of a single period in time. Core coalition members began organizing decades prior to CAFTA's proposal, generally on a topic other than free trade, and their solidarity-based decision-making model was fundamental to their decision to reject rather than attempt to reform CAFTA—since this was the position of their Central American partner organizations. A split between reforming CAFTA and more radically transforming free trade with the United States emerged as a fault line in CAFTA opposition, but solidarity groups maintained their anti-free-trade position even as they cooperated within networks representing distinct interests.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Gomez-Mera Laura

Domestic constraints on regional cooperation: Explaining trade conflict in MERCOSUR
in *Review of International Political Economy*, Volume 16 Issue 5 2009 , 746 - 777

This article seeks to account for the erratic patterns of conflict and cooperation observed in MERCOSUR since 1995. It argues that the marked deterioration of trade and diplomatic relations between Argentina and Brazil in the late 1990s and early 2000s is best explained in reference to domestic political constraints on inter-state cooperation. Two domestic-level dynamics shaped the national preferences for regional cooperation of Argentina and Brazil: state-society relations and intra-state cleavages. The recurrent instances of defection in the late 1990s reflected not only societal pressure but also the macroeconomic and political calculations of national policymakers. Tension among different state agencies sharing power over regional policy-making further undermined the coherence of member states' behavior toward their regional commitments. This 'second-image' explanation of conflict in MERCOSUR is illustrated with case studies of three major trade disputes between Argentina and Brazil: the 1995 automobile sector crisis, the 1999 footwear industry dispute and the 2001 conflict over the common external tariff.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Dulitzky Ariel E.

Federalismo y derechos humanos. El caso de la Convención Americana sobre Derechos Humanos y la República Argentina

in *Cuaderno de federalismo*, Volumen XXI , 147-202

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Cavieles F. Eduardo

Francisco Bilbao: is Latin American integration a possibility?

in *Estudios internacionales : revista del Instituto de Estudios Internacionales de la Universidad de Chile*, Vol. 42 / 2009 / Nr 163

From a different kind of reading, this article has two main goals: on the one hand, to analyze the proposal made by Prof. Orellana Benado (in his Introduction to the last edition of *Obras* by Francisco Bilbao) in order to correctly understand Bilbao's writings by means of a three-dimensional methodology and, on the other hand, to focus on one of the main aspects considered by Bilbao: the need of Latin American integration in order to achieve justice, peace and common solidarity

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Lechini Gladys

La cooperación Sur-Sur y la búsqueda de autonomía en América Latina: ¿Mito o realidad? | South-South Cooperation and the search for autonomy in Latin America: Myth or Reality?

in *Relaciones internacionales : revista publ. por el Instituto de Relaciones Internacionales* , N° 12, Octubre de 2009

Este trabajo pretende acercar una reflexión en torno a los modos de pensar lo que sucede en el mundo, es decir, cómo se construye teoría de las Relaciones Internacionales desde varias latitudes, y principalmente desde una situación Sur, de periferia. La idea es discutir los supuestos básicos subyacentes a los modos imperantes de validar el conocimiento científico y relatar brevemente cómo se está pensando desde América Latina. Por ello se avanza en la explicación del “Sur”, como concepto y como realidad, para luego abordar y definir la cooperación Sur-Sur (CSS) en sus variadas acepciones, tomando como ejemplo el lugar que le cabe a dicha cooperación en las políticas exteriores de Brasil y Argentina.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Turcotte Sylvain f.

La política de Brasil para Sudamérica: entre voluntarismo y resistencias

in *Foro Internacional*, VOLUMEN XLVIII - NÚMERO 4

Since its coming to power, Lula's government has made South America the top priority of its foreign policy. The aim is to give Brazil the status of a regional power and reinforce its positions on a multilateral scale. The attempt has failed due to the keen competition and aspirations of Argentina and Venezuela. This is compounded by the difficult political relations with neighboring countries and the Brazilian inability to manage the area politically due to lack of means. An analysis of its position vis-à-vis Mercosur and the South American Community of Nations points up the failings of the project and stresses the need to fully assume the costs implicit in developing a status of regional power.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

O'Brien Derek, Morano-Foadi Sonia

The Caribbean Court of Justice and Legal Integration within CARICOM: Some Lessons from the European Community

in *Law and Practice of International Courts and Tribunals (The)*, vol. 8, n. 3 , 399-429

ABSTRACT: CARICOM, established under the Treaty of Chaguaramas, in 1973, has since its inception suffered from the repeated failure of member states to implement at the national level decisions taken by the Heads of Government at the regional level. The Caribbean Court of Justice (CCJ,) which has been vested with a compulsory and exclusive jurisdiction to interpret and apply the Revised Treaty of Chaguaramas, is intended to bridge this implementation gap. This has aroused expectations that the CCJ will play a role similar to that played by the ECJ in promoting legal integration. However, it is important to recognise that the ECJ has functioned within a particular jurisdictional framework and has benefited from the contribution of a diverse range of actors within the wider European legal community. It cannot, therefore, be assumed that the CCJ will be able to replicate the role played by the ECJ. The aim of this article is, accordingly, to review the jurisdictional framework within which the CCJ will function; to explore how this is likely to affect



its relationship with the wider legal community within CARICOM; and, finally, to consider how this will impact upon legal integration within the region generally.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Piana Ricardo Sebastian

¿UNASUR u otro intento fallido? Sobre las politicas de (no) integracion en Sudamerica
in *Studi sull'integrazione europea*, Anno IV, n. 2 , 369-387

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Hyoung-kyu Chey

A Political Economic Critique on the Theory of Optimum Currency Areas, and the Implications for East Asia
in *World Economy*, Volume 32 Issue 12 , 1685 - 1705

In recent years, dynamic debate has arisen as to the desirability and feasibility of creating a monetary union in East Asia. While the debate has relied heavily on the theory of optimum currency areas, this theory has weaknesses in explaining the actual formation of monetary unions. At this point, political economy analysis appears to demonstrate stronger explanatory power. This paper provides a systematic review of the main developments in the literature on optimum currency area theory and in the political economy literature on monetary union. In addition, it addresses the feasibility of an East Asian monetary union, by applying the findings in these two academic strands to the region. It finds that even though formation of an East Asian monetary union may be to some extent feasible from an economic perspective, the region's political situation does not appear favourable for the creation of one.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Hiro Katsumata

ASEAN and human rights: resisting Western pressure or emulating the West?
in *Pacific Review (The)* , Volume 22 Issue 5 , 619 - 637

Observers of Southeast Asian affairs commonly assume that the members of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) are reluctant to pursue liberal agendas, and that their main concern is to resist pressure from Western powers to improve their human rights practice. This article, however, argues that such a conventional view is too simplistic. The Southeast Asian countries have voluntarily been pursuing liberal agendas, and their main concern here is to be identified as 'Western' countries - advanced countries with legitimate international status. They have 'mimetically' been adopting the norm of human rights which is championed by the advanced industrialized democracies, with the intention of securing ASEAN's identity as a legitimate institution in the community of modern states. Ultimately, they have been pursuing liberal agendas, for the same reason as cash-strapped developing countries have luxurious national airlines and newly-independent countries institute national flags. Yet it should be noted that the progress of ASEAN's liberal reform has been modest. A conventional strategy for facilitating this reform would be to put more pressure on the



members of ASEAN; however, the usefulness of such a strategy is diminishing. The development of an East Asian community, the core component of which is the ASEAN-China concord, makes it difficult for the Western powers to exercise influence over the Southeast Asian countries. Hence, as an alternative strategy, this article proposes that ASEAN's external partners should 'globalize' the issue of its liberal reform, by openly assessing its human rights record in global settings, with the aim of boosting the concern of its members for ASEAN's international standing.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Ruwan Jayathilaka and Nandasiri Keembiyahetti

Adverse Selection Effect for South Asian Countries in FTA Formation

in South Asia Economic Journal, Volume 10, No. 1 , 1-30

This study examines the economic and non-economic factors governing the decision of forming Free Trade Agreements (FTAs) between two non-zero trading partners by estimating a Probit model using 9,178 country pairs having 705 active and operational bilateral FTAs. This study works on the implied hypothesis that FTA is an endogenously determined variable dependent on a number of economic and non-economic factors which are usually omitted from gravity type trade models. The study finds economically important and statistically significant evidences that the likelihood of forming an FTA by a pair of countries is positively related to the economic mass of the partners, similarity in economic size, differences of relative factor intensity, political stability, past import tariffs and the existence of FTAs in the close neighbourhood, whereas it is negatively related to the distance, economic remoteness and geographic continuity. Based on these findings, this study provides a good explanation as to why South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) countries are still far behind the FTA negotiation process and how SAARC countries are subject to adverse selection effect by rest of the world.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Satoshi Shimizutani

Asian Common Currency as a Driving Force of Economic Integration in East Asia: A Prospect

in Asia Pacific Review, Volume 16 Issue 2 , 26 - 41

This article proposes an open and multi-tiered economic and financial system with introduction of an Asian common currency as a form for the Post Bretton-Woods arrangement. After reviewing the role of the incumbent international economic system, the reasons that an Asian common currency could contribute to consolidate the new international system is discussed bearing in mind the new environment of the relative decline of economic power of the United States and relative rise of economic power of China. Then a "roadmap" for the introduction of an Asian common currency is provided and how to proceed steadily on the long road towards the introduction of the new currency is argued. In particular, it is emphasized, as the world looks for a new direction, that strong political collaboration in the region is required precisely now with a view to making this a reality.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Masini Fabio



Asian Monetary Integration in Recent Economic Debates

in Perspectives on federalism, Vol. 1, single issue , R 1-12

The article analyses the issue of monetary integration in Asia taking into account the most recent literature and the main contributes of the last decades both in economics and IR.

It locates the debate within regional integration theory and federalism, taking into account the relationship between economics and politics, market and institutions.

Full text available at:

<http://www.on-federalism.eu/index.php/review-articles/23-asian-monetary-integration-in-recent-economic-debates->

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Gregory P. Corning

Between bilateralism and regionalism in East Asia: the ASEAN-Japan Comprehensive Economic Partnership in Pacific Review (The) , Volume 22 Issue 5 , 639 - 665

This paper examines economic regionalism in East Asia with a focus on the key issues in harmonizing bilateral free trade agreements. The ASEAN+1 free trade agreements with China, South Korea and Japan represent the first attempts to structure cooperation in trade across Southeast and Northeast Asia. It is therefore important to examine the coverage of these agreements and the extent to which they actually liberalize trade. This study focuses on major choices made in the negotiation of the ASEAN-Japan Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement and the ways in which these choices help or hinder the consolidation of economic regionalism. The results achieved in the ASEAN-Japan Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement are limited at best. The agreement does establish some new areas of cooperation among the signatories but fails to address important issues for regionalism such as labor mobility. It also makes limited progress in harmonizing and liberalizing rules of origin. The ASEAN-Japan Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement applies product-specific rules to fewer categories of goods than most of Japan's bilateral agreements with ASEAN members but those rules in place are still very restrictive. Moreover, the parties to the ASEAN-Japan Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement have the option of applying the rules of their bilateral agreement if it provides more favorable treatment. Thus, there is no guarantee the more liberal terms of the ASEAN-Japan Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement will be applied.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Hoshiro, Hiroyuki

Co-Prosperity Sphere Again? United States Foreign Policy and Japan's "First" Regionalism in the 1950s in Pacific Affairs , Volume 82, Number 3, Fall , 385-405

Why are there no legally constituted institutions in the Asia-Pacific? Some analysts have argued that this situation is a result of US foreign policy, which promoted bilateralism in Asia in order to ensure its dominance in the aftermath of



World War II. Focusing on Japan's first regionalism during the 1950s, this article aims to show that this line of argument should be modified. A close analysis of US foreign policy in the region during this period reveals that, rather than attempting to contain Asian regionalism, influential US policy makers repeatedly pursued it. This pursuit gave impetus to Japan's attempts to revive its regional agenda, which during the war had taken form as the "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere" and which now seemed possible in a different form, most notably in gaining financial support from the United States, Japan's former wartime enemy. However, at this particular juncture in history, the diversity of South and Southeast Asian countries and their nation-building priorities inhibited regional economic cooperation. A "pan-Asian-feeling" did not exist. Rather, mutual suspicion of each other's motives and ambitions, and various political rivalries and antagonisms, collectively prevented cooperation between countries in the region. Such different political regimes made it difficult, if not impossible, to establish a multilateral institution. These obstacles led the US to abandon multilateralism in favour of bilateralism as its preferred strategy in the Asia-Pacific until the end of the 1980s.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Ruijie He

Coast guards and maritime piracy: sailing past the impediments to cooperation in Asia **in Pacific Review (The) , Volume 22 Issue 5 , 667 - 689**

Despite the efforts of the past decade, maritime piracy remains of international concern today. Countries need to cooperate actively at both the regional and international levels to eradicate the problem effectively. In particular, the nature of the threat in the Asia-Pacific region suggests that coastal states - countries that possess sovereignty over the pirate-infested waters but lack the law-enforcement resources - have to turn to resource-rich extra-regional powers for assistance. Unfortunately, cooperation between such disparate countries has traditionally been impeded by sovereignty sensitivities, as best exemplified by Malaysia's and Indonesia's hostile responses to the United States' Regional Maritime Security Initiative in 2003. Faced with this apparent dilemma, a new phenomenon has emerged. National coast guard agencies, instead of their military naval counterparts, have become attractive alternatives for promoting international cooperation against non-traditional security threats, such as maritime piracy. Spearheaded by the Japanese Coast Guard (JCG), coast guards from various countries have imparted training expertise, conducted joint exercises, hosted low-publicity multilateral meetings, and even transferred security equipment across international borders. Together they have succeeded in promoting cooperation without arousing the sovereignty sensitivities often associated with such cooperation. This article analyzes the evolution of coast guard cooperation in Asia, highlighting in particular the Japanese Coast Guard's success in this endeavor. With the general alignment of regional and global power interests in Southeast Asia, coast guard agencies hold promise for extra-regional powers wishing to help eradicate maritime piracy in the region.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Tikiri Nimal Herath

Decentralization of Governance and Economic Development: The Sri Lankan Experience after Establishment of Provincial Councils

in South Asia Economic Journal, Volume 10, No. 1 , 157-185

Economists have theoretically shown that decentralization of governance promotes growth and development. However,



this is not so according to the empirical evidence which sometimes shows divergent results. In the meantime, more and more countries decentralize their governance. This article reviews Sri Lanka's experience of decentralization during the past 15 years. The article compares the pre- and post- decentralized economic status under Provincial Councils and examines the relationship of the degree of decentralization with poverty and the per capita income of the country. Findings show that the actual degree of decentralization is very low and it is not significantly conducive to increase per capita income, there is a huge imbalance in development among regions, and public officials at lower layers of government are not competent to reap the benefits of decentralization. For the effective functioning of decentralized governance in developing countries, the article recommends, first, to empower lower layers of government with more clearly defined functions that do not overlap with the central government; second, to develop a proper mechanism enabling lower tiers of government to reap the benefits of decentralization; third, to take prompt action to enable public officials to be familiar with the decentralized role of the state and principles of public expenditure.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Chung, Jae Ho

East Asia Responds to the Rise of China: Patterns and Variations

in Pacific Affairs , Volume 82, Number 4, Winter , 657-675

How is East Asia responding to the rising China? Pertinent literature suggests that explicit balancing or containment has been rare and engagement, if not appeasement, appears to be East Asia's modus operandi. Yet, this study argues that certain, though subtle, variations are nevertheless discernible among the regional states in their responses to China's ascent. Focusing on 15 East Asian states for the period of 2004-2007, the article first presents a bird's-eye view of East Asia's responses to the rise of China. More specifically, inter-state variations are empirically demonstrated and four principal patterns—bandwagoning, hesitant hedging, active hedging and balancing—are distilled from the key responses of these 15 nations. The article then examines the sources of these inter-state variations, and argues that they are conditioned largely by three factors: alliances with the United States, regime characteristics and territorial disputes with China. The article concludes with some observations as to East Asia's complex responses to the rise of China and their security implications for the region as a whole.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

A. Ganesh Kumar; Gordhan K. Saini

Economic Cooperation in South Asia

in Journal of South Asian Development (The), Volume 4, No. 2, July/December , 253-281

This article attempts to evaluate the Pareto optimality of SAFTA and three other alternative sets of coordinated trade policies that go beyond SAFTA for all the member states. These include (a) extended preferential trading between SAFTA with other major trading blocs, (b) full trade liberalisation by South Asian countries and (c) SAFTA plus a customs union. The analysis, using the standard static Global Trade Analysis Project (GTAP) model, shows that (a) there would be winners and losers amongst the member states, (b) the winners and losers vary across alternative scenarios that represent different trade policy regime and (c) the gains/losses as the case may be are not very large. Thus, the welfare basis for establishing SAFTA or for deeper trade policy coordination is not very strong. Justification for SAFTA may lie in other dimensions of regional cooperation than in mere tariff policy coordination.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Nie Hongyi

Explaining Chinese Solutions to Territorial Disputes with Neighbour States

in Chinese Journal of International Politics (The), Volume 2, Number 4, Winter , 487-523

From the beginning of the colonial period to the height of western imperialism, and throughout the course of former colonies' national independence, territorial disputes have been a root cause of war and conflict between states. As China shares a border with more countries than any other state, it exists within an extremely complicated geo-political environment. China has formally resolved border issues with 12 neighbour countries, but sovereignty disputes over more than 22,000 kilometers of territory along China's borders have yet to be settled. Conciliation of these territorial disputes is crucial to China's peaceful development. These disputes generate hostilities and reservations within the international community on China's rise and also create challenges as regards national image and China's diplomacy. Since the establishment of the PRC, China has successfully resolved territorial and border disputes with many neighbour states through a peaceful and concessionary diplomatic approach based on mutual understanding.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Shahar Hameiri

Governing disorder: the Australian Federal Police and Australia's new regional frontier

in Pacific Review (The) , Volume 22 Issue 5 , 549 - 574

The Australian Federal Police has in recent years become an important actor in both the implementation and design of Australian-led state building interventions in Australia's near region of Southeast Asia and the South Pacific. The article focuses on the recent expansion of the Australian Federal Police as a way of understanding the emergence of a new partly (and strategically) deterritorialized, 'regional' frontier of the Australian state. Within this new frontier, whose fluctuating outlines the Australian Federal Police not only polices but also to a considerable extent shapes and reshapes, as one of the primary expert agencies on identifying and managing transnational security risks, Australian security is portrayed as contingent on the quality of the domestic governance of neighbouring states, thereby creating linkages between the hitherto domestic governing apparatus of the Australian state and those of other countries. This allows for the rearticulation of the problems affecting intervened states and societies - indeed, their very social and political structures - in the depoliticized terms of the breakdown of 'law and order' and the absence of 'good governance', which not only rationalizes emergency interventions to stabilize volatile situations, but also delegitimizes and potentially criminalizes oppositional politics. The Australian Federal Police, however, does more than merely provide justification for intrusive state transformation projects. Its transnational policing activities open up a field of governance within the apparatus of intervened states that exists in separation from international and domestic law. The constitution of such interventions 'within' the state leaves intact the legal distinction between the domestic and international spheres and therefore circumvents the difficult issue of sovereignty. As a result, police and other executive-administrative actors obtain discretionary ordering powers, without dislodging the sovereign governments of intervened countries.

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Grimes, William

Japan Confronts the Global Economic Crisis

in *Asia Pacific Review*, Volume 16 Issue 2 , 42 - 54

In the face of the global economic crisis of 2008-09, Japan has played a positive role in helping to stabilize the regional and global financial systems. Among the positive actions it has taken have been large-scale fiscal and monetary stimulus at home, an unprecedentedly large loan to the International Monetary Fund, liquidity support to South Korea, and a proactive role in G-20 discussions. However, regional arrangements such as the Chiang Mai Initiative have been of minimal importance in preventing financial crises in East Asia. Japan can continue to demonstrate leadership in promoting regional economies and financial systems by expanding its current activities, while ensuring that regional arrangements continue to support global ones.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Jetin Bruno

L'intégration monétaire asiatique dollarisation, monnaie commune ou simple coopération monétaire?

in *Revue Tiers Monde*, n. 199 , 591-610

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Sovacool, Benjamin K.

Reassessing Energy Security and the Trans-ASEAN Natural Gas Pipeline Network in Southeast Asia

in *Pacific Affairs* , Volume 82, Number 3, Fall , 467-486

Regulators within the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) have heavily promoted investment in natural gas infrastructure to meet burgeoning demand for energy. By 2030, some analysts expect Southeast Asia to become "the Persian Gulf of Gas" and responsible for one-quarter of the world's gas production and use. Perhaps no single project is more emblematic of the region's view of energy security and policy than the Trans-ASEAN natural gas pipeline (TAGP) system, a proposed network of natural gas pipelines to connect the gas reserves in the Gulf of Thailand, Indonesia, Myanmar and the Philippines to the rest of the region. Advocates of the TAGP expect it to promote economic development, earn foreign exchange, mitigate the risks of climate change, and enhance regional energy security. Drawing from field research and research interviews, however, this article takes a critical look at the region's drive towards the TAGP and ASEAN's approach to energy security as a whole. The article argues that plans for the TAGP rest on too simple a notion of energy security: secure access to fuel. This conception of energy security ignores important additional dimensions related to availability, affordability, efficiency and environmental and social stewardship. In contrast, the paper concludes that the TAGP is insufficient, expensive, inefficient, and environmentally and socially destructive.

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Christoffersen, G.

Russia's breakthrough into the Asia-Pacific: China's role

in *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, Volume 10, Number 1, January , 61-91

Russia's place in the Asia-Pacific region (APR) is undefined, hovering between Moscow's grandiose visions of its geopolitical role in balance of power strategies, and Russia's near invisibility in the region. Russia's integration into the Asia-Pacific has been dependent on China to give Russia a legitimate political and military presence in the region. Moscow blames mistakes it has made in Asia Pacific integration, 1992–2005, on this China dependence, and expects that post-2006 Russian integration will be different as Moscow diversifies its relations in the region, culminating in Russia hosting the APEC 2012 summit.

There is a human security deficit for the people of the Russian Far East, which Russians believe will be solved by better integration into the APR. This article examines Russian preparations to host APEC 2012, local-level Sino-Russian economic relations, and Russian ambivalence regarding dependence/interdependence with its Chinese neighbor.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Terms of Reference of the ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights

in *Asia Pacific Journal on Human Rights and the Law*, Volume 10, Number 1, , 80-87

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Wong Hock Tsen

Terms-of-Trade and Trade Balance: Some Empirical Evidence of Asian Economies

in *International Trade Journal*, Volume 23 Issue 4 , 422 - 457

This study examines the impact of terms-of-trade and oil price on trade balance in Asian economies. Generally, the results of the normalized cointegrating vectors show that the impact of terms-of-trade on trade balance is different across economies. An increase in oil price or permanent oil price will lead to a decrease in terms-of-trade while the impact of an increase in temporary oil price on terms-of-trade is ambiguous. Generally, terms-of-trade, domestic demand, foreign demand, and oil price (permanent oil price, temporary oil price) are important in the determination of trade balance in the short run and long run.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Shintaro Hamanaka

The Building Block versus Stumbling Block Debate of Regionalism: From the Perspective of Service Trade



Liberalization in Asia

in *Journal of World Trade*, Volume 43 Issue 4 , 873–891

When debating the pros and cons of economic regionalism, have we focused more on trade in goods at the expense of services? This article argues that regionalism is certainly a building block not a stumbling block to a multilateral trading system, using the service liberalization scheme of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) as a case study. At the same time, it is critical to set out a proper institutional arrangement to ensure that regional service liberalization initiatives reinforce the global service regime. This article proposes an amendment of the current Article V of the General Agreements on Trade in Services (GATS) to define the appropriate relationship between multilateralism and regionalism in the context of services.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Arendshorts John

The Dilemma of Non-Interference: Myanmar, Human Rights, and the ASEAN Charter

in *Northwestern University Journal of International Human Rights*, vol. 8, issue 1, fall

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Park Cheol Hee

The Pattern of Cooperation and Conflict between Korea and Japan: Theoretical Expectations and Empirical Realities

in *Japanese Journal of Political Science*, Volume 10, Issue 3, December , 247-265

Over the past few decades, cooperation between Korea and Japan has increased and deepened, but frictions continue to persist. Which direction is the relationship between Korea and Japan heading? This is the question that this article attempts to address.

From an analytical standpoint, this article applies contemporary international relations theories – realism, liberalism, and constructivism – to the pattern of cooperation and conflict in Korea–Japan relations. After reviewing both optimistic and pessimistic positions drawn from diverse perspectives, the author makes a synthesis, where he suggests the case for cautious optimism.

What we find in reality is long-term progress in an upward movement, interrupted by recurring frictions in the short term. Empirical evidence supports the case that Korea–Japan relations are making steady progress towards deeper, heightened, and multilayered cooperation. However, such issues as historical controversy and territorial disputes are the hurdles that both nations need to overcome. Whether Korea and Japan can maximize the effects of optimism, while they effectively minimize the impacts of pessimism will determine the nature of the ties between the two countries.

Cooperation between the two countries is not necessarily guaranteed, but we find irreversible trends of improved cooperation over time. However, lingering suspicions, submerged nationalist sentiments, and sporadic surges of



extremism remain. They should be carefully managed by the leaders of the two countries.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Hidetaka Yoshimatsu

The Rise of China and the Vision for an East Asian Community
in *Journal of Contemporary China*, Volume 18 Issue 62 , 745 - 765

This article seeks to explore how stable regional order under the possible community formation can be created in East Asia in moves towards China's ascendancy. For this objective, it takes advantage of a framework assuming that the development of an East Asian community would be possible under conditions that the states in the region develop common identity and norms, as well as multilateral institutions that guarantee the long-term interest. Moreover, the society needs to be involved in identity formation and institution-building. This article argues that China has been gradually embedded into formal multilateral institutions and less formal policy networks formed by state and non-state actors, which have been conducive to the creation of a regional community. However, both collective norms at the governmental level and shared cultural consciousness at the public level have not developed enough to have significant influences on directing China firmly to the formation of a regional community.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Munro, James

Why States Create International Human Rights Mechanisms: The Asean Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights and Democratic Lock-In Theory
in *Asia Pacific Journal on Human Rights and the Law*, Volume 10, Number 1, , 1-26

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Streinz Rudolf

Das Grundgesetz: Europafreundlichkeit und Europafestigkeit. Zum Lissabon-Urteil des Bundesverfassungsgerichts
in *Zeitschrift für Politik*, Jahrgang 56, Heft 4, 2009

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Palermo Francesco, Woelk Jens



"Maastricht reloaded": il Tribunale costituzionale federale tedesco e la ratifica condizionata
in *Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo*, n. 3 , 1027-1037

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Aydın Düzgit Senem

Constructing Europe through Turkey: French perceptions on Turkey's accession to the European Union
in *Politique européenne* , N°. 29, Décembre

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Padoa Schioppa Antonio

Germany and Europe. The judgment of the Court of Karlsruhe
in *Perspectives on federalism*, Vol. 1, single issue , N 51-58

This note provides a brief comment on the Lisbon Urteil of the German Constitutional Court. The author points out the ambiguities of the judgment and its possible impact on the European integration process.

full text available at:

<http://www.on-federalism.eu/index.php/component/content/article/52-germany-and-europe-the-judgment-of-the-court-of-karlsruhe>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Tesauro Giuseppe

Il contributo di Antonio La Pergola all'affermazione e allo sviluppo del diritto comunitario
in *Studi sull'integrazione europea*, Anno IV, n. 2 , 361-368

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Lopedote Claudia

L'Europa alla prova della democrazia tedesca



in *Queste istituzioni*, n. 154 , III - XI

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Deflou Arnaud

La compagnie internationale des Wagons-Lits, prémices (invisibles...?) à la formation d'une identité européenne! Recherche d'une explication à l'absence de conscience européenne

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 531, septembre , 547-554

On the night of the European parliamentary elections on the 7th June 2009 the startling report on the rise of abstention from voting was around 60% in France. This reveals the lack of a European awareness among French citizens. It is difficult to find an explanation, even if the argument of "democratic deficit" and a "technocratic Europe" is present in several minds. One event can give us the keys to understanding the birth of an identity. A 19th century company, the International Sleeping Car Company, gave dreams and freedom to the European people by providing the (rail)way to knowledge through discovery of European nations. The European Union was born as an economic perspective in order to give rise to interdependence between the states, and today is leaning towards becoming political. However, the error of the two organisations is forgetting the idea of borders in Europe. The company instilled an European identity through the discovery of territory: it opened borders without closing them again. The Union has opened economic borders by defining an economic territory but has forgotten to close them by drawing up an European policy. Would the European identity need borders so that people become aware of it?

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bertrand Gilles

Le fiasco chypriote, mauvais signe pour élargissement de l'Union européenne à la Turquie et aux États ouest-balkaniques .

in *Politique européenne* , N°. 29, Décembre

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Marcou Jean

Les deux Europe et Bruxelles à l'épreuve de la candidature de la Turquie à l'Union européenne : opinions et stratégies

in *Politique européenne* , N°. 29, Décembre

No abstract available



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Petithomme Mathieu

Les effets de l'intégration européenne sur les partis politiques nationaux : une perspective comparée .
in *Politique européenne* , N°. 29, Décembre

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Blockmans Steven, Wessel Ramses A

The European Union and Crisis Management: Will the Lisbon Treaty Make the EU More Effective?
in *Journal of Conflict and Security Law*, Volume 14, Number 2, Summer , 265-308

The European Union's security and defence policy (ESDP) was invented 10 years ago and has been operational for more than five years. During this period the EU has launched over 20 ESDP missions allowing the organization to be engaged in international crisis management in various ways. The coming years will reveal whether the European Union is able to meet its ambitions to carry out a greater number of more complex ESDP missions in higher-risk theatres. While the EU has stepped up the plate to meet these challenges, the three case studies discussed in this article (EULEX Kosovo, EUPOL Afghanistan, EUFOR Tchad/RCA) reveal that the path paved with good intentions might in this case indeed lead to hell. Whereas the new Treaty of Lisbon introduces quite a few institutional changes to the current treaty regime of foreign affairs and security policy, it is questionable whether these innovations will significantly improve the decision-making and leadership on issues of ESDP and, consequently, the effectiveness of the Union as an international crisis manager.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Chiti Edoardo

'An Important Part of the EU's Institutional Machinery: Features, Problems and Perspectives of European Agencies'

in *Common Market Law Review*, vol. 46, issue 5 , 1395-1442

ABSTRACT: This paper aims at contributing to the discussion on the overall assessment of European agencies and their possible developments. For this purpose, three main questions are tackled: (i) what are the European agencies' distinguishing features that have emerged and consolidated in the almost two-decade long process of agencification in the EU legal order? (ii) how can such features be assessed and what problems do they raise? (iii) what perspectives can be envisaged in the development of the agencification process? The European agencies' distinguishing features and the problems that they raise are considered by focusing on the main aspects in which the agencification process can be analysed: namely, the organizational architecture of European agencies; the powers conferred on them; the relationships between European agencies and national administrations; the "global dimension" of the administrative networks coordinated by European agencies; the mechanisms to keep European agencies under control; the legal limits



of the establishment of new European agencies (and the Meroni doctrine).

As for the possible perspectives of the agencification process in the EU legal order, building upon current institutional debates and recent reform processes, two main possible lines of development are discussed: firstly, a substantial complication of the model, due to the gradual emergence, next to the European agencies of the type consolidated so far, of a “new type” of European agencies, which are independent vis-à-vis the market and EU political institutions, including the Commission; secondly, the expansion of agencification beyond the Commission’s sphere of influence and the establishment of European agencies serving European bodies other than the Commission.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Parker Owen

'Cosmopolitan Europe' and the EU-Turkey question: the politics of a 'common destiny'

in *Journal of European Public Policy*, Volume 16 Issue 7 2009, 1085 - 1101

This paper assesses cosmopolitanism in practice in Europe via an engagement with the 'EU-Turkey question', analysing the extent to which a 'cosmopolitan outlook' is emerging within Turkey and in European reactions to Turkey and the ways in which this plays out in the face of important political opposition in both settings. It argues that in the context of Turkey's internal politics and the European Union's (EU's) consideration of Turkey's candidature, an essentialist view of identity is constitutive of hostile relations between the EU and Turkey and within Turkish and European societies. Conversely, the adoption of a critical and reflexive cosmopolitan outlook as theory and political practice - examples of which are to be found in the Turkish political reform process and some of the recent practice of the European Commission - offers the best hope for a cosmopolitan Europe inclusive of cosmopolitan Turkey.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Tulibacka Magdalena

'Europeanization of Civil Procedures: In Search of a Coherent Approach'

in *Common Market Law Review*, vol. 46, issue 5, 1527-1565

ABSTRACT: Civil procedure is an increasingly important element of the European Union’s legal system. The interest in it, both on the regulatory and on the academic side, has grown considerably. Time has come to re-evaluate the position. While the policy of “judicial cooperation in civil matters” coordinated by the DG Freedom, Security and Justice contains most EU activities in the area, civil procedure is also the subject of attention from various other actors within the EU. Directorates General Internal Market, Competition, or SANCO are involved in regulating civil procedures on sectoral levels. There is little doubt that coordination of domestic civil procedure rules of European Union Member States is necessary to some extent. This paper tackles two important questions: how far should the harmonization of these rules reach, and can its aims be achieved by the approach taken by the EU at present? It emphasizes the recent phenomenon of decentralized harmonization as a particular challenge to the coherence of the EU policy in the area. It sketches a blueprint for a more coherent approach to Europeanization of civil procedures.

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 6. The European unification process

Wichmann Nicole

'More In Than Out': Switzerland's Association With Schengen/Dublin Cooperation

in *Swiss Political Science Review - Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft - Revue suisse de science politique*, Volume 15, Number 4, Winter 2009/10 , 653-682

No Abstract

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Kurowska Xymena

'Solana Milieu': Framing Security Policy

in *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, vol. 10, n. 4, December , Special Issue: The Politics of European Security Policies: Actors, Dynamics and Contentious Outcomes , 523-540

The aim of this article is to contribute to a better understanding of the process of security policy production at the Brussels level. Two points are made. First, it is shown that in order to grasp the logic of policy outcomes it is crucial to analyse the major actors in the field, the patterns of the interaction they forge and the notions that inform their political action. I single out an entity, which I call the Solana milieu, and illustrate how this environment has become a significant policy entrepreneur in the realm of EU's security policy. I propose that a dynamic approach to frame analysis is useful to unravel the modus operandi of this ambience. In particular, it offers a way beyond the oft-repeated criticism of policy incoherence whose elimination would allegedly bring a remedy to the under-performance in the EU's security policy. It argues instead that policy controversies are inevitable due to the institutional identities that are at play. Secondly, the investigation into one security-making field illustrates the inherent politicisation of the process, which nuances the argument about the inevitable shift away from 'normal politics' when security questions arise.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Chico Zamanillo David, Ramos Diaz Javier

10 años de existencia del Euro: una visión política

in *Cuadernos europeos de Deusto*, n. 41 , 51-71

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Schwarze Jürgen

20 Jahre Gericht erster Instanz in Luxemburg – Der Zugang zur Justiz

in *Europarecht*, Volume 44, Issue 6, 2009 , 717-727

The full text is free:



www.europarecht-online.info/eurecht/hefte/Aufsatz_EuR_09_06.pdf

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Fahey Elaine

A Constitutional Crisis in a Teacup: The Supremacy of EC Law in Ireland

in *European public Law*, Volume 15 (2009) Issue 4 , 515–522

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Safferling Christoph J.M.

A Criminal Law for Europe: Between National Heritage and Transnational Necessities

in *German Law Journal*, Vol. 10, n. 10 , 1383-1398

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Munoz Sanchez Antonio

A European Answer to the Spanish Question: The SPD and the End of the Franco Dictatorship

in *Journal of European Integration History*, vol. 15, n. 1 , 77-94

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Del Pero Mario

A European Solution for a European Crisis. The International implications of Portugal's Revolution

in *Journal of European Integration History*, vol. 15, n. 1 , 15-34

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Van Vooren Bart

A case study of 'soft law' in EU external relations: The European Neighbourhood Policy

in *European Law Review*, Vol. 34, issue 5 , 696-719



No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Siedentop Larry

A che punto è l'Europa?

in *Aspenia*, n. 46, ottobre, "Il fine della storia: 89-09" , 77-83

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

DeVore Marc Ronald

A convenient framework: the Western European Union in the Persian Gulf, 1987-1988 and 1990-1991

in *European Security*, Volume 18, Number 2, June , 227-243

One important discussion about European security focuses on what types of institutions will enable Europe to effectively intervene in regional crises. Thus far, the consensus has been that a European Security and Defense Policy should possess, for its military component, a highly institutionalized and integrative inter-governmental structure. Ironically, Europe's greatest collective foreign military successes were obtained under the organizational auspices of the Western European Union (WEU), whose ill-defined mandate and weak institutional structures contrast markedly from current policy prescriptions. In two campaigns, the WEU coordinated efforts to protect maritime commerce and swept sea lanes for naval mines during the Iran-Iraq War (1987-1988), enforced the United Nations embargo of Iraq during the 1990-1991 Gulf Crisis, and cleared the naval mines left behind after the 1991 Gulf War. The lesson to be drawn from these successful interventions is that Europe profited from a structure capable of limiting the political and diplomatic costs of intervening abroad and not, as is often assumed, an organization designed to maximize military efficiency.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Calandri Elena

A special relationship under strain: Turkey and the EEC, 1963-1976

in *Journal of European Integration History*, vol. 15, n. 1 , 57-76

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

European Economy News

A stronger voice for the euro area

in *European Economy News*, October 2009 – Issue 15



In a referendum held on 3 October, Irish voters approved the Lisbon Treaty by a margin of 67.1 to 32.9 per cent, representing a swing of more than 20 per cent from the outcome registered in June 2008, when an earlier version of the Treaty was rejected by 53.4 per cent. Brian Cowen, Ireland's prime minister, welcomed the results, saying: "Today the Irish people have spoken with a clear and resounding voice. It is a good day for Ireland and it is a good day for Europe." The referendum result greatly improves the chances that the institutional reforms set out in the Lisbon Treaty will come into effect next year. The treaty was signed by the Head of States and Governments in December 2007 and is intended to make the EU "more democratic, more transparent and more efficient". European Economy News interviewed Benjamin Angel, Head of Unit for the economic aspects of regulatory policy in DG ECFIN, to find out how Lisbon will impact EMU.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Crum Ben

Accountability and Personalisation of the European Council Presidency
in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 31, Number 6 / November , 685-701

While the European Council has come to be a key institution in the EU, its accountability has been rather indirect and limited. Individually its members are held to account in their domestic systems. Collectively, however, accountability appears limited to the presidential addresses to the European Parliament. This may well change if the rotating European Council Presidency were to be replaced by a permanent, elected president. This article presents a systematic analysis of the principle of rotation versus that of a permanent European Council President in terms of democratic representation and accountability. It concludes that a permanent president would open up opportunities to increase the public accountability of the European Council to the European Parliament. More specifically, it suggests that whenever such a president would seek to expand his powers, automatic balancers within the EU institutional architecture would ensure that these powers were checked and subject to parliamentary control.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Krastev Ivan

Addio all'Europa centrale

in *Aspenia*, n. 46, ottobre, "Il fine della storia: 89-09" , 32-37

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Padoa Schioppa Antonio

After the Irish vote: what shall we do?

in *Perspectives on federalism*, Vol. 1, single issue , N 1-10

In the article the thesis is presented of a twofold institutional geometry for the European Union, so as to make the present (as well as that to be put in place by the Lisbon Treaty) institutional and decision-making structure compatible



with an initiative by a core of EU countries, contemplating to adopt, for all the policies of EU competence -in particular for budget, taxation, foreign policy, defence, the environment, and including future reforms of the treaties-, the majority principle and the co-decision role of the Parliament.

Full text available at:

<http://www.on-federalism.eu/index.php/notes/19-after-the-irish-vote-what-shall-we-do>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

LÓPEZ CASTILLO ANTONIO

Alemania en la Unión Europea a la luz de la Sentencia-Lisboa, de 30 de junio de 2009, del Tribunal Constitucional Federal alemán

in *Revista Española de Derecho Constitucional*, n. 87

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Lowrey Annie

All for One?

in *Foreign Policy*, Issue 174, November / December

The Lisbon Treaty creates an EU president, sure. But it's the new foreign policy czar who might really change the world.

http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2009/11/06/all_for_one

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Schout Adriaan, Jordan Andrew, Twena Michelle

An important proposition in public policy analysis is that the design and selection of policy instruments is a manifestation of power relations; in other words, 'politics determines instruments'. However, except where it degenerates into tick-the-box routines, instrumentation can also generate its own political effects at the implementation stage - the 'instruments determine politics' argument. Examining the impact assessment (IA) element of the EU's Better Regulation agenda of the European Union, this article argues that procedures and meta-instruments are chosen by policy-makers when there is disagreement on fundamental issues of power. Policy-makers activate meta-instruments that do not address fundamental issues directly, but change procedures of policy formulation. In so doing, however, they create a new structure of opportunity, which produces its own effects on politics. Our findings point to unintended effects of IA, such as administrative coordination and organisational learning, as well as strengthening of the Commission Secretariat General.

in *West European Politics*, vol. 33, n. 1, January, 154-170



ABSTRACT: The literature is now exploring the wider implications of the governance 'turn' in the European Union. This article develops this work by looking at the administrative demands associated with the use of 'new' (and principally network-based) instruments of governance. In the past, the main instrument used to integrate environmental concerns into other sectors was regulation. But in the 1990s, the Cardiff Process was established at EU level to promote a newer and more network-based approach to delivering this objective. Drawing upon an analysis of how well national administrative systems have responded to the demands associated with networks, it argues that both the 'old' and the 'new' instruments of governance are reliant on the presence of sufficient administrative capacities. It concludes that decision-makers in the EU have traded the 'old' governance of regulation for the 'new' governance of networks without sufficiently diagnosing the administrative demands associated with either.

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McGowan Lee

Any Nearer to Victory in the 50-Year War? Assessing the European Commission's Leadership, Weapons and Strategies towards Combating Cartels

in Perspectives on European Politics and Society, vol. 10, n. 3, September , 283-307

Some 50 years after its creation EU competition policy remains firmly entrenched as one of the most developed examples of supranational governance within the European Union. Although there has been a marked increase in interest among political scientists in competition policy in recent years there are still gaps in terms of overall coverage. One area that has been largely overlooked centres on cartels. Cartel policy has emerged as a highly salient issue and main priority of the Commission's competition policy since the late 1990s. Certainly, the recent restructuring of the EU cartel enforcement regime, the imposition of ever higher fines and a determined EU Competition Commissioner have fuelled growing media attention while new notices and regulations increasingly occupy the interests and minds of practitioners. The European Commission has constantly extended its activities on the competition policy front and its increasingly aggressive strategies to combat cartels provides political scientists with a fascinating case study of governance in action and illustrates the ways - such as leniency programmes, higher fines, enhanced and better equipped resources as well as internal reorganisation in which the European regulator is pursuing such conspiracies. This article traces the evolution and development of EU cartel policy since its inception and assesses the Commission's strategies and considers just to what extent the European Commission is winning its war against business cartelisation.

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Czaika Mathias

Asylum Cooperation among Asymmetric Countries

in European Union Politics , Vol. 10, n. 1, March , 89-113

This article argues that cooperation to tackle the consequences of large asylum migration inflows is possible only among fairly symmetrical countries. Highly asymmetric countries have no incentives to join and remain in a stable coalition. The distinction between cost and spillover asymmetries shows that financial transfers may release constraints on participation, and thus make asylum cooperation feasible, only if they are focused on tackling this asymmetry. This result becomes relevant when applied to the context of the enlarged European Union. I argue that there is the potential for a future cooperative burden-sharing regime for asylum, particularly if unanimity is replaced by the double majority principle



in European Council votes, as suggested in the EU reform treaty.

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European Economy News

Back from the brink?

in *European Economy News*, October 2009 – Issue 15

Iceland's spectacular and sudden economic collapse was the result of macroeconomic imbalances which built-up over time. These were driven by a booming economy and aggressive expansion by Icelandic banks. Iceland's highly leveraged economy was vulnerable to adverse external shocks such as the global financial turmoil. Ultimately, the IMF had to step in to rescue it. The country has stabilised, and has several long-term advantages. Moreover, membership in the EU and adoption of the euro – if they proceed – could provide greater stability. Nonetheless, the future of this remote island nation remains uncertain.

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Schneider Gerald, Finke Daniel, Bailer Stefanie

Bargaining Power in the European Union: An Evaluation of Competing Game-Theoretic Models

in *Political Studies*, Volume 58, Issue 1, February , 85-103

This article evaluates, by drawing on Barry's distinction between 'power' and 'luck', the predictive accuracy of competing bargaining models. We explore whether models that take various facets of political power into account predict legislative outcomes more precisely than purely preference-based models like the Nash Bargaining Solution (NBS). Our empirical examination compares how well different formal models predict the outcome of 66 legislative decisions made within the European Union (EU). A model that considers the saliency actors attach to a contested issue performs best among all the models under examination. Although resource-based models provide less accurate forecasts on average, they offer relatively precise point predictions. The analysis also shows that domestic constraints are not a particularly important bargaining resource in legislative decision making.

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Berlinghoff Marcel

Between Emancipation and Defence: The Failure of the Commission's Attempt to Concert a Common European Immigration Policy

in *Europe en formation (L')*, n. 353-354, automne-hiver , 183-195

In the early 1970s labour immigration to Western Europe reached its peak. Facing enormous social problems, both the



European Commission and the nation states realised that an effective solution to migration problems could only be found in cooperation and exchange. The article describes the Commission's efforts to establish itself as an actor in the realm of immigration politics by concerting national immigration policies. Arguing that the states did not want to transfer their sovereignty in this field this article analyses how they took their own steps for concerted action and let the Commission's efforts fail.

Full text available on-line: http://www.cife.eu/UserFiles/File/EEF/353_54/EEF353_54-11MB.pdf

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Paunio Elina

Beyond Predictability – Reflections on Legal Certainty and the Discourse Theory of Law in the EU Legal Order in German Law Journal, Vol. 10, n. 11 , 1469-1494

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Benoît-Rohmer Florence

Bienvenue aux enfants de Bosphorus : la Cour européenne des droits de l'homme et les organisations internationales

in *Revue trimestrielle des droits de l'homme*, N° 81, Janvier

Dans l'arrêt Bosphorus, la Cour européenne des droits de l'homme n'a pas seulement statué sur sa compétence quant aux actes des Etats membres qui mettent en œuvre le droit communautaire, mais aussi résumé son attitude à l'égard des organisations internationales. La jurisprudence ultérieure qui porte essentiellement sur la recevabilité met en œuvre les critères dégagés par la Cour et contribue à l'architecture du système de contrôle. En procédant à des transferts de compétences au profit d'une organisation, les Etats ont-ils assuré une garantie suffisante des droits de l'homme ? Les actes de mise en oeuvre sont-ils imputables à l'Etat ou à l'Organisation ? Dans le cas d'actes imputables à l'Etat, quelle est la signification de l'insuffisance manifeste de protection visée dans l'arrêt Bosphorus ? Telles sont quelques-unes des questions auxquelles la Cour a été amenée à répondre.

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Stephenson Paul

Catching the Train to Europe: Executive Control of Policy Formulation inside Spain's Parliamentary European Union Affairs Committee

in *South European Society & Politics*, Volume 14, Issue 3, September , 317-336

Parliamentary European Affairs Committees (EACs) are the most important specialised body for scrutinising European Union (EU) matters. Despite a central position in domestic policy-making, their role is often limited. In Spain, the



pre-eminence of the executive over the legislature is commonly assumed. This article applies Moravcsik's four causal mechanisms for executive influence (initiative, institutions, information and ideas) to the analysis of reporting and debate on trans-European networks (TENs) policy. Placing a microscope over the process of EU policy formulation, throughout which member states articulate their preferences, it seeks to understand why the executive might exert strong influence and the legislature remain weak.

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Degrand-Guillaud Anne

Characteristics of and Recommendations for EU Coordination at the UN
in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, Volume 14, Issue 4 , 607-622

This paper is the second article of a series of two papers focused on European Union (EU) coordination at the United Nations. It analyses characteristics of EU coordination through insider observations and suggests a set of recommendations for improving and simplifying some of the current ways of proceeding. This would be of particular interest for the future external action service of the EU, which will provide back up and support to the High Representative for the Union in Foreign Affairs. This new configuration should streamline and increase the impact and the coherence of the EU's external action. The audience for this article is diplomats and professional negotiators at Member States and European level.

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Ruggeri Antonio

Cinque paradossi (...apparenti) in tema di integrazione sovranazionale e tutela dei diritti fondamentali
in *Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo*, n. 2 , 533-560

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Biondo Francesco

Cittadinanza europea e post-democrazia
in *Rassegna di diritto pubblico europeo*, n. 1 , 149-182

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Beatriz Larraz Iribas and Jose M. Pavia

Classifying Regions for European Development Funding
in *European Urban and Regional Studies*, Volume 17, No. 1 , 99-106



Structural and cohesion funds play a prominent role in European Union regional policy, which aims to reduce gaps in development between regions and disparities in well-being between European citizens. The regions and areas eligible for funding — 308,000 million during the 2007—13 period — are chosen according to regional GDP per inhabitant as the variable of reference. Despite the great importance of this indicator, the complex socioeconomic reality of regions cannot be fully explained by means of a single variable. Hence, using the large number of variables on economic, political, cultural and demographic characteristics available at regional level, this article groups European regions into homogeneous clusters. This makes it possible to identify the weak and strong points of each group of regions and to ascertain what type of action should be promoted and, therefore, funded in each region.

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Begg Iain

Cohesion or Confusion: A Policy Searching for Objectives

in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 32, Number 1 / January , 77-96

Cohesion is an important EU policy domain that was originally primarily about regional development, but which has since acquired wider objectives. This article examines the definition of cohesion and how cohesion policy has evolved in the EU. It then looks at the impact of cohesion policy as a process in European integration, before focusing on possible reforms of cohesion policy. Five main dimensions of reform explored are the underlying remit of the policy, whether it should be retained in richer member states and regions, the linkages between innovation and cohesion, legitimacy issues and the economic governance role of cohesion policy. The article concludes that new thinking is needed to deal with the many unresolved issues around the future of cohesion policy.

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Blauberger Michael

Compliance with rules of negative integration: European state aid control in the new member states

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 16 Issue 7 2009 , 1030 - 1046

Starting from existing accounts on candidate country and member state compliance, the compliance record of the Central and Eastern European countries in the field of state aid policy is puzzling. Despite allegedly low compliance costs in areas of negative integration and despite the European Union's powerful instrument of conditionality, the candidate countries' state aid policies have been in striking contrast to European rules before accession. After accession they quickly brought their policies in line with European requirements. This compliance record is a result of the institutional structure of European state aid control, conceding extraordinary enforcement powers to the Commission, rather than of low compliance costs in this field. By shifting the burden of proof to potential state aid grantors and channelling enterprises' state aid demand, Commission control produces strong incentives to comply with European state aid rules.

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Roland Vaubel



Constitutional courts as promoters of political centralization: lessons for the European Court of Justice
in *European Journal of Law and Economics*, Volume 28, Number 3 , 203-222

A cross-section analysis covering up to 42 countries and including the usual control variables shows that central government outlays as a share of general government outlays are significantly larger if the judges of the constitutional or supreme court are independent of the federal government and parliament and if the barriers to constitutional amendment are high. This evidence is consistent with the view that constitutional judges have a vested interest in centralization or that there is self-selection or both. These insights are used to draw lessons for the reform of the European Court of Justice. Self-selection should be reduced by requiring judicial experience—ideally with the highest national courts. The vested interest in centralization could be overcome by adding a subsidiarity court.

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Gambarino Carlo, Garuffi Sebastiano

Corte di giustizia europea ed imposte dirette: nuove (contro)tendenze verso un'integrazione comunitaria a rilento
in *Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo*, n. 2 , 878-892

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Bartole Sergio

Costituzione e costituzionalismo nella prospettiva sovranazionale
in *Quaderni Costituzionali*, numero : 3, settembre , 569-590

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Dickmann Renzo

Costituzione e democrazia in Europa. Verso (e dopo) il referendum irlandese.
in *Federalismi*, Anno VII - Nr. 18

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Varsori Antonio

Crisis and stabilization in Southern Europe during the 1970s: Western strategy, European instruments



in *Journal of European Integration History*, vol. 15, n. 1 , 5-14

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Grimm Dieter

Defending Sovereign Statehood Against Transforming the Union Into a State

in *European Constitutional Law Review*, Volume 5 - Issue 03 , 353-373

German Constitutional Court decision of 30 June 2009 on the compatibility of the Lisbon Treaty with the German Constitution – Overview of earlier case-law – Analysis of the judgment – Comparison with earlier case-law – The Court's reference to sovereignty – The concept of democratic legitimacy – Participation of the German Parliament – Transformation of the EU into a state – Creeping evisceration of state legislative authority – Assessment of the judgment

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Heartfield James

Demobilising the nation: The decline of sovereignty in Western Europe

in *International Politics* , Volume 46, Issue 6 - Special Issue: Beyond Hypocrisy?:Sovereignty Revisited, November , 712-731

Sovereignty is the subject of considerable debate in both International Relations (IR) theory and European Union (EU) studies. In IR, debate is oriented around the extent to which sovereignty constitutes the building block – or generative grammar – of international order. In EU studies, inter-governmentalists and integrationalists differ over how, why and to what extent European states are pooling or derogating sovereignty to supra-national institutions. This article makes no claim to resolving these debates. Rather, it works within them in order to examine the ways in which the exercise of sovereignty is becoming increasingly problematic, particularly in Western Europe. Specifically, it is argued, because of the failure of domestic political processes, European states are frustrated in terms of their international actions. This diminution of sovereignty provides the integration process with a veneer of dynamism as European institutions fill the vacuum left by demobilising nation-states.

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Serrano-Velarde Kathia

Der Bolognaprozess und die europäische Wissensgesellschaft

in *Soziale Welt*, Jahrgang 60, Heft 4, 2009 , 339-352

The Bologna Process and the European Knowledge Society



The article addresses the question how the “knowledge society” became a political stake in the European reform discourse. By introducing the example of the Bologna process, I will explicit the political reinterpretation of the term “knowledge society”, retrace its operationalization into political action guidelines and critically discuss its actual implementations. What type of knowledge society is described in the policy documentation of the Bologna process and what are the limits to its realisation?

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Kentmen Cigdem

Determinants of Support for EU Membership in Turkey

in European Union Politics, Vol. 9, n. 4, December, 487-510

Citizen support for EU membership in Turkey is an area where to date little research has been conducted, although Turkey has been an EU candidate since 1999. Drawing on pooled Eurobarometer data from 2001, 2002 and 2003, this study examines to what extent attachment to Islam, utilitarian considerations and national identity explain individual support for Turkey's accession to the EU in a possible membership referendum. Logit analyses reveal that attitudes toward the EU do not vary with one's devotion to Islam. This finding implies that Islamic values are not incompatible with being part of the West and attachment to Islam does not affect attitudes toward the West, as has been suggested especially after the attacks of 11 September 2001. When it comes to joining the EU, people evaluate accession on the basis of its influence on national identity and contributions to the national economy in Turkey.

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Editoriale

Di nuovo, a che servono i partiti europei?

in Queste istituzioni, n. 153, III - VIII

No abstract available

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Lenaerts Koen

Die Entwicklung der Rechtsprechung des Gerichtshofs der Europäischen Gemeinschaften auf dem Gebiet der direkten Besteuerung

in Europarecht, Volume 44, Issue 6, 2009, 728-748

No abstract available



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Reithmann Ulrich

Die Rechtsprechung des Gerichts für den öffentlichen Dienst der Europäischen Union 2007/2008

in *Europarecht*, Volume 44, Issue 6, 2009 , 801-819

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Pache Eckhard, Rösch Franziska

Die neue Grundrechtsordnung der EU nach dem Vertrag von Lissabon

in *Europarecht*, Volume 44, Issue 6, 2009 , 769-789

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Quintelier Ellen, Dejaeghere Yves

Does European Citizenship Increase Tolerance in Young People?

in *European Union Politics* , Vol. 9, n. 3, September , 339-362

While Europe is celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the signing of the Rome Treaty, there is much doubt about the extent of citizens' emotional attachment to Europe. In this article we examine whether young Belgians show a sense of European citizenship, using a range of questions about the European Union (EU) from a survey administered to more than 6000 secondary school students. We show that a genuine identification with Europe — one that is not purely based on a positive evaluation of the EU from a utilitarian point of view — is related to higher levels of tolerance towards ethnic minorities, Muslims and immigrants. In addition, we will provide an overview of the literature on European citizenship and its potential connection to a higher degree of tolerance towards different cultures.

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Bäck Hanna, Dumont Patrick, Meier Henk Erik, Persson Thomas, Vernby Kare

Does European Integration Lead to a 'Presidentialization' of Executive Politics?

in *European Union Politics* , Vol. 10, n. 2, June , 226-252

In this article, we address recent claims that executive— legislative relations in parliamentary democracies are undergoing important changes owing to either a 'presidentialization' or a 'Europeanization' of domestic political systems. Therefore, we test empirically whether parliamentary democracies are indeed experiencing changes in executive—legislative relations and whether these developments can, in part, be explained by an increase in European



integration. Using data on ministerial selection in Swedish cabinets during the years 1952—2006, we find that there appears to be a slight tendency towards 'presidentialization', which is indicated by a decrease in ministers with a parliamentary background being appointed, and that there exists some support for the notion that Sweden's political and economic integration into the European Union is part of the explanation for this change.

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Meyer Christoph O.

Does European Union politics become mediatized? The case of the European Commission
in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 16 Issue 7 2009 , 1047 - 1064

The article argues that a systematic study of mediatization processes promises valuable insights into problems of European Union (EU) governance. It sets out the mediatization argument and explores to what extent the political system and its major components can be expected to adjust to the logics of the news media. The empirical focus is on the adjustments of the European Commission to six distinct logics of the news media: news values, agenda-setting, news production, news language, investigative/accusatory journalism, and the reciprocal effects of professionalization. The paper finds preliminary evidence of mostly low to moderate mediatization across these six dimensions. Four main moderating factors account for this finding: political disincentives to strive for mass publicity, difficulties of communicating to fragmented audiences, limited scope for legislative initiatives, and the technocratic drawn-out nature of the EU policy process.

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Finke Daniel

Domestic Politics and European Treaty Reform - Understanding the Dynamics of Governmental Position-Taking
in *European Union Politics* , Vol. 10, n. 4, December , 482-506

This article analyses the extent to which governmental positions on European integration originate from domestic politics. In contrast to previous studies, I apply a longitudinal research design that allows for an empirical analysis of the domestic dynamics that govern position formation. I use advanced statistical measurement techniques to compare national positions across time. Member states' economic characteristics define a corridor for governmental positions. However, the political dynamics of the domestic arena determine the final position governments adopt at any particular Intergovernmental Conference (IGC). In particular, when formulating the national position, the short-term trend in public opinion limits governmental discretion. This effect is especially strong if the government announced ratification by referendum and in countries with a system of strong parliamentary scrutiny.

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Muravchik Joshua

Dopo il crollo

in *Aspenia*, n. 46, ottobre, "Il fine della storia: 89-09" , 38-48

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Nguyen Eric S.

Drivers and Brakemen - State Decisions on the Road to European Integration

in *European Union Politics* , Vol. 9, n. 2, June , 269-293

This article investigates the effect of public opinion, ideology, and political security on state decision-making on economic integration within the European Union (EU). Although leaders may have objective preferences based on projected economic effects and party ideology, they often face domestic constituencies with different views on increasing European interdependence. I argue that leaders with higher political security are able to discount adverse public opinion and to pursue their own preferences. Where leaders feel their political life may be in jeopardy, they stake out positions closer to prevailing public opinion. I test this hypothesis using a series of ordered probit models, and I conclude that even modest gains in political security dramatically increase the likelihood of a leader pushing strongly for economic integration.

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Schimmelfennig Franz

EU Democracy Promotion in the European Neighbourhood

in *European Union Politics* , Vol. 9, n. 2, June , 187-215

How effective and relevant is European Union political conditionality for the promotion of democracy in third countries? This article reports the results of a panel study of 36 countries of the East European and Mediterranean neighbourhood of the EU for the years 1988—2004. The analysis shows robust and strong effects of EU political conditionality on democracy in the neighbouring countries if the EU offers a membership perspective in return for political reform. Absent the offer of membership, however, EU incentives such as partnership and cooperation do not reliably promote democratic change. The analysis controls for economic development and transnational exchanges as two alternative potential causes of democratization. Although economic and geographical factors have an impact on democratization in the European neighbourhood as well, EU political conditionality remains a significant influence.

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Randazzo Vincenzo

EU Security Policies and the Pillar Structure: A Legal Analysis

in *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, vol. 10, n. 4, December, Special Issue: The Politics of European Security Policies: Actors, Dynamics and Contentious Outcomes, 506-522

Politico-institutional factors influence the choice of legal basis provisions and legal basis litigation. This is particularly true in the area of security policies where, due to their cross-pillar or inter-pillar nature, the 'choice of legal basis' often entails a 'choice of pillar'. This chapter analyses the legal rules governing the relationships between pillars in the context of security policies, and assesses the impact of politico-institutional factors in this respect. The analysis shows that the pillar structure is liable to widen the margin of discretion that political institutions enjoy as to the choice of legal basis and instruments. The rules on inter-pillar relationships are, in their interpretation and application, subject to a certain degree of flexibility. In some cases, the Council and the member states try to preserve national prerogatives and, therefore, to limit the scope of EC competences and the role of supranational institutions. In others, they resort to flexible interpretations of legal rules for bringing security issues within the first pillar. However, the article points out that the discretion enjoyed by political institutions (especially the Council) is not unlimited. While issues concerning the 'choice of pillar' have not emerged so far in the context of Common Foreign Security Policy-Police and Judicial Cooperation in Criminal Matters relationships, the situation is likely to change due to some elements stemming from the SEGI case law. The main limitation, in any case, flows from Article 47 EU. This provision seems to enshrine a prevalence of the first pillar over the others. However, the effectiveness of such constraints depends in the end on the European Court of Justice (ECJ), which, representing a judicial body aware of political concerns, tends to play a well-balanced role.

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Popescu Nicu

EU and the Eastern Neighbourhood: Reluctant Involvement in Conflict Resolution

in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, Volume 14, Issue 4, 457-477

The article deals with the European Union (EU) policy toward the post-Soviet secessionist conflicts in Transnistria, Abkhazia, South Ossetia, and Nagorno-Karabakh. The article argues that, in order to understand the EU as a crisis management actor, one has to study not just the patterns of EU intervention in conflict resolution and the impact of its actions but also EU decision not to intervene. These have a huge explanatory potential for the understanding of the EU as a foreign policy actor. Thus the article analyses in detail not just what the EU does vis-à-vis the post-Soviet secessionist conflicts but also what it failed to do. It analyses EU decisions to appoint special envoys, send civilian crisis management operations and offer assistance to the conflict zones, but also draws lessons from EU's refusal to consider the deployment of peacekeepers or the avoidance of conflict resolution strategies, which might upset Russia. The article concludes that EU intervention in conflict resolution is primarily driven by external constraints or opportunities rather than strategic design. When faced with a choice for possible intervention in conflict settlement, the EU tends to opt for the easier, rather than the necessary, foreign policy measures and tends to work around the hard issues of conflict resolution.

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Wettestad Jorgen

EU energy-intensive industries and emission trading: losers becoming winners?

in *European Environment/Environmental Policy and Governance*, Volume 19, Issue 5, September-October , 309-320

The EU Emissions Trading System (ETS) initially treated power producers and energy-intensive industries similarly, despite clear structural differences between these industries regarding e.g. pass-through of costs. Hence, the energy-intensive industries could be seen as losing out in the internal distribution. In the January 2008 proposal for a reformed ETS post-2012, a differentiated system was proposed where the energy-intensive industries would come out relatively much better. Why is this? Although power producers still have a dominant position in the system, the increasing consensus about windfall profits has weakened their standing. Conversely, increasing attention to such profits and not least the possibility of global carbon leakage has strengthened the case of energy-intensive industries at both national and EU levels. These industries have become more active in EU processes and somewhat better organized. Finally, growing fear of lax global climate policies has strengthened the case of these industries further.

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Flåm Karoline Hægstad

EU environmental state aid policy: wide implications, narrow participation?

in *European Environment/Environmental Policy and Governance*, Volume 19, Issue 5, September-October , 336-349

This article investigates the 2008 reform of the EU's environmental state aid guidelines, with an eye to determining the degree of external pressure and lobbying towards environmental state aid policies. What is found is a strikingly low level of external pressure on the policy field, not least on the part of the private sector. In fact, EU environmental state aid policy is largely the making of a few Commission officials, without much external interference. The article discusses possible reasons for this, and asks whether state aid policy-making might be marked less by clear and established stakeholder interests or stakeholders' utility maximizing, and more by stakeholders constrained by bounded rationality.

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Borrell Fontelles José

El euro: una moneda sin gobierno ante la crisis

in *Cuadernos europeos de Deusto*, n. 41 , 33-49

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Pérez Gabriel

El modelo federal de la Unión Europea

in *El Cotidiano : revista de la realidad mexicana actual* , n. 158



No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Toshkov Dimiter

**Embracing European Law - Compliance with EU Directives in Central and Eastern Europe
in European Union Politics**, Vol. 9, n. 3, September, 379-402

Accession to the European Union (EU) demands the adoption of a vast body of legislation. This paper analyses compliance with EU directives in eight post-communist countries during the Eastern enlargement and tries to account for the puzzling embrace of EU law in Central and Eastern Europe. Drawing on a new data set tracking the transposition of a sample of 119 directives, the paper finds effects of both political preferences and government capacity on the likelihood of timely transposition. Furthermore, important sectoral differences are uncovered, with trade-related legislation having a better chance and environmental legislation having a significantly worse chance of being incorporated into national legal systems on time. Beyond the conditionality of the accession process, the paper unveils a complex causal structure behind the ups and downs in transposition performance.

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Roa Bastos Francisco

Entre autonomisation et légitimation : la structuration de la vie politique communautaire au prisme des « partis politiques au niveau européen »

in Politique européenne, N°. 29, Décembre

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Guiraudon Virginie

**Equality in the making: implementing European non-discrimination law
in Citizenship Studies**, vol. 13, n. 5, October, 527-549

ABSTRACT: This article examines the development and implementation of European Union (EU) non-discrimination law since 2000. This empirical study allows us to investigate the dynamics of diffusion of the 'international politics of diversity' and their capacity to alter national 'philosophies of integration'. The multi-level governance of equality and diversity is also interesting to study in the context of EU policy-building. The article first analyses the reasons why racial and ethnic equality emerged as an EU competence as an alternative to a politically unpalatable post-national citizenship agenda in the 1990s, yet fell short of protecting non EU nationals from discrimination on the basis of nationality. The second part of the paper assesses the implementation of the EU race directive in eight member states, focusing on judicial procedures and alternative forms of redress, positive action policies and ethnic monitoring. The study concludes



that supranational law has been able to stir and reframe debates about integration in some of the old immigrant countries (France and Germany) by shifting the balance of forces between various actors. Notwithstanding, the introduction of new concepts and procedures is not always compatible with existing legal and mobilization cultures, and there has been little enactment of positive action policies. However, judicial processes are unlikely to be a solution to end structural discrimination or even redress feelings of injustice. The future of non-discrimination will depend on the success of equality bodies and civil society actors such as NGOs and trade unions to keep the issue on the political agenda. Finally, there are some inherent limits to what non-discrimination law focused on the socioeconomic sphere can achieve on the road to equality. The security of minorities requires their political empowerment, as a citizenship perspective would underline.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Raun Toivo U.

Estonia after 1991. Identity and Integration

in East European Politics and Societies, vol. 23, n. 4, Fall , 526-534

The past two decades have witnessed a reassessment and broadening of conceptions of identity among both the ethnic Estonian and Russian populations in Estonia. In addition to a continuing focus on aspects of national distinctiveness, emphasizing their small numbers, language, culture, territorial homeland, and—as a new factor—the state, the Estonians have increasingly engaged with a wider range of identities (local, regional, and European). Among these, the regional level has been the most productive, enhancing Estonia's already strong ties to Finland but also fostering closer connections to its other Nordic and Baltic neighbors. Although integration into NATO and integration into the European Union continue to receive strong approval, a European identity is still in the process of formation. For the Russian community, the fall of communism led to a full reevaluation of the bases of its identity. The major trend has seen a shift from a political consciousness (loyalty to the Soviet Union) to a greater emphasis on the Russian language and ethnicity. In spite of the general peacefulness of ethnic relations, any meaningful integration of the two major nationalities in Estonia remains incomplete, as graphically demonstrated in the Bronze Soldier affair in April 2007. Russians, especially younger ones, increasingly know the Estonian language, but views of history, especially regarding World War II, and attitudes toward Russia still differ markedly between the Estonian and Russian populations. The process of integration is further complicated by the neighboring and still powerful kin-state of the local Russian population.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Patten Chris

Europa, Turquía y EE UU: los retos del multilateralismo

in Política Exterior, 132

Con el presidente deseado en la Casa Blanca, ¿sabemos los europeos lo que estamos dispuestos a hacer para sostener nuestra visión del mundo? La ampliación de la Unión Europea ha sido la política exterior de más éxito. Cerrarle las puertas a Turquía es cerrar el futuro de la UE.

Vino, vio, venció e, incluso, pudo disfrutar de una ovación en pie por parte de la prensa europea en Londres. El primer viaje oficial de Barack Obama a Europa en marzo fue un éxito rotundo, una satisfacción para todos los americanófilos. Quizá no fue una sorpresa: al fin y al cabo Obama era el preferido para la Casa Blanca por una abrumadora mayoría



–aunque no votante– de europeos. Obama ha sustituido a un presidente cuya salida no se lamenta mucho ni en la vieja ni la nueva Europa. Además, y para no ensombrecer su triunfo, no tiene mucha competencia en cuanto a carisma o autoridad cuando se le compara con sus homólogos europeos. Habla como el líder de la que sigue siendo la única superpotencia mundial. ¿Cuál de sus homólogos habla en nombre de Europa? Y si alguno lo hiciera, ¿qué diría? ¿Estarían de acuerdo el resto de sus colegas?

Debo confesarme culpable de la típica presunción europea. Al decir “Europa” me refiero a la Unión Europea, aun sabiendo que no todos los países del continente forman parte de la Unión. Pero la mayoría de los países ya son miembros o quieren serlo. La última parada en la gira de Obama fue Turquía, cuya solicitud de pertenencia a la UE ayudará a definir el futuro tanto de Europa como del propio país. Los países más grandes no miembros son la parcialmente aspirante Ucrania –cuya cambiante frontera occidental habla mucho de la historia europea de los últimos dos siglos– y Rusia, que es sólo en parte un país europeo, cultural política y geográficamente hablando. Por tanto, al afirmar que el presidente Obama conquistó Europa, ¿qué es exactamente lo que conquistó? ¿Qué es Europa hoy?

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Guérot Ulrike

Europas verpasste Sternstunde

in **Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik**, Januar, 2010 , 6-9

The full text is free:

<http://www.blaetter.de/artikel.php?pr=3236>

Hätte Stefan Zweig sein Meisterwerk über die verpassten „Sternstunden der Menschheit“ geschrieben: der 19. November 2009 wäre mit Blick auf Europa wohl darin vorgekommen.

Jahrelang ringt die Europäische Union um eine neue Verfassung, rettet aus dem Konvolut den Vertrag von Lissabon, braucht wiederum drei Jahre und drei Referenden – und den Schock einer Finanzkrise –, um diesen Vertrag endlich zu ratifizieren (am 1. Dezember trat er tatsächlich in Kraft), während die Weltgeschichte und die globale Machtverschiebung längst mit Siebenmeilenstiefeln davon schreiten und Europa Tag um Tag seine eigene Marginalisierung immer mehr vor Augen führen – so erst jüngst beim APEC-Gipfel, auf dem die USA und die asiatischen Großmächte ihre wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit bekräftigten und gleichzeitig dem Klima-Gipfel von Kopenhagen den Gnadestoß versetzten.

Doch als die europäische Sternstunde endlich gekommen war, die heiß ersehnte, kräftige und effiziente Stimme für ein schlagkräftiges Europa in der Welt zu verkünden, da kreißte der Elefant, um eine Maus zu gebären. „Mausgrau“, so die einhellige Meinung, seien Hermann van Rompuy und Catherine Ashton, das neue Führungsduo der EU, respektive Präsident des Europäischen Rates und EU-Außenministerin (auch wenn diese offiziell nicht so heißen darf). [...]

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Naim Moisés



Europe After the Berlin Wall: 4 Surprises

in *Federalist Debate (The)*, Year XXII, n. 3, November

For Europe the effects of the Berlin Wall's collapse were almost as surprising as the fall itself. Here are 4 of the unexpected consequences that the end of the Soviet Union had for Europe -- ones even the experts didn't see coming.

http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2009/11/10/europe_after_the_berlin_wall_4_surprises

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Ladeur Karl-Heinz

Europe Has to Be Conceived as an Heterarchical Network and Not as a Superstate!

in *German Law Journal*, Vol. 10, n. 10 , 1357-1366

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Hisham Foad

Europe Without Borders? The Effect of the Euro on Price Convergence

in *International Regional Science Review*, Volume 33, No. 1 , Hisham Foad

Has the introduction of the Euro reduced the economic significance of national borders across the Euro Area? This article extends Engel and Rogers well known work on border effects to cities across Western Europe over the period 1995—2004. Although cross-border prices across the Euro Area are still more volatile than within-country prices, the importance of the border has diminished since the euro was introduced in 1999. The impact of the common currency on the border effect varies by country size, with the largest decreases occurring between larger Euro countries. Although cross-border price volatility has not changed between the United Kingdom and large Euro countries, volatility has actually increased between the small Euro countries and the United Kingdom. These results are consistent with the fact that exchange rates are more likely to adjust to price differentials between small countries than between large countries.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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White Jonathan

Europe and the Common

in *Political Studies*, Volume 58, Issue 1, February , 104-122

Significant attention has been given to the necessary conditions for a viable and legitimate European polity. Drawing on traditions in political philosophy, a central strand of this debate has concerned what must be common to a set of people such that they may be ruled through the same institutions, with various types of collective bond proposed as possible bases for political community. The argument of this article is that many such approaches, which conceive a bond in terms of shared interests, cultural attributes or shared values and principles, are liable either to underplay or to overplay



how much the citizens of a polity must have in common, tending either to empty public life of the pursuit of shared ends or conversely to downgrade the importance of adversarialism. Both may be seen as depoliticising moves. The article goes on to explore how a more explicitly political bond, based on the appraisal of political problems, might be conceived for a European polity.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Lowrey Annie

Europe to Europe: WTF?

in **Foreign Policy**, Issue 174, November / December

How Europeans are responding to their comically obscure new EU overlords.

http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2009/11/20/europe_to_europe_wtf

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Pollack Mark A.

Europe united? The impact of the EU's eastern enlargement, five years on

in **European View**, vol. 8, n. 2, December, 239-254

The 'eastern enlargement' of the European Union in 2004 and 2007 marked the unification of Western and Eastern Europe, yet many scholars feared negative consequences of enlargement—both for the institutions of the EU, which were expected to encounter gridlock in a Union of 27, and possibly for the new members themselves as the end of 'conditionality' might lead to backsliding on political or economic reforms. Despite these concerns, a growing body of EU scholarship has begun to explore both questions, and the results give substantial grounds for optimism. EU institutions have proven remarkably adaptable in the face of enlargement, while the new member states show little or no signs of backsliding, remaining committed to democracy, the rule of law and free markets.

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Hofmann Stephanie, Weisbrode Kenneth

Europe's Love Affair with Bureaucracy

in **Foreign Policy**, Issue 174, November / December

Why it's not as dysfunctional as you think.

http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2009/12/28/europes_love_affair_with_bureaucracy



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Batora Jozef

European Defence Agency: A Flashpoint of Institutional Logics

in West European Politics, vol. 32, n. 6, december , 1075-1098

ABSTRACT: The European Defence Agency (EDA) works in a policy area traditionally characterised by high diversity among actors regarding basic notions of what level of integration and which principles of interaction in the defence sector are appropriate for the EU, which countries should participate in defence cooperation, and what coordination mechanisms and instruments should be used. In all these dimensions, the EDA has been a flashpoint of institutional logics representing different visions of how various aspects of defence integration in the EU should be organised. There are tensions between the logic of supranational regulation and the logic of intergovernmental networking; between the logic of defence sovereignty and the logic of pooled defence resources; between the Europeanist and the Euro-Atlanticist logic; and finally between the logics of liberalisation and Europeanisation of the defence market. Studying the ways in which the collisions of institutional logics are being accommodated by the EDA can contribute to greater understanding of the emerging political order of European defence.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Kallonen Markko

European Integration and its Effects on Minority Protection in South Eastern Europe

in Review of Central & East European Law, vol. 34, n. 4 , 403-406

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Draxler Juraj, Vliet Olaf Van

European Social Model: No Convergence from the East

in Journal of European Integration, Volume 32, Number 1 / January , 115-135

Quantitative evidence based on social expenditure suggests that since Esping-Andersen's seminal study on welfare regimes, there has been a certain general convergence towards a European Social Model (ESM). The data, controlled for cyclical and demographic effects, show that, in recent years, social expenditures of EU-15 member states have converged, whereas in the mature non-EU welfare states this has not been the case.

In this long-term quantitative view, a tentative suggestion would be that Europeanization might be prevailing over path dependence of distinct models. However, the data also show a certain deviation from the model — the post-communist new member states (NMS) form a distinct group. This is confirmed by a cluster analysis based on social benefit generosity. To provide a background to these findings and, especially, to highlight the avenues for further investigation, the paper also looks at the institutional arrangements in the NMS. In particular, it draws attention to pension systems as a particularly sizeable component of the welfare state to illustrate how far most of the post-communist EU members diverge in terms of the institutional arrangements of their welfare systems.



It seems, then, that while the 'deepening' of European integration in other policy areas has been accompanied by a convergence towards a ESM in the EU-15 countries, the 'widening' of the EU has meant, at the same time, that there is now a group of states within the EU that diverge significantly from the dominant model.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Zito Anthony R.

European agencies as agents of governance and EU learning

in Journal of European Public Policy, Volume 16 Issue 8 2009, 1224 - 1243

This article asks how the EU as a regional organization manages to learn and adapt to policy challenges. It investigates the evolution of one regional level and one national environmental agency (the European Environment Agency and the Environment Agency of England and Wales) which have distinct roles in influencing EU environmental policy performance. The article examines the role of agencies and bureaucracies more generally, investigating some of the assumptions made in the bureaucracy literature, particularly concerning principal-agent models. The focus on agencies helps to illuminate two potential dimensions of the EU process: overcoming the original institutional design and the role of organizational and policy learning.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Clark J. R. A., Jones A. R.

Europeanisation and Its Discontents

in Space and Polity, Volume 13, Number 3 / December, 193-212

Europeanisation is now a very prolific area of scholarly research in the social sciences, encompassing among other aspects examination of change in the politics, public policies and animating politics of states arising from engagement with the meta-organisation of the European Union. However, we argue that mainstream social science portrayals of categories of territory, identity and power remain comparatively neglected in existing analyses and the interrelations between these categories is undertheorised, preventing clarification of Europeanisation's underlying processes. We contend that a promising starting-point for resolving these discontents can be found in recent debates in geography focusing upon space and scale.

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Mounier Gregory

Europol: A New Player in the EU External Policy Field?

in Perspectives on European Politics and Society, vol. 10, n. 4, December, Special Issue: The Politics of European Security Policies: Actors, Dynamics and Contentious Outcomes, 582-602

Internal security objectives gain an increasing influence on the foreign policy of the European Union and it has thus become essential to understand the external role and activities of one of the most significant actors in the European internal security regime - Europol. Looking at three topical issues related to Europol's external activities, this article is an



attempt to assess the impact of Europol on the EU's external policy and to sketch some of the dynamics underpinning the development of the external dimension of Justice and Home Affairs.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Lindahl Hans

**Europäische Integration: Drei Lesarten des Problems der Beziehung
in Philosophische Rundschau**, Band 56, Heft 3, August 2009 , 241-257

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Dyckmans Mechthild, Daiber Birgit

**Europäische Justizpolitik. Erkenntnisse aus der Arbeit im Unterausschuss Europarecht des
Rechtsausschusses in der 16. Legislaturperiode des Deutschen Bundestages (2005–2009)**
in *Recht und Politik*, 45. Jahrgang, Heft 4, 2009 , 193-213

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Waechter Matthias

Eurosclerosis or Europeanisation? European Integration in the 1970s. Introduction
in *Europe en formation (L')*, n. 353-354, automne-hiver , 7-11

Full text available on-line: http://www.cife.eu/UserFiles/File/EEF/353_54/EEF353_54-1MW.pdf

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Jazra Bandarra Nelly

Evolution de la problématique des OGM dans l'Union européenne
in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 531, septembre , 541-546

Over the past twenty years, the EU has been confronted with increasing force by the issue of the introduction of GMOs and their effect on agriculture and food. Whereas the number of GMOs approved for cultivation has changed only slightly, by contrast, the number of those approved for importation has increased, as it is more and more difficult to ensure a supply of non-GM products. Indeed, the presence of GMOs in imports destined for animal food is becoming inevitable. At the same time, the legislative community framework has increased in a more restrictive sense, and scientific knowledge on genetic manipulation has made large breakthroughs, The consumer attitude is still very hesitant regarding acceptance of GMOs in food. This attitude is mirrored by that of the agricultural food industry and that of large



distributions who avoid the presence of products containing GMOs in their businesses. As for conventional or organic agriculture, they fear an accidental presence of GMOs in their production and the rules of coexistence are multiplying in order to ensure a confinement of the presence of GMOs.

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Ramón María-Dolores Corresponding Author Contact Information

Exchange rate pass-through in New Member States and candidate countries of the EU
in *International Review of Economics and Finance*, Volume 19, Issue 1, 23-35

This paper studies the degree of exchange rate pass-through to the prices of imports of some New Member States (NMSs) of the European Union plus Turkey, coming from the euro area. I estimate industry-specific rates of pass-through across and within countries using the methodology proposed by Campa and González-Mínguez [Campa, J.M. and González-Mínguez, J.M. (2006). Differences in Exchange Rate Pass-Through in the Euro Area. *European Economic Review*, 50, 121–145.] which estimates the short- and long-run pass-through elasticities. I did not find evidence either in favour of the hypothesis of Local Currency Pricing (zero pass-through) or the hypothesis of Producer Currency Pricing (complete pass-through) for all the countries except for Slovenia and Cyprus. With reference to the results by industry, the lowest values for exchange rate pass-through are in Manufacturing sectors. However, I did observe a exchange rate pass-through decline through the pricing chain.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Kassim Hussein, Le Galès Patrick

Exploring Governance in a Multi-Level Polity: A Policy Instruments Approach
in *West European Politics*, vol. 33, n. 1, january, 1-21

ABSTRACT: The study of public policy instruments in national settings has contributed significantly to our understanding of policy, political systems, and relations between state and citizen. Its promise for the EU, where instrument-centred research has hitherto been limited in coverage and method, remains by contrast largely unfulfilled. This article discusses the political sociology approach to instruments, developed by Lascoumes and Le Gals as an alternative to the traditional functionalist perspective, and highlights its value in opening new perspectives on EU policy-making and its consequences. It presents an overview of the findings of an original set of case studies, which demonstrate the usefulness of the approach in providing new insights on classic questions of EU decision-making, uncovering hidden dimensions of EU policy development, and revealing the limits of the organisational capacity of the EU as a system, as well as challenging established narratives.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Noutcheva Gergana

Fake, partial and imposed compliance: the limits of the EU's normative power in the Western Balkans
in *Journal of European Public Policy*, Volume 16 Issue 7 2009, 1065 - 1084



This article examines the EU's external power through the prism of perceptions by non-EU countries of the aims of EU's foreign policy, as shown in the Western Balkans. It argues that the EU's policy in the Western Balkans lacks a strong normative justification, which affects the degree of compliance with the EU's demands in areas related to state sovereignty. The perceived lack of legitimacy opens up political space for domestic actors to contest the positions taken by the EU on normative grounds. The Western Balkan countries have responded by giving preference to internal sources of legitimacy and asserting domestic reasons for fake compliance, partial compliance or non-compliance with the EU's conditions, with the latter provoking imposed compliance. The article links the enlargement literature with the study of EU foreign policy by offering a new approach to analysing the normative and strategic dimensions of the EU's external power.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Pistoia Emanuela

Fino a dove si può spingere il diritto comunitario nell'ambito dell'Unione. Un commento alla sentenza ECOWAS alla luce dei precedenti

in *Studi sull'integrazione europea*, Anno IV, n. 2 , 481-499

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Haughton Tim

For Business, for Pleasure or for Necessity? The Czech Republic's Choices for Europe

in *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 61, n. 8, October , 1371-1392

Drawing on scholarly accounts from the study of Western Europe which seek to explain national preference formation in European Union member states, this article explores the factors which shape the Czech Republic's policy preferences at the EU level. It argues that whilst ideology, dependency and powerful economic interest groups have explanatory power, the key to explaining national preference formation in the Czech case lies in vulnerabilities and (perceived) weakness.

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Baumgartner Frank R., Mahoney Christine

Forum Section: The Two Faces of Framing - Individual-Level Framing and Collective Issue Definition in the European Union

in *European Union Politics* , Vol. 9, n. 3, September , 435-449

Policy decisions are greatly affected by the way issues are understood collectively by policy-makers and the public. Naturally, advocates attempt to affect these dynamics by drawing attention to one dimension or another. Lobbyists outside government, such as political leaders and civil servants within governing institutions, try to spin or frame the issues on which they work. Research on framing is difficult, however, because of a methodological complication: no individual actor single-handedly determines how issues are defined collectively. The collective dynamics of



agenda-setting and framing are subject to strong competitive forces, maintaining a stable equilibrium at most times, but also to threshold effects that can occasionally lead to rapid shifts in issue definitions. Research strategies used to study one face of framing (at the individual level) are ill suited to study the second face of framing (aggregate shifts in collective issue definitions). We discuss the two faces of framing as they relate to recent literature on policy-making in the European Union and we suggest some avenues for future research.

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Dimitrakopoulos Dionyssi G. , Menon Anand, Passas Argyris G.

France and the EU under Sarkozy: Between European Ambitions and National Objectives? in Modern and Contemporary France, Volume 17, Issue 4, November , 451-465

The early phase of Nicolas Sarkozy's presidency proved highly proactive, particularly during the French presidency of the European Union (EU). However, little of practical import resulted. Moreover, there is much that connects Sarkozy's policies to those of his predecessors. Constrained both at home and abroad, he was sometimes unable to carry through his preferred policies. In addition, Sarkozy has done nothing to resolve a long-standing tension of French EU policy between enormous ambitions for the Union and reluctance to empower its institutions. Intergovernmental co-operation has been the theme linking all of Sarkozy's initiatives. The jury is, of necessity, still out on the long-term impact Sarkozy will have. Early indications are that, whilst there has been no shortage of initiatives, it is open to question whether these either diverge much from those of his predecessors, or will have much impact on the workings and effectiveness of the Union itself.

Les premiers temps du mandat de Nicolas Sarkozy ont t marqus par de nombreuses initiatives, en particulier pendant la prsidence de l'Union europenne. Cependant, peu de rsultats concrets peuvent tre mis son actif. En outre, la politique de Sarkozy en matire europenne est largement lie celle de ses prdcesseurs. Entrav sur le plan intrieur et tranger, il n'a parfois pas t en mesure de faire passer les politiques qu'il souhaitait mettre en uvre. En outre, Sarkozy n'a pu rsoudre la tension traditionnelle au cur de la politique europenne franaise, entre d'une part le projet ambitieux de la France pour l'Union et, d'autre part, la rticence franaise doter les institutions communautaires de pouvoirs supplmentaires. Les initiatives de Sarkozy ont t frappes du sceau de la coopration intergouvernementale. Il est prmaturo de se prononcer sur l'impact qu'aura long terme la politique sarkozyste. En dpit d'un nombre important d'initiatives, la direction prise ne semble pas diffrrer sensiblement de celle de ses prdcesseurs. On peut aussi s'interroger sur l'impact qu'une telle politique aura sur le fonctionnement de l'Union europenne.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Bickerton Chris J.

From Brezhnev to Brussels: Transformations of sovereignty in Eastern Europe

in International Politics , Volume 46, Issue 6 - Special Issue: Beyond Hypocrisy?:Sovereignty Revisited, November , 732-752

The year 1989 is widely fêted as a turning point in the history of Eastern Europe: nation-states were liberated from the tyranny of Soviet rule and regained their sovereign independence. This article challenges the conventional wisdom by



arguing that the 'limited sovereignty' of the pre-1989 period, formally declared by Leonid Brezhnev in 1968, has been replaced by a new form of domination, this time from Brussels. However, while Eastern European states still face constraints on their political autonomy and self-government, the nature of this domination is different. Specifically, it coincides with the post-Cold War revision of the concept of sovereignty itself, where the attachment to the formal rights of sovereign independence and equality is lost. Eastern European states have found that continued limitations upon their sovereignty are today celebrated as the realization of the essence of sovereignty itself.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Crespy Amandine, Verschueren Nicolas

From Euroscepticism to Resistance to European Integration: An Interdisciplinary Perspective in Perspectives on European Politics and Society, vol. 10, n. 3, September , 377-393

This article aims at contributing to the ongoing academic debate about European integration. It stresses the need for an interdisciplinary approach rooted in history and political science. The argument is twofold. Most of the existing literature overlooks the historical dimension of contention over the making of Europe and implicitly makes it a contemporary phenomenon defined as Euroscepticism. This, it is argued, has led to some major analytical deadlocks. Consequently, it is necessary to reframe the debate through the notion of resistances to Europe. Resistances can be defined as manifestations of hostility towards one (or several) aspect(s) of European integration perceived as a threat with respect to one's values. This notion, this paper suggests, is particularly adequate to the study of past and present contention over European integration, which is highlighted with various empirical examples.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Martinico Giuseppe

From the Constitution for Europe to the Reform Treaty: a literature survey on European Constitutional Law in Perspectives on federalism, Vol. 1, single issue , R 13-41

The aim of this paper is to offer a brief overview of the international literature regarding the European Constitutional Law.

It is possible to identify five groups of studies which will serve as guidelines of this review article:

1. The Constitution for Europe and the constitutional moment;
2. The Constitutional Treaty and the innovations "proposed";
3. The European Court of Justice's activism;
4. The Constitutional stop and the rise of the Reform Treaty;
5. The notion and the nature of a Constitution for Europe after the constitutional failure.

Full text available at:



<http://www.on-federalism.eu/index.php/review-articles/24-from-the-constitution-for-europe-to-the-reform-treaty-a-literature-survey-on-european-constitutional-law>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Maher Imelda

Functional and normative delegation to non-majoritarian institutions: The case of the European Competition Network

in Comparative European Politics, vol. 7, n. 4, december , 414-434

ABSTRACT: There is a normative and a functional dimension to delegation to non-majoritarian institutions. These dimensions are explored in this paper and considered in the context of the recent modernization of European Community (EC) competition law enforcement. The principal – agent model provides insights into how and why Member States delegate extensive enforcement powers to the EC Commission and the National Competition Authorities, but as it offers primarily a functional analysis the normative issues of control, accountability and legitimacy cannot be fully encapsulated within it. Thus, an analysis of the EC competition law regime requires consideration of both dimensions using the twin-track approach of principal – agent analysis and a rule of law analysis in order to understand how public power is and should be exercised within it.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Sperling James

Germany and European security governance: how well does the Birmingham model perform?

in European Security, Volume 18, Number 2, June , 125-150

The expansion of the security agenda after the end of the Cold War, propelled by the blowback of 11 September 2001, raises questions about the German ability and willingness to contribute to the regional and global security governance tasks facing Europe and Germany's continuing fidelity to its post-war European avocation. It also calls for a reconsideration of the Birmingham model of foreign policy analysis, particularly its emphasis on (and interpretation of) the ideational and institutional factors defining the German foreign policy agenda and shaping German foreign policy behaviour, at least with respect to the implementation (rather than formulation) of European Union security policies. Towards assessing the continuing utility of the Birmingham model, this article proceeds in three steps: the presentation of the Birmingham model and its restatement as six conjectures; a discussion of the security governance functions undertaken by the EU and the collective action problem facing Europe (and Germany) in executing them; and an empirical investigation of Germany's contribution to the EU as a security actor since 1990.

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Chignola Sandro - Mezzadra Sandro,

Gli spazi d'Europa. Aporie del processo di costituzionalizzazione e pratiche di libertà



in *Rassegna di diritto pubblico europeo*, n. 1 , 129-148

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Manners Ian

Global Europa: Mythology of the European Union in World Politics

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 48, Issue 1, January 2010 , 67-87

The mythology of the European Union (EU) in world politics can be told and untold in many different ways. This article focuses on the lore or stories of who did what to whom, the ideological projection of the past onto the present and the escapist pleasure of storytelling in looking at the mythology of 'global Europa'– the EU in the world. It concludes with a reflection on the way in which the many diverse myths of global Europa compete for daily attention, whether as lore, ideology or pleasure. In this respect the mythology of global Europa is part of our everyday existence, part of the EU in and of the world.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Egan Michelle

Governance and learning in the post-Maastricht era?

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 16 Issue 8 2009 , 1244 - 1253

There has been an expansion of research on policy learning in different subfields. The methodological and empirical work continues to face challenges in determining the constitutive elements that foster such transformations in governance through learning. Careful attention needs to be paid to the regularities and patterns, as well as the limits, contingencies and incongruities that shape or hinder the diffusion of cross-national and cross-temporal rules, norms and institutions. In looking at the policy cycle, the process of policy learning focuses predominantly on the organizational environment, the modes of learning, and the implementation effects, without acknowledging the normative implications in terms of accountability and legitimacy.

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Montpetit Eric

Governance and policy learning in the European Union: a comparison with North America

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 16 Issue 8 2009 , 1185 - 1203

Several scholars argue that policy-making in the EU occurs in horizontal networks more frequently than in nation states. They add that EU networks, unlike networks in nation states, are not subordinated to any formal structure of authority. Moreover, EU networks seek consensus as their actors are concerned about the EU's democratic deficit. Consequently, learning features prominently as a method to make policy decisions in EU governance. This article tests this proposal. The test rests on a comparative survey yielding 666 completed questionnaires from actors involved in biotechnology



policy development in Europe and North America. The survey was conducted twice, once in 2006 and once in 2008, and provides information on policy learning intensity, on consensus formation and on policy transfers. The survey fails to provide evidence that policy actors involved in EU governance learn more than those involved exclusively in European and North American nation states.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Halpern Charlotte

Governing Despite its Instruments? Instrumentation in EU Environmental Policy in West European Politics, vol. 33, n. 1, January, 39-57

ABSTRACT: Demonstrating how the political sociology approach to policy instruments generates new insights even in densely studied areas, this article investigates the evolution of policy instruments and the link between policy instruments and policy change in EU environmental policy over the past three decades. Examination of the politics of choice and combination of policy instruments reveals, first, that EU environmental policy is primarily structured by its instruments. Second, the article argues that, contrary to those in the literature who have claimed a pioneering role for the Union in this field, EU environmental policy is populated not by new or innovative policy instruments, but by instruments mainly derived from the member states or other international organisations. Third, it argues that the EU's tendency to import measures from elsewhere explains the apparent contradiction between the EU's policy activism, on the one hand, and the modest domestic impact of EU legislation, on the other.

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Buzogány Aron, Costa Oriol

Greening the Neighbourhood? The Environmental Dimension of the ENP in Morocco and Ukraine in European Foreign Affairs Review, Volume 14, Issue 4, 525-545

Five years after launching the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) two ideas seem to be undisputed about it: it aims to promote deeper and broader relationships between the EU and its neighbours. Nevertheless, these claims have not been tested empirically, especially when it comes to the broadness hypothesis. Thus, this article enquires about the extent to which the EU is promoting the adoption of rules by neighbourhood countries in allegedly new and less politicized issue areas. In order to address this question we look at the environmental dimension of the ENP, focusing on the cases of Morocco and Ukraine. We conceptualize the environmental dimension of the ENP and put forward an account that highlights the institutional logics of rule promotion under the ENP, as well as its double contingency on agents that are central for the implementation of the policies: bureaucratic structures and non-state actors.

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Bogdandy Armin von

Grundprinzipien des Unionsrechts – eine verfassungstheoretische und -dogmatische Skizze in Europarecht, Volume 44, Issue 6, 2009, 749-768



No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Radaelli Claudio, Meuwese Anne

**Hard Questions, Hard Solutions: Proceduralisation through Impact Assessment in the EU
in West European Politics**, vol. 33, n. 1, January, 136-153

ABSTRACT: An important proposition in public policy analysis is that the design and selection of policy instruments is a manifestation of power relations; in other words, 'politics determines instruments'. However, except where it degenerates into tick-the-box routines, instrumentation can also generate its own political effects at the implementation stage - the 'instruments determine politics' argument. Examining the impact assessment (IA) element of the EU's Better Regulation agenda of the European Union, this article argues that procedures and meta-instruments are chosen by policy-makers when there is disagreement on fundamental issues of power. Policy-makers activate meta-instruments that do not address fundamental issues directly, but change procedures of policy formulation. In so doing, however, they create a new structure of opportunity, which produces its own effects on politics. Our findings point to unintended effects of IA, such as administrative coordination and organisational learning, as well as strengthening of the Commission Secretariat General.

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de Vreese Claes H., Boomgaarden Hajo G., Semetko Holli A.

**Hard and Soft - Public Support for Turkish Membership in the EU
in European Union Politics**, Vol. 9, n. 4, December, 511-530

Support for European integration is a function no longer only of 'hard' economic and utilitarian predictors but also of 'soft' predictors such as feelings of identity and attitudes towards immigrants. Focusing on the issue of the potential membership of Turkey in the European Union (EU), this study demonstrates that the importance of 'soft' predictors outweighs the role of 'hard' predictors in understanding public opinion about Turkish membership. The study draws on survey data (N = 1630) and applies a series of regression models and structural equation modelling to show in addition how the effects of utilitarian considerations are mediated through 'soft' indicators, further accentuating the importance of identity considerations and anti-immigration sentiments. The findings are discussed in the light of public support for and the legitimacy of further European enlargement.

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Smith Julie

**How 1989 changed the history of European integration
in European View**, vol. 8, n. 2, December, 255-262



The collapse of communism in Europe from 1989 onwards led to profound changes not just in those Central and East European states that cast of communism, but right across the continent. This article assesses the impact of these changes on the process of integration, analysing how the prospect of German unification affected attitudes among allies and contributed to moves that led to the Treaty on the European Union. It then looks at how the demands of the Central and Eastern European countries (CEE) led to pressures to enlarge, which necessitated controversial treaty reform.

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Maria Helena Guimaraes

How Pervasive are National Regulations in Intra-EU Trade?

in International Trade Journal, Volume 24, Issue 1 , 35 - 51

The use of national regulations in the Internal Market for goods provides a relevant illustration of the nature of product market liberalization in the EU. This study shows that the number of national regulations has been increasing, that all EU Member States resort to them, and that their pervasiveness differs across countries and industries. We argue that national regulations are a form of "renationalizing" the Community initiative of market liberalization, as they are intended to protect the economic interests of Member States. Additionally, it is suggested that as further EU market liberalization comes about, EU Member States will continue to defend their national preferences by resorting to national regulations.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Radaelli Claudio M., O'Connor Karl

How bureaucratic élites imagine Europe: towards convergence of governance beliefs?

in Journal of European Public Policy , Volume 16 Issue 7 2009 , 971 - 989

Does the emerging parallel Community administration share a common set of beliefs about governance and the broad policy direction of European integration? Or do different policy arenas, institutions, and types of committees shape governance beliefs? This article compares original evidence from two policy areas, that is, better regulation and direct corporate taxation. Within economic policies, these two sectors provide the most dissimilar cases in terms of conflict around institutions, the purpose of EU-level co-ordination, and the distribution of pay-offs among the member states. We use the 'most dissimilar cases' strategy to probe hypotheses about (a) common governance beliefs, (b) the influence of policy-level variables on beliefs, and (c) the role played by the EU institutions, namely Council and Commission. We find more evidence for the 'shared governance beliefs' hypothesis than for the 'policy-matters' or 'institution-matters' explanations. Common beliefs revolve around a technical approach to public policy-making, an under-estimation of the role of the European Parliament, and more attachment to the paradigm of competitiveness than to social protection.

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Le Cacheux Jacques

How to Herd Cats: Economic Policy Coordination in the Euro Zone in Tough Times

in Journal of European Integration, Volume 32, Number 1 / January , 41-58



This paper addresses the issue of fiscal policy coordination in the context of the current crisis. It first aims at clarifying the economic rationale for fiscal policy coordination in a monetary union with decentralized fiscal authorities, and at exploring the foundations of the kind of coordination devices chosen, as well as the incentives and constraints on member states' governments arising from the fiscal rules in the Euro zone, both in tranquil and in stormy economic times. We then proceed with an analysis of the difficulties arising from the heterogeneous nature of the Euro zone. The third section explores some of the possible causes of heterogeneity, with an emphasis on the issue of collective action and country size, with the co-existence of large and small countries, facing different incentives and constraints, hence tending to adopt divergent strategies in the occurrence of common macro-economic shocks. The possible evolution in automatic fiscal stabilizers is then addressed, followed by a section documenting the size and structure of national fiscal stimulus packages. The concluding section advocates a better mix of rules and discretionary coordination for fiscal policies in the Euro zone.

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Marhold Hartmut

How to Tell the History of European Integration in the 1970s: A Survey of the Literature and Some Proposals in Europe en formation (L'), n. 353-354, automne-hiver , 13-38

The "Seventies" are a controversial period, not only in European integration history: Was Europe in a crisis then, with a stagnating polity and the main policy projects stumbling? Or did it prove strong enough to overcome the constraints of the dollar-crisis, the oil-price shocks and the stagflation? Which are the main factors (and actors) underlying the economic and social malaise of these years? And which is their impact on European integration between the relaunch of "The Hague" (1969) and the Single European Act (1985/87)? Historians subdivide history into eras, periods, ages and epochs in accordance to the importance they attach to the one or the other of such factors. The article examines historical approaches under this angle and develops a proposal for periodisation of this crucial era of European integration history.

Full text available on-line: http://www.cife.eu/UserFiles/File/EEF/353_54/EEF353_54-2HM.pdf

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Castaldi Roberto

**How to re-launch the European unification process?
in Perspectives on federalism**, Vol. 1, single issue , N 15-21

The Italian President, Giorgio Napolitano, and former Minister Tommaso Padoa Schioppa recently urged for the re-launch of the European unification process. This short note analyses and comments their ideas.

Full text available at:

<http://www.on-federalism.eu/index.php/notes/17-how-to-re-launch-the-european-unification-process>



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Pinotti C.

I controlimiti nel rapporto tra diritto comunitario e nazionale

in *Diritto comunitario e degli scambi internazionali*, n. 2 , 211 - 234

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Gambino Silvio

I diritti fondamentali dell'Unione Europea fra trattati (di Lisbona) e Costituzione

in *Federalismi*, Anno VIII - Nr. 1

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

De Fiores Claudio

Il fallimento della Costituzione europea. Note a margine del trattato di Lisbona

in *Rassegna di diritto pubblico europeo*, n. 1 , 55-128

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Rizzoni Giovanni

Il problema dell'opposizione politica nella forma di governo dell'Unione europea

in *Rassegna parlamentare*, n. 3 , 905-934

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Schröder Wolfgang M.

Il progetto europeo nell'era della globalizzazione

in *Rassegna di diritto pubblico europeo*, n. 1 , 25-54



No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

De Pasquale Patrizia

Il terzo pilastro dell'Unione europea tra buona fede e leale collaborazione

in *Studi sull'integrazione europea*, Anno IV, n. 2 , 431-449

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Tryfonidou Alina

In Search of the Aim of the EC Free Movement of Persons Provisions: Has the Court of Justice Missed the Point?

in *Common Market Law Review*, vol. 46, issue 5 , 1591-1620

ABSTRACT: The Court of Justice has, over the years, often been vilified for exceeding the limits of its jurisdiction by interpreting the provisions of Community legislation in a way not seem originally envisaged by its drafters. A recent example of this approach was a cluster of cases in the context of the free movement of workers and the freedom of establishment (Ritter-Coulais and its progeny), where the Court included within the scope of those provisions situations which, arguably, did not present a sufficient link with their (economic) aim. In particular, in that case law the Court accepted that the mere exercise of free movement for the purpose of taking up residence in the territory of another Member State whilst continuing to exercise an economic activity in the State of origin, suffices for bringing a Member State national within the scope of Articles 39 and 43 EC. It is argued that the most plausible explanation for this approach is that the Court now wishes to re-read the economic fundamental freedoms in such a way as to include within their scope all economically active Union citizens, irrespective of whether their situation presents a sufficient link with the exercise of an economic activity in a cross-border context. It is suggested that this approach is problematic for a number of reasons. It is, therefore, concluded that the Court should revert to its orthodox approach, according to which only situations that involve Union citizens who have moved between Member States for the purpose of taking up an economic activity should be included within the scope of the market freedoms.

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Thym Daniel

In the Name of Sovereign Statehood: A Critical Introduction to the Lisbon judgment of the German Constitutional Court

in *Common Market Law Review*, issue 6, vol. 42 , 1795-1822

ABSTRACT: In its judgment on the Lisbon Treaty, the German constitutional court presents a comprehensive assessment of European integration. While the evaluation of the Lisbon Treaty assumes a prominent role, many considerations are meant to have a lasting impact on the European project. The judgment should therefore be read as



the overture to future debates, not an epilogue on the ratification of the Lisbon Treaty. Its immediate outcome concerns future adjustments of primary law, to which the German parliament will have to consent. More important will be the Court's involvement: any future Treaty revision will be scrutinized whether it establishes European federal statehood – a move which only the German people may authorize, probably by means of a constitutional referendum. In a similar vein, the leitmotiv of sovereignty statehood guides the demotion of the European Parliament as a source of direct democratic legitimacy and the identification of national reserve powers which cannot be transferred to the European level. Among European lawyers and practitioners the Court's claim as the ultimate arbiter of European law will draw continued attention. The Lisbon judgment reaffirms the potential ultra vires review of EU law and establishes the necessary respect for German constitutional identity as an additional control standard. Its resolute language and thinly veiled warnings underline the Court's self-esteem as an influential voice in European affairs. National parliaments in other Member States will also take note. The importance of competences for national identity remains an issue at every Treaty revision.

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Menon Anand, Sedelmeier Ulrich

Instruments and Intentionality: Civilian Crisis Management and Enlargement Conditionality in EU Security Policy

in *West European Politics*, vol. 33, n. 1, january , 75-92

ABSTRACT: This article applies a public policy instrumentation approach to two instruments of EU security policy - civilian crisis management and enlargement conditionality. Both have come to be portrayed, by policy-makers and observers alike, as deliberate and efficient responses to specific policy challenges. Our analysis of the processes behind their adoption challenges such claims. In a complex institution like the EU, and in a sensitive sector like security, the development of new policy instruments requires negotiation within dense institutional settings. The resulting instruments do not necessarily match the initial intentions of their creators. The focus on unanticipated - albeit in retrospect not necessarily undesired - consequences in the development of the instruments of EU security policy also contributes to the broader research agenda on policy instruments, which problematises the selection of policy instruments yet nevertheless tends to perceive them as part of a deliberate strategy of policy change.

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Annett Iona

Integration in a Time of Scepticism: The Role of Informality and Institutions

in *Europe en formation (L')*, n. 353-354, automne-hiver , 55-73

This decade can be perplexing since it lacked the formal institutional growth of the previous fifteen years and there seemed to be little headway in achieving the goals of a common market. Unexpectedly though, this decade is most interesting for its informal institutional development, as both member states and the institutions of the Community sought to maximise their capacity to act and their influence on the pace and type of integration. From a federalisation point of view, it is critical to understand what was happening and why. The Luxembourg Compromise, the decisions of the Court of Justice, political opportunism of the Commission and the Parliament, and the extra-institutional activities of the



member states were a complex set of actions that revealed differing interpretations of the purpose and extent of European integration. The Community was federalising as an intended or unintended consequence of decisions and actions by member states and institutions.

Full text available on-line: http://www.cife.eu/UserFiles/File/EEF/353_54/EEF353_54-4IA.pdf

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Chieffi Lorenzo

Integrazione tra autorità governanti con speciale riguardo al ruolo della Commissione, dei Governi e delle amministrazioni nazionali e regionali

in *Rassegna di diritto pubblico europeo*, n. 1 , 3-85

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Gray Julia

International Organization as a Seal of Approval: European Union Accession and Investor Risk

in *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 53, Issue 4 , 931-949

Much of the literature on international institutions argues that membership regularizes expectations about members' future behavior. Using the accession of the postcommunist countries as a test case, this article argues that the EU can send strong signals to financial markets about the trajectory of a particular country. Examining spreads on sovereign debt from 1990 to 2006, this article shows that closing negotiation chapters on domestic economic policy—in other words, receiving a seal of approval from Brussels that previously existing policy reform is acceptable to the wider EU—substantially decreases perceptions of default risk in those countries. That decrease operates independently from policy reform that the country has taken and is also distinct from selection processes (modeled here with new variables, including UNESCO World Heritage sites and domestic movie production, that proxy for cultural factors). Thus, this particular international organization has played an important role in coordinating market sentiment on members, conferring confidence that policy reform alone could not accomplish.

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De Vreese Claes, Boomgaarden Hajo, Minkenberg Michael, Vliegenthart Rens

Introduction: Religion and the European Union

in *West European Politics*, vol. 32, n. 6, december , 1181-1189

No abstract available



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Kurowska Xymena, Pawlak Patryk

Introduction: The Politics of European Security Policies

in Perspectives on European Politics and Society, vol. 10, n. 4, December , Special Issue: The Politics of European Security Policies: Actors, Dynamics and Contentious Outcomes , 474-485

This article sketches the theoretical framework that informs the analyses in the Special Issue. Two issues drive the inquiries. First, the bottom-up approach to EU security that tracks contingent security practices and their performers. Various EU actors engage in intense political struggles which bring out the contentious character of security policy and nuance the claim of its extraordinary and thus apolitical nature. Analytically, this shows that the meaning of EU security needs to be empirically investigated rather than solved by definitions which may have a limited heuristic value against the EU's multifaceted security field. Secondly, the analyses bring to bear the blurring of the divide between the external and internal security in EU policy, both in the sense of the consolidation of the EU project as such and regarding the EU's policy towards its neighbours. The externalisation of security concerns and the EU's state-building activities in its neighbourhood are examples thereof.

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Burns Charlotte, Carter Neil

Is Co-decision Good for the Environment? An Analysis of the European Parliament's Green Credentials

in Political Studies, Volume 58, Issue 1, February , 123-142

The European Parliament (EP) has long been regarded as a positive force for environmental change in the EU, but there has been little detailed empirical scrutiny to determine whether its reputation as a green champion is deserved. Nor has there been any evaluation of the environmental impact of the increase in EP powers under co-decision. These oversights are rectified by an evaluation of the EP's amendments to environmental legislation using typologies that rank them in terms of their level of ecological commitment and importance. EP amendments proposed under three procedures of decision making are compared in order to determine whether recent increases in the EP's powers under the co-decision procedure have affected its ability and willingness to adopt 'green' amendments. It is clear that the EP has consistently tried to strengthen environmental legislation but there is some ambiguity as to whether co-decision has been good for the environment.

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Binzer Hobolt Sara, Leblond Patrick

Is My Crown Better than Your Euro?

in European Union Politics , Vol. 10, n. 2, June , 202-225

This article examines the influence of exchange rate fluctuations on public support for the euro. Existing studies of the two euro referendums in Denmark and Sweden have explained the outcomes primarily in terms of static factors, thereby



ignoring the fact that support fluctuates over time. This article provides an analysis of the short-term dynamics in public support for the euro in the period leading up to the referendums. We argue that exchange rate fluctuations matter, because people attach symbolic value to their national currency and are less likely to surrender a strong currency. They are also less willing to accept the euro when it is seen as weak vis-à-vis other world currencies. Our case-study and time-series analyses of the two euro campaigns corroborate these propositions.

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Aktar Cengiz

Is it in the EU's interest to enlarge further? The case of Turkey

in European View, vol. 8, n. 2, December, 221-229

Turkey has been an official candidate for accession to the European Union since 1999, when accession talks began under the new rules of the enlargement policy. Since then Turkey's candidacy has been stalled as a result of 'enlargement fatigue' and the evolving EU political scenario, in which membership largely depends on successful institutional reform. This article analyses the strengths and weaknesses of Turkey's candidacy.

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Silvestri Sara

Islam and Religion in the EU Political System

in West European Politics, vol. 32, n. 6, december, 1212-1239

ABSTRACT: This article examines the increasing relevance of Islam and religion in the institutional arrangement of the EU post-Maastricht and the future policy implications for the complex political system of the EU. By adopting a combination of qualitative methodologies that are theoretically rooted in historical institutionalism and in a systemic view of the EU, the paper studies the emergence of Islam and religion as policy issues in two institutional settings, the European Commission and the European Parliament, during the 1990s and up to the first decade of the twenty-first century. The analysis shows a growing attention to faith communities on the part of the Commission, in the post-Maastricht context, culminating in the elaboration of semi-official avenues for encounter and dialogue with religious groups. It also indicates how, in turn, these semi-official practices and the ideas behind them have gradually imposed themselves upon multiple levels of the EU political system, thus opening up an institutional space in the EU for consultations with and 'informal policies' towards faith communities, both within and outside the EU borders.

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Jones Erik

Italy and the Euro in the Global Economic Crisis

in International Spectator (The), Vol. XLIV, n. 4, October-December



As Italian policymakers argue about the best way to respond to the global economic crisis, the importance of the euro to Italian economic stability seems to have dropped out of the debate. This is a problem for three reasons: it dulls the memory of Italian efforts to get into the single currency in the mid-to-late 1990s; it allows critics of the euro to shape perceptions of how eurozone membership affected Italy during the past decade; and it obscures the trade-offs that Italians would face if they were to make different choices in the future – including the choice to leave. As a result, while it has been relatively easy to argue that Italian politicians would have to be crazy to try to take Italy out of the euro, it may become more difficult to make that case with the same level of confidence as time goes on. Italian perceptions of the merits of being in the euro are changing and the real possibilities available to Italian policymakers are changing as a result. Italy will pay a high price for opening up the possibility of leaving the eurozone whether or not Italian policymakers are serious about taking that step.

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Cordini Giovanni

**Jan Amos Comenius e la cittadinanza europea: Profili costituzionali
in *Federalismi*, Anno VII - Nr. 23**

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Varela Diego

**Just a Lobbyist? - The European Parliament and the Consultation Procedure
in *European Union Politics*, Vol. 10, n. 1, March, 7-34**

The role of the European Parliament (EP) under the consultation procedure has been widely neglected by rational choice models of legislative decision-making in the European Union (EU). This paper offers a new understanding of the procedure by means of a computational model in which lobbyists provide legislators with policy options. Transaction costs of assimilating information lead to rationing of access to the agenda-setter (i.e. the Commission). In this context, consultation converts the EP into an indirect channel to the agenda-setter for some lobbyists. I argue that the resulting pool of policy options, together with the right to be heard by the Commission and the latter's degree of rational ignorance, provides the EP with a legislative power that the literature has not so far recognized. The implications of this finding extend to other legislative procedures of the EU and to consultative committees in other political systems.

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Bosco Giorgio

L'Europa al bivio: tra passata costituzione e futuro trattato di Lisbona



in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Volume 76, n. 2, aprile-giugno , 282-286

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Massari Riccardo, Pittau Maria Grazia, Zelli Roberto

L'Europa delle differenze: l'atteggiamento dei cittadini europei verso le politiche redistributive

in *Politica economica*, 3, dicembre 2009 , 301-332

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Chiroux R.

L'Europe de la démocratie: les prochaines élections au Parlement européen

in *Revue administrative (la)*, n. 369 - Mai , 323-333

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Chaltiel Florence

L'Europe écrit une nouvelle page de son histoire – Nouvelle commission, nouveau traité... perspectives

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 532, octobre-novembre , 561-563

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Yakemtchouk Romain

L'adhésion de l'Islande à l'Union européenne

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 533, décembre , 653-662

Whereas for many years, Iceland was strongly opposed to European community membership, on July 23, 2009, the Icelandic government officially submitted an application for EU membership. That change of mind was motivated by the serious economical recession that had just hit the country and the spectacular drop of its national currency: Reykjavick hopes that its Common Market membership will help it turn its economic around. Iceland's application was favourably received by Brussels: considering Iceland's association since 1989, with the European Economic Space, it now meets the requirements of community basics and Copenhagen's membership criteria. Iceland is a country with a rule of law



that respects Human Rights, has a viable market economy and the ability to assume its duties resulting from its EU membership. Nonetheless, its request is conditional: its EU membership should be ratified by a referendum of the Icelandic people, which is mainly made up of fishermen, who want to retain their fishing rights, which are its main economic resource. Therefore if, as should be expected, the EU grants Iceland's request, the end decision will be up to the Icelandic people.

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Moussis Nicolas

L'apathie des citoyens européens: diagnostic et thérapeutique.

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 531, septembre , 522-526

Three are the main causes of the indifference of European citizens for European affairs: 1) the information deficit concerning these affairs; 2) the electoral targets of the political parties; and 3) the method of election of the members of the European Parliament. This article examines these three causes of the apathy of citizens for European affairs and concludes that the only institution, which can take initiatives to reverse them, is the European Parliament. It can, firstly, press the Commission to present proposals for a common information and communication policy. To reserve the tendency of political parties to present their own programmes rather than European ones, the political groups in the European Parliament should proclaim their goals on European unification and should press their national counterparts to stand for them, particularly in view of European elections. Lastly, the European parties or groups should proscribe the closed party-list system for the election of the members of the European Parliament, because it contributes to the disinterest of citizens for these elections.

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Chaltiel Florence

L'identité européenne se précise, le pouvoir des États se réaffirme – À propos des Conseils européens d'octobre et novembre 2009

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 533, décembre , 629-632

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Euzeby Chantal

L'inclusion active: un impératif européen face à la crise

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 531, septembre , 532-540

The concept of active inclusion has replaced that of social inclusion in the revised Lisbon Strategy (2005). It is more reminiscent of the independence acquired by employment in a context of personalised support for the unemployed, of equal opportunities and of enduring integration. This article aims to show that if the approach is promising in its crisis-absorbing effect and in the solidarity offered to people dismissed from work, its implementation assumes



knowledge of the combination of three principal conditions: a change in governing criteria, a reinforcement of judicial and financial resources and the organisation of a fixed commercial community preference.

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Mastroianni R.

L'ordinamento giuridico nazionale nei rapporti con le regole comunitarie e dell'Unione europea. La posizione della corte costituzionale italiana.

in *Diritto comunitario e degli scambi internazionali*, n. 3 , 437-470

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Bourrinet Jacques

L'évolution de la zone euro au travers de la plasticité de ses frontières

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 532, octobre-novembre , 593-598

As Euro is the single currency of the European Union, it could presumably be supposed that the borders of the Euro zone would necessarily match those of the European Union, either immediately or in the near future. Yet, none of the five configurations of the Euro Zone noted since 1/1/99 encompass all of the member countries of the European Union. Therefore the single currency does not exist in reality, it has been, for over ten years, an inaccessible objective. In 2009, the Euro Zone includes only 16 of the 27 countries of the European Union. For many reasons, the term of a Euro Zone encompassing all Union Countries remains open although the duty to adopt the single currency is formally written down in the European Union treaty as in the various EU membership treaties. The borders of the Euro Zone seem to change by the effect of conflicting movements. While stringent access conditions tend to limit the perimeter of the area, institutional and political pressure prompts an ongoing enlargement of the area.

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J-R.CHAPONNIÈRE, J-C.VÉREZ

L'évolution des échanges commerciaux entre l'Union Européenne et la Turquie depuis l'union douanière de 1995

in *Economie Appliquée*, N.4

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Lambert Pierre



La Cour européenne des droits de l'homme à l'épreuve de critiques ... au fil du temps (En marge du cinquantième anniversaire de son installation)

in *Revue trimestrielle des droits de l'homme*, N° 81, Janvier

Peu de juridictions ont fait l'objet d'autant de critiques acerbes que la Cour européenne des droits de l'homme. Elles se sont exprimées souvent avec violence dans la bouche de traditionalistes refusant catégoriquement l'abandon de souveraineté judiciaire que constitue l'adhésion à la Convention européenne des droits de l'homme.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Steiner Michael

La Germania per un'Europa più forte

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLI, n. 164, 742-743

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Guedry Michel

La Grande-Bretagne et l'Europe: du pragmatisme insulaire au partenariat sceptique

in *Europe en formation (L')*, n. 353-354, automne-hiver, 94-110

On January 1, 1973, Britain finally became a full-fledged member of the European Community after decades of avoidance, rancorous negotiations and chagrined conditionality. Thus this chapter focuses on the relationship between Britain and "Europe" as an economic and political project between the late 1940s and the 1970s. First it presents the structural factors that precluded British participation to the nascent European project from the early 1950s to the late 1960s and still impeded it afterwards. Then it analyzes the specific circumstances that facilitated a progressive British rapprochement, with special consideration paid to Britain's successive yet structurally ambivalent candidacies. Next this chapter turns to the implications and difficulties of Britain's entry in the Common Market in the mid-1970s, and details Margaret Thatcher's rupture with the post-World War II Beveridgean consensus, her embrace of economic liberalism and her dissenting, belligerent views on European integration. These historical considerations lead to more theoretical analyses that identify and interpret the core components –historical, cultural, political, economic, and institutional – of the British approach toward the European project.

Full text available on-line: http://www.cife.eu/UserFiles/File/EEF/353_54/EEF353_54-6MG.pdf

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Terpan Fabien

La Turquie et la politique étrangère et de sécurité commune de l'Union européenne

in *Politique européenne*, N°. 29, Décembre



No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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de Areilza Carbajal José María

La Unión Europea de 2010: desafíos y dilemas políticos

in *Cuadernos de pensamiento político*, Nr 24, octubre-diciembre 2009

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bevir Mark

La costruzione della

in *Rivista Italiana di Scienza Politica*, Vol. XXXIX, Numero 3, Dicembre , 417-440

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Tavani Sara

La naissance d'une Ostpolitik de l'Europe de l'Ouest au début des années 1970 comme résultat d'une nouvelle solidarité européenne

in *Europe en formation (L')*, n. 353-354, automne-hiver , 75-91

During the 1950's, several security problems remained unsettled in Europe, thereby, obstructing the evolution of European diplomatic relations. Only the normalization of relations in Central Europe and a new climate of trust during the 1970's led to the resumption of East-West dialogue. This, moreover, increased Western leverage on the East European societies and brought about the emergence of a more credible post-Yalta project. Pursuing the common goal of diplomatic openness toward the East, West European governments gradually overcame their national disputes and launched a new phase of political cooperation. The economic crisis of the 1970's and the mistrust provoked by the growing dialogue between the United States and Soviet Union brought about a closer collaboration among West European countries, especially between the Ministers of Finance Helmut Schmidt and Valéry Giscard d'Estaing. The crisis and mistrust induced a general transformation of interallied relations in the Atlantic Alliance, weakening the prejudices connected to the renewal of the German power. It also represented the beginning of a shared European reflection regarding a future active role in the bipolar détente. In fact, from these years one can identify the start of a multiplicity of Ostpolitiks with different national features but tightly associated by the common aim of seeking direct and more productive relations with East European countries as well as the Soviet Union. This essay outlines the development of this new 'understanding' in Europe, specifically focusing on the progressive success of the French-German reconciliation process. The starting point of this process is identified with the ratification of the Elysée Treaty in 1963 and is linked with the launching of the first Ostpolitik put forward by the Erhard government. This change also coincided with a new French endorsement of the German policy toward the East that sanctioned Bonn credibility



and contributed to the blunting of East European perception regarding the 'German threat'. The election of Willy Brandt as Chancellor and the ratification of the Warsaw Treaty were afterwards the propelling factors of Western Ostpolitik that, indeed, obtained its most important results in the early 1970's. In fact, this impulse made possible the successes of the All-European conferences and permitted the EC to interweave direct relations with East European countries, in spite of Moscow's opposition.

In conclusion, this essay examines how France and West-Germany were able to keep their political cooperation going at the beginning of the 1980's, in the face of new challenges posed by the Polish crisis and by NATO rearmament. This was fundamental for the relaunching of East-West diplomacy in 1983, as well as rallying the European integration process, as demonstrated by the first European Union project promoted by the Euro-parliamentarian federalist Altiero Spinelli.

Full text available on-line: http://www.cife.eu/UserFiles/File/EEF/353_54/EEF353_54-5ST.pdf

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Barbato Jean-Christophe

La nouvelle période de programmation de l'action culturelle communautaire

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 532, octobre-novembre , 608-616

The new community cultural action programming period is in line the previous ones. It continues the reinforcement and nationalisation process initiated previously; the budget is increased, two new instruments are set up and the number of pursued goals is reduced. The general objectives assigned to community cultural action remain the same as in the past: elaboration and valorisation of a common cultural space based on diversity. That space is considered as a positive contribution to the Union's political integration. By determinedly placing itself outside a domestic-type logic, such political use of culture opens interesting lines of theoretical thought.

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Becerril Atienza Belén

La presidencia española y el Tratado de Lisboa: "with or with out you"

in *Nueva Revista de Política Cultura y arte (Spagna)*, n. 125 , 23-28

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Violini Lorenza

La sentenza del Bundesverfassungsgericht sul Trattato di Lisbona

in *Quaderni Costituzionali*, numero : 4, dicembre , 947-951



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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Scherrer Amandine, Mégie Antoine, Mitsilegas Valsamis

La stratégie de l'Union européenne contre la criminalité organisée : entre lacunes et inquiétudes

in *Cultures & Conflits*, n. 74, été , 91-110

Transnational Organised Crime (TOC) has risen up on international institutions' agenda. The international community's mobilisation against organised crime has led to an impressive elaboration of institutional responses to what has been depicted as a global challenge. The EU JHA agenda has not been an exception, which has constantly addressed this issue since the middle of the 1990s. In order to understand the current state of the EU strategy against organised crime, this article examines the existing EU legislative framework, as well as the European justice and police co-operation mechanisms (specifically the role and mandate of Europol and Eurojust).

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Korski Daniel, Gowan Richard

Las capacidades civiles de la UE en los Estados fracasados

in *Política Exterior*, 132

Diez años después de la creación de la PESD, las misiones civiles de la UE en el exterior no consiguen los resultados esperados. La incoherencia de conceptos, la escasez de personal civil y las disputas en Bruselas frustran el éxito de las intervenciones en Estados fracasados.

La Unión Europea se enorgullece de ser capaz de lidiar con Estados frágiles y fracasados –desde Kosovo a Afganistán– mediante lo que considera que es su combinación característica de poder “duro” (coacción por medios militares u otros), y poder “blando” (persuasión a través del comercio, la diplomacia, las ayudas y la propagación de valores). La Política Europea de Seguridad y Defensa (PESD), lanzada en 1999, ejemplificó el compromiso de la UE con el denominado “planteamiento global”, una estrategia centrada en la combinación de herramientas civiles y militares a la hora de afrontar desafíos a la seguridad externa.

Sin embargo, el supuesto poder civil de la Unión es en buena medida ilusorio. Se da una constante en las 22 intervenciones internacionales realizadas en el marco de la PESD: desde Kosovo hasta Irak, pasando por Chad y Georgia, la UE ha tenido problemas para encontrar civiles que participaran en las misiones. E incluso cuando logra mantener una misión importante en el extranjero, los resultados suelen ser malos.

La historia no es la de un fracaso sin paliativos. La UE ha contribuido a mantener la paz en Bosnia; muchos consideran que su misión de vigilancia en Aceh es crucial para la estabilidad de la isla indonesia; y en 2008, tras la guerra entre Rusia y Georgia, la Unión desplegó su misión de vigilancia con una rapidez impresionante. Pero si escuchamos las valoraciones que realiza la UE de sus misiones, cabría pensar que todas han sido un triunfo. Apenas hay críticas a las misiones de la PESD y pocas autoridades de Bruselas han comprobado sus fracasos de primera mano, puesto que ningún alto miembro de la Unión ha participado jamás en una de ellas. ¿Por qué la UE es incapaz de proyectar su potencial?



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Mastenbroek Ellen, Veen Tim

**Last Words on Delegation?: Examining The Powers of the Union
in European Union Politics** , Vol. 9, n. 2, June , 295-311

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Plakans Andrejs

Latvia. Normality and Disappointment

in East European Politics and Societies, vol. 23, n. 4, Fall , 518-525

Nearly two decades after renewed independence, the population of Latvia is quite unhappy with the status quo. The number of inhabitants in the country continues to decline due to outmigration and a low fertility level; the international image of the country is believed by Latvians to be ambiguous at best, negative at worst; there is widespread disillusionment with the new political elite, which is thought to be incompetent as well as corrupt; the market economy has not produced straight-line economic progress but rather a growing subpopulation living at the minimal standard of living; continuing divisions of opinion over a wide range of subjects (such as the meaning of World War II and the question of the country's official language) continue to suggest at least incomplete social integration; and the openness brought by the instruments of the information revolution appears to many to contribute to dissension and not cohesion. This was not the normality Latvians had aspired to during the heady years of unified opposition to Soviet power in the 1988—91 period, but the characteristics of this normality are shared in different combinations by many members of the European Union.

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Chiroux R.

Le Parlement européen, grand perdant des élections européennes de 2009
in Revue administrative (Ia), n. 370 - Juillet , 431-442

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Delors Jacques

Le Président stable du Conseil européen: oui a un chairman, non a un executive president



in *Revue du droit de l'Union Européenne*, n. 3 , 381 - 385

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Lukyanov Fyodor

Le delusioni di Mosca

in *Aspenia*, n. 46, ottobre, "Il fine della storia: 89-09" , 84-90

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Section C) Regional integration processes

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Kreppel Amie

Le implicazioni politiche delle riforme istituzionali: le relazioni tra esecutivo e legislativo nell'Unione Europea

in *Rivista Italiana di Scienza Politica*, Vol. XXXIX, Numero 3, Dicembre , 383-416

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Kreppel Amie

Le implicazioni politiche delle riforme istituzionali: le relazioni tra esecutivo e legislativo nell'Unione Europea

in *Rivista Italiana di Scienza Politica*, Vol. XXXIX, Numero 3, Dicembre , 383-416

No abstract available

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Rücker Katrin

Le plan Werner, le système monétaire européen et l'europanisation dans les années 1970: quelques réflexions sur les échecs et les réussites de l'intégration européenne

in *Europe en formation (L')*, n. 353-354, automne-hiver , 111-131

During the Giscard d'Estaing-Schmidt era (1974-1981/82), Europeanization outweighs Euro-scepticism in monetary matters. After the unsuccessful Economic and Monetary Union project (EMU) launched by Luxembourg's Prime Minister Pierre Werner in the early 1970s, the European Monetary System (EMS) in the 1980s is a key transitional step on the path to the common currency, the current Euro. The reasons for the failure of the Werner Plan are compared with those explaining the success of the EMS. Europeanization is defined through the example of the EMS of 1979 in a broad sense, which means, on the one hand, to make a commitment for the progress of monetary integration and on the other



hand, to move forward with the Franco-German couple firstly and secondly with the other European partners. Among the reasons for the failure of the EMU in the early 1970s and those for the success of EMS in the late 1970s, the economic arguments are less compelling than the political arguments. The fall of the Bretton Woods system and the so-called opposition between the “economists” and the “monetarists” have certainly played a lesser role than issues of national sovereignty, the first enlargement of the Common Market and a successful bilateral summit diplomacy which avoids the “rumour mills” of Brussels. Moreover, the French and German ministers, Valéry Giscard d’Estaing and Helmut Schmidt, already adopted a pragmatic and flexible approach towards European Integration in the 1960s and the early 1970s.

This approach paved the way for monetary Europeanization under their presidency and chancellorship.

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Ponzano Paolo

Le processus de constitutionnalisation de l'Union européenne

in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Volume 76, n. 2, aprile-giugno , 273-281

No abstract available

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Brisse Mathieu

Le rôle juridique contrasté de l'Union européenne face à la crise. Un tour d'horizon des mesures prises

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 534, janvier , 20-25

The world financial recession, which the European Union did not really become aware of before the fall of 2008, has been an opportunity to take stock of its current legal consistency. In order to protect savers and restore some trust in financial services, the European Union firstly furthered the reinforcement of existing regulations and directives, before focusing on more technical areas that are still without much legal supervision, such as financial market monitoring or alternative fund management. The crisis exposed some national differences and also helped increase the awareness of the long path that remains before the European Union gets nearer a true federal system. Nonetheless the specific case of state subsidy handling shows the flexibility and intelligence that the European authorities had to display in order to retain their privileges. Projects being passed, the recent enforcement of the Lisbon treaty and the composition of the next European Commission against a financial crisis background allow to be optimistic as to the existence of an ever stronger and more consistent European Union.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Chaltiel Florence

Le traité de Lisbonne, avant-dernière ligne droite? A propos de la décision de la Cour constitutionnelle allemande du 30 juin 2009

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 531, septembre , 493-494



No abstract available

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Cats Julien

Le « paquet défense » : le marché intérieur au service de la défense européenne ?

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 532, octobre-novembre , 564-573

The passing in 2009 of the Defence Package marks a significant turn in the development of a European armament industry. Beyond the phase of multilateral cooperation and the passing of non binding legal instruments, the use of domestic Market mechanisms is supposed to further the emergence of a European integrated Defence Equipment Market. Applying the economic logic of free competition to activity areas pertaining to the core sovereignty of countries is not without problems. The great flexibility of directives, and the importance of their exclusions, are an answer to the required conciliation. Nevertheless, there results a certain level of uncertainty regarding the impacts, including short term ones, of that defence package. The coming choices of member countries and of the European Commission will be deciding factors

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Zito Anthony R., Schout Adriaan

Learning theory reconsidered: EU integration theories and learning

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 16 Issue 8 2009 , 1103 - 1123

This article introduces this special issue by contextualizing learning theory within European integration studies. There are important empirical and theoretical gaps in the study of European integration which necessitate a greater attention to learning theory. This article deploys a number of conceptual distinctions about learning and non-learning processes, drawing from political science, international relations, public administration and sociological/organizational studies. It traces 'learning' in its political science context and how learning has been inserted into EU integration studies. In relating this evolution, the article examines the conditions that define the type and likelihood of learning and surveys the special issue. The article argues that studying learning in the EU is difficult, but integration requires an understanding of the micro policy processes that learning seeks to address.

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Schure Paul, Verdun Amy

Legislative Bargaining in the European Union - The Divide between Large and Small Member States

in *European Union Politics* , Vol. 9, n. 4, December , 459-486

We analyse legislative bargaining in the European Union. In our model, EU member states bargain over the policy choices underlying legislation and over its 'template': (1) the degree of discretion at the application stage, and (2) whether the discretionary power is delegated to the Commission (or retained by the Council). Our analysis classifies



member states into 'large', 'medium-sized' and 'small' based on their voting power in the Council. Large member states seek to adopt open-ended legislation in which the Council retains the discretionary power. Medium-sized ones prefer 'clear rules' without discretion. Small member states prefer open-ended legislation in which discretion is delegated to the Commission. We discuss the Stability and Growth Pact (SGP) as an illustrative example.

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Guillod Lætitia

Les collectivités locales, facteur de fédération dans l'Union européenne? Deuxième partie: Les collectivités locales, acteur clés dans l'Union européenne - Le comité des régions, un organe paradoxal de l'Union européenne

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 532, octobre-novembre , 582-586

No abstract available

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Boni Anna Lisa

Les collectivités locales, facteur de fédération dans l'Union européenne? Deuxième partie: Les collectivités locales, acteur clés dans l'Union européenne - Les Régions en Europe. L'Europe dans les Régions

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 532, octobre-novembre , 578-581

No abstract available

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Lucaire Yves

Les collectivités locales, facteur de fédération dans l'Union européenne? Deuxième partie: Les collectivités locales, acteur clés dans l'Union européenne - Observations sur la coopération transfrontalière entre les collectivités territoriales des États membres de l'Union européenne

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 532, octobre-novembre , 574-577

No abstract available



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Delperée Francis

Les collectivités locales, facteur de fédération dans l'Union européenne? Première partie: Introduction et terminologie - La décentralisation et le fédéralisme à l'heure de l'Union européenne. Précisions terminologiques
in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 531, septembre , 515-519

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Zahra Bernard

Les collectivités locales, facteur de fédération dans l'Union européenne? Première partie: Introduction et terminologie - La participation des collectivités locales à l'élaboration des positions nationales dans le processus décisionnel européen

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 531, septembre , 520-521

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Meyer-Heine Anne

Les collectivités locales, facteur de fédération dans l'Union européenne? Première partie: Introduction et terminologie - Les interactions entre l'Union européenne et les collectivités locales

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 531, septembre , 511-514

No abstract available

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Lambert Christian

Les collectivités locales, facteur de fédération dans l'Union européenne? Quatrième partie: La politique régionale communautaire: quelles évolutions pour les collectivités locales? - Cour de Justice et coopération intercommunale

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 534, janvier , 26-29

No abstract available

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Garcia Thierry

Les collectivités locales, facteur de fédération dans l'Union européenne? Quatrième partie: La politique régionale communautaire: quelles évolutions pour les collectivités locales? - Insularité et droit communautaire: la possibilité d'une île?

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 534, janvier , 30-33

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Pongérard-Payet Hélène

Les collectivités locales, facteur de fédération dans l'Union européenne? Quatrième partie: La politique régionale communautaire: quelles évolutions pour les collectivités locales? - Quelle action communautaire à l'égard des régions ultrapériphériques et des pays et territoires d'outre-mer?

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 534, janvier , 37-48

The European Union's law grasps the specificity of overseas territories by dedicating two separate statutes to them: that of far-surrounding regions and that of overseas countries and territories, known under the acronyms of ORs and OCT. That distinction is crucial to the organisation of overseas community law and has major consequences: whereas the ORs are included in the Union, subject to adjustments related to their structural handicaps, OCTs are only associated to it. The Lisbon Treaty reproduces both statutes, while providing for a new "bridge clause" allowing to switch from one status to the other on the respective country's request. In the same way, the schemes related to those insitutional statutes are significantly different: whereas the ORs are granted normative adaptation measures and significant financial support, including in the framework of the structural funds for the 2007-2013 period, OCTs enjoy an advantageous commercial scheme and development subsidies in the framework of the EDF. Yet beyond those differences, community actions towards the ORs and OCTs are the subject of a renewed approach aimed at ensuring the durability of both concepts. Thus the Commission intends to develop a new paradigm based on the enhancement of OR's assets and modernise the OCT's association scheme.

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Delcamp Alain

Les collectivités locales, facteur de fédération dans l'Union européenne? Quatrième partie: La politique régionale communautaire: quelles évolutions pour les collectivités locales? - État, régions, collectivités territoriales et construction européenne

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 534, janvier , 34-36

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Colavitti Romélien

Les collectivités locales, facteur de fédération dans l'Union européenne? Troisième partie: L'application du droit communautaire par les collectivités locales, quelle efficacité? - L'imputation du manquement des collectivités territoriales au droit communautaire devant la CJCE: un art maîtrisé de l'anamorphose
in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 533, décembre , 640-644

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Fines Francette

Les collectivités locales, facteur de fédération dans l'Union européenne? Troisième partie: L'application du droit communautaire par les collectivités locales, quelle efficacité? -L'autonomie locale et régionale dans la jurisprudence communautaire : l'exemple du contentieux des aides publiques
in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 533, décembre , 645-648

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Racchah Aurélien

Les collectivités locales, facteur de fédération dans l'Union européenne? Troisième partie: L'application du droit communautaire par les collectivités locales, quelle efficacité? - Les contentieux communautaires des autorités régionales et locales
in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 533, décembre , 649-652

No abstract available

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Horak Agnieszka

Les décisions de la Cour constitutionnelle tchèque des 26 octobre et 3 novembre 2009: des décisions juridiques ou éminemment politiques?
in *Federalismi*, Anno VII - Nr. 23

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Euzéby Alain



Les incidences sociales de la crise économique pour les pays de l'Union européenne : enseignements et perspectives

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 533, décembre , 633-639

The economic recession has at least one advantage, i. e. reminding us that social protection is both a social shock absorber and an economic stabiliser that limit the seriousness of the recession. Social expenses are used by European Union countries and by the Union itself, in the framework of a recovery plan to help individuals falling victim to the recession, boost household consumption and thereby support business and help employment. But the recession could also be an opportunity for the European Union to give a strong push to the social Europe by setting compliance with the Human Social Rights as a major objective.

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Verluisse Pierre

Les nouveaux défis géopolitiques de l'Union européenne

in *Etudes Internationales*, 3, Septembre 2009

No abstract available

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Bianchini Stefano

L'Europa orientale a venti anni dal 1989

in *Passato e Presente*, fasc. 78

Eastern Europe twenty years on looks retrospectively at the radical changes that have occurred in East-Central Europe since 1989. Despite the Cold War, cultural, economic and social exchanges and métissages had developed between the two parts of Europe. The communist collapse of 1989 offered a simultaneous opportunity of reforms and integration, given the interdependence between the post-socialist transition and the double process of the Eu enlargement and deepening. Nationalism however has emerged in opposition to integration (and globalization) in both Eastern and Western Europe, giving a new dimension to processes that increasingly have emphasized how Europe is no longer divided in an East-West dichotomy, but displays similar problems in dealing with diversity, social welfare, effective governance and mutual recognition

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Traverso Enzo

L'Europe et ses mémoires : Trois perspectives croisées

in *Raisons politiques*, N°36, novembre

No abstract available



Section C) Regional integration processes

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Santopinto Federico

**L'armée mexicaine de l'Union européenne
in Monde Diplomatique (Le), Janvier**

Les nominations du Belge Herman Van Rompuy et de la Britannique Catherine Ashton aux fonctions respectives de président du Conseil européen et de haut représentant de l'Union pour les affaires étrangères et la politique de sécurité, le 23 novembre 2009, confirment que les Etats membres veulent conserver le contrôle de la politique extérieure commune. En créant des postes sans clarifier les institutions, le traité de Lisbonne, laborieusement ratifié et confus, a transformé la direction de l'Union en armée mexicaine.

<http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/2010/01/SANTOPINTO/18753>

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Maccanico Antonio

**L'assetto possibile delle istituzioni europee
in Nuova Antologia, Fasc. 2251, luglio-settembre**

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Perthes Volker

**L'uso della forza militare: dieci criteri per l'Europa
in Aspenia, n. 46, ottobre, "Il fine della storia: 89-09" , 136-145**

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Dür Andreas

**Measuring Interest Group Influence in the EU
in European Union Politics , Vol. 9, n. 4, December , 559-576**

How much influence do interest groups have on policy outcomes in the European Union (EU)? This question is highly relevant for both debates on the democratic legitimacy of the EU and our understanding of policy-making processes in this entity. Nevertheless, because of the difficulties inherent in measuring interest group influence, it has been addressed by only a small number of studies. The purpose of this research note is to stimulate further research by



clearly identifying the methodological problems and suggesting ways of how to overcome them. In doing so, I distinguish three broad approaches to measuring interest group influence: process-tracing, assessing 'attributed influence' and gauging the degree of preference attainment. Although the review reveals that all three approaches have their shortcomings, I conclude that the difficulty of measuring influence should not be exaggerated either. Methodological triangulation, 'method-shopping' and larger-scale data collection should allow us to improve on the state of the art.

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Radaelli Claudio M.

Measuring policy learning: regulatory impact assessment in Europe

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 16 Issue 8 2009 , 1145 - 1164

Do analytic approaches to policy appraisal, specifically regulatory impact assessment (RIA), enable complex organizations to learn? To answer this question, this article distinguishes between types of learning (instrumental, legitimacy-seeking emulation, and political), spells out their micro-foundations, and formulates expectations about evidence drawing on the literature on knowledge utilization. Findings from Denmark, the Netherlands, Sweden, the UK and the EU corroborate emulation and to some extent political learning rather than instrumental learning. The conclusions explain why some types of learning prevail over others.

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Andrews David

Membership in Monetary Europe: France as Gatekeeper

in *Europe en formation (L')*, n. 353-354, automne-hiver , 149-165

The collapse of the Bretton Woods system in March 1973 and the quadrupling of oil prices later in the same year prompted a growing divergence between the membership of the European Community and those countries whose currencies participated in the Community's exchange-rate mechanism (the "snake"). By 1974, the currencies of France, Italy, and the United Kingdom had withdrawn from the snake, whereas the currencies of non-Community members (Norway and Sweden) were linked to its mechanisms. This situation threatened to undermine the goals of the French government for the future development of the Community, a concern that became particularly acute following the May

1974 election of Valéry Giscard d'Estaing. Giscard's government therefore made it a priority to reform the snake in a fashion that would facilitate the French franc's return, and to limit any further additions to the membership of "monetary Europe" that would undercut this objective. Paris succeeded in the latter of these goals but failed in the former. More precisely, France blocked the entry of the Swiss franc into the snake, which it strongly opposed, but was unable to alter any of the fundamental rules governing the snake's operations (despite repeated and strenuous efforts to do so). Within monetary Europe, France exercised considerable influence over questions of membership but little over the rules governing participants—a pattern that would be repeated in future years.

Full text available on-line: http://www.cife.eu/UserFiles/File/EEF/353_54/EEF353_54-9DA.pdf



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Luetgert Brooke, Dannwolf Tanja

**Mixing Methods - A Nested Analysis of EU Member State Transposition Patterns
in European Union Politics** , Vol. 10, n. 3, September , 307-334

European compliance research has benefited greatly from both quantitative and qualitative studies. Scholars have raised our awareness of potential country, policy sector and Directive-specific compliance patterns, while drawing on very different samples of transposition and infringement data as well as institutional and preference-driven explanations for the observed trends. In our nested analysis of transposition timeliness across nine member states and 1192 directives, we critically assess the fit of our event history model as well as explicit patterns among countryvs. sector-specific trends. We then discuss the relative position of existing case studies within the larger sample based on their deviance and consider the extent to which member state transposition patterns can be generalized or remain individual, Directive-specific phenomena.

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Naurin Daniel

**Most Common When Least Important: Deliberation in the European Union Council of Ministers
in British Journal of Political Science**, vol. 40, issue 1, january , 31-50

ABSTRACT: This article contributes to the empirical turn in deliberative democratic theory, by studying the presence of arguing (discussion on the merits) and bargaining in the working groups of the Council of the European Union. It uses a survey of representatives of member states to analyse to what extent, under what circumstances, and by whom, arguing is used. The results indicate that arguing is indeed common in the Council working groups, but also that there is substantial variation. Most arguing is found in intergovernmental policy areas and by the most powerful and well-connected actors. The findings point to the conclusion that higher stakes and political pressure make actors less willing and able to engage in arguing.

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Hey Ellen

**Multi-Dimensional Public Governance Arrangements for the Protection of the Transboundary Aquatic
Environment in the European Union: The Changing Interplay between European and Public International Law
in International Organizations Law Review**, vol. 6, n. 1 , 191-223

No abstract available



Section C) Regional integration processes

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Van den Brande Luc

Multilevel Governance in Europe

in Europe en formation (L'), n. 353-354, automne-hiver , 199-205

Full text available on-line:

http://www.cife.eu/UserFiles/File/EEF/353_54/EEF353_54-12VDB.pdf

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Akman Pinar, Kassim Hussein

Myths and Myth-Making in the European Union: The Institutionalization and Interpretation of EU Competition Policy

in Journal of Common Market Studies, Volume 48, Issue 1, January 2010 , 111-132

EU competition policy has become so strongly institutionalized that it is easy to overlook its precarious status in earlier decades. This article argues, first, that the Commission responded to the imperative arising from the extraordinary powers created by the treaty and the novelty of competition policy in post-war Europe by developing a series of myths to provide justification for its prerogatives. Second, these myths have played a key role in securing acceptance of EU policy, though other factors have also been important. Third, the official mythology has been supplemented by an interpretation which has become dominant in the law and political science literatures; namely, that EU competition policy has ordoliberal origins. This article challenges this view.

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European Economy News

Not over yet

in European Economy News, October 2009 – Issue 15

The EU unemployment rate is expected to increase to above 10% in 2009, reversing the downward trend which started a decade ago. Nonetheless, there is some cause for hope. Member States have allocated considerable budgets and attention to addressing employment issues. Moreover, most of the measures implemented thusfar seem to be temporary, targeted and timely. Such measures have helped lessen the impact of the crisis on unemployment. They now need to be embedded in a comprehensive, coordinated strategy to prevent the rise in unemployment from becoming structural.

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Hamilton Daniel S.

Obama und Europa

in Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte, Band 4, 2010



The full text is free:

www1.bpb.de/publikationen/SQTSLM,0,Obama_und_Europa.html

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Fois Paolo

Obblighi e poteri degli Stati membri nell'Unione europea
in *Studi sull'integrazione europea*, Anno IV, n. 2 , 325-340

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Fabbrini Sergio

Oltre Lisbona: l'enigma costituzionale dell'integrazione europea
in *Rivista Italiana di Scienza Politica*, Vol. XXXIX, Numero 3, Dicembre , 349-382

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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JHR, LB

On the Lissabon-Urteil: Democracy and a Democratic Paradox
in *European Constitutional Law Review*, Volume 5 - Issue 03 , 341-344

The Bundesverfassungsgericht was castigated for the Maastricht-Urteil by most European lawyers, especially the Germans among them. But that judgment has placed its stamp on much of the constitutional development of the Union and has allowed theories of constitutional pluralism, polycentrism, multilevel constitutionalism, Verfassungsverbund and the constitution compositée to flourish. The German constitutional court is likewise being castigated for its Lissabon-Urteil. Certainly, it has put the questions of democracy, the level at which democracy is to be aggregated and articulated, and the pertaining institutional arrangements in the member states and in the Union higher on the agenda of intellectual and political engagement than they have been over the last decades. Perhaps it will be just as fruitful for European constitutional theory as the Maastricht-Urteil was.

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Schout Adriaan

Organizational learning in the EU's multi-level governance system



in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 16 Issue 8 2009 , 1124 - 1144

The European Union's (EU's) governance reform does not match the expectations of its promoters; the 'new' instruments seem to under-perform. One explanation, explored here, is that governance has been discussed without much attention to capacities at operating levels. Analyses are needed of how instruments are used and designed within the EU's multi-level administrative system. To move from governance to capacities, three interrelated levels of learning are distinguished to examine whether changes in governance are supported by developments in organizational capacities: 'governance learning', 'instrument learning' and 'organizational learning'. One hypothesis is that these need to develop simultaneously. The second hypothesis is that, in the EU's multi-level administration, learning along these dimensions has to take place in parallel at EU and national levels. This article analyses the capacities which the Commission and the Netherlands have created to support the better regulation agenda. It concludes that there is a match between the three levels of learning in the Commission but a mismatch between learning in the Commission and the Netherlands.

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Basilien-Gainche Marie-Laure

Parlements scandinaves et affaires européennes: quand le contrôle de l'action gouvernementale devient modèle

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 531, septembre , 527-531

While the right of the European Union influences a large part of the internal judicial order of its member states, it is not pointless to question the manner in which this right is developed, or the manner in which the member states' positions, protected by the Council, are constructed. As the German constitutional tribunal reminded us in its decision on the 30th June 2009 to suspend the ratification process of the Lisbon Treaty, the citizens' right to be represented by the elected representative of their choice implies the participation of the representative in European decision making in particular. Certainly, it is a question of respect by the EU for the competences of the member states. However, it is also a question of equality of power between legislative forums and executive authorities. And yet, the north European states set up systems that tends to become models. Parliamentary control for governmental action concerning European affairs is revealed to be remarkably intense: competent parliamentary commissions have a particular status; their exercised control concerns all community laws; the following procedures are effective; the adoptive positions unite the government.

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Bache Ian

Partnership as an EU Policy Instrument: A Political History

in *West European Politics*, vol. 33, n. 1, january , 58-74

ABSTRACT: Partnership is an idea whose time has come. It has been a prominent instrument of EU regional policy since 1989, requiring as a condition of funding that member states establish partnerships in each assisted region to oversee spending decisions. Over time, the requirement has become more precise to ensure the participation not only of state actors from various territorial levels, but also non-state actors. Using the political sociology approach to policy



instruments, this article considers the creation and development of the partnership instrument and analyses the key debates and issues that have informed its evolution. It argues that while partnership has been generally presented as a technical device aimed at improving decisional efficiency and policy effectiveness, it is a highly political instrument with very different purposes and effects in different contexts.

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Delcour Laure, Tulmets Elsa

Pioneer Europe? The ENP as a Test Case for EU's Foreign Policy
in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, Volume 14, Issue 4 , 501-523

This article uses the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) as a case study to conceptualize and to define further the characteristics of the European Union as an international actor in the making. It builds upon discourse analysis and field research to argue that the European Union can be best understood as a 'Pioneer Europe' looking for new ways of doing foreign policy, thus experimenting its policies abroad and constantly learning from the successes and failures of its own policies. The article highlights in particular the discrepancies between a policy discourse mainly developed around the notion of the EU as a 'soft power' and implementation in the field reflecting the various tensions inherent to a policy which, at the image of the EU, still encounters difficulties to define itself.

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Roel Beetsma, Massimo Giuliadori and Peter Wiert

Planning to cheat: EU fiscal policy in real time
in *Economic Notes*, Volume 38 Issue 1-2 , 753 - 804

Using real-time data from Europe's Stability and Convergence Programs, we explore how fiscal plans and their implementation in the EU are determined. We find that (1) implemented budgetary adjustment falls systematically short of planned adjustment and this shortfall increases with the projection horizon, (2) variability in the eventual fiscal outcomes is dominated by the implementation errors, (3) there is a limited role for 'traditional' political variables, (4) stock-flow adjustments are more important when plans are more ambitious, and (5), most importantly, both the ambition in fiscal plans and their implementation benefit from stronger national fiscal institutions. We emphasize also the importance of credible plans for the eventual fiscal outcomes.

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Caporaso James, Tarrow Sidney

Polanyi in Brussels: Supranational Institutions and the Transnational Embedding of Markets
in *International Organization*, vol. 63, issue 4, october , 593-620

ABSTRACT: Many have argued that the success of European integration is predicated on reinforcing market structures and some have gone further to state that the creation of a transnational market results in a decoupling of markets from their national political and social frameworks, thus threatening to unravel historical social bargains. Drawing on the work



of Karl Polanyi and John Ruggie and using their insights regarding the social embedding of markets, we dissent from this view by examining how the European Court of Justice (ECJ) has handled a key sector of the emerging European market—labor mobility. We argue that rather than disembedding markets, decisions of the ECJ—just as Polanyi and Ruggie would have predicted—activate new social and political arrangements. We find evidence for the development of a new legal and political structure, largely inspired by the Court but also imbricated in European Union legislation, at the regional level.

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Grant Wyn

Policy Instruments in the Common Agricultural Policy

in West European Politics, vol. 33, n. 1, January , 22-38

ABSTRACT: Policy changes in the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) can be explained in terms of the exhaustion and long-term contradictions of policy instruments. Changes in policy instruments have reoriented the policy without any change in formal Treaty goals. The social and economic efficacy of instruments in terms of evidence-based policy analysis was a key factor in whether they were delegitimised. The original policy instruments were generally dysfunctional, but reframing the policy in terms of a multifunctionality paradigm permitted the development of more efficacious instruments. A dynamic interaction takes place between the instruments and policy informed by the predominant discourses.

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Della Sala Vincent

Political Myth, Mythology and the European Union

in Journal of Common Market Studies, Volume 48, Issue 1, January 2010 , 1-19

The EU, as is commonly held, is a different form of political rule: a polity based on rationality and functional interests, not emotional appeals. Without reference to the narrative of the nation or the state, the question emerges as to whether the European Union needs or has myths? If it does, what are they and how successful have they been? The aim of this article – indeed of the special issue – is to explore the role of political myth in creating normative and cognitive foundations for governing in the EU and to examine whether these are applicable to the case of the European Union.

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Kinzelbach Katrin, Kozma Julia

Portraying Normative Legitimacy: The EU in Need of Institutional Safeguards for Human Rights

in Perspectives on European Politics and Society, vol. 10, n. 4, December , Special Issue: The Politics of European Security Policies: Actors, Dynamics and Contentious Outcomes , 603-620

This article explores the politics of European security policies from a human rights perspective. It argues that internal and external security policies are chiefly related through their joint and intertwined impact on the perceived legitimacy of



the EU's normative demands on third countries. Building on a theoretical exploration of the normative power Europe concept, its applicability in practice is analysed by looking at three key developments: the EU's response to the allegation of some of its member states supporting extraordinary renditions by the USA; the recent establishment of the EU's Fundamental Rights Agency; and the partial suspension of a Partnership and Cooperation Agreement in response to the excessive and indiscriminate use of force by Uzbek security forces in Andijan in 2005. In all three cases the EU's actions lack consistency and are guided chiefly by political considerations of its member states rather than by a principled approach. It is concluded that the EU's objective to export human rights and democratic values through the Common Foreign and Security Policy and the external dimension of the Area of Freedom, Security and Justice - that is to exercise normative power on justice and home security affairs - is hampered by a failure to develop institutional structures that ensure consistent and transparent monitoring and promotion of human rights.

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Argomaniz Javier

Post-9/11 institutionalisation of European Union counter-terrorism: emergence, acceleration and inertia in European Security, Volume 18, Number 2, June , 151-172

This article applies a historical institutionalist perspective to an empirical analysis of the sources and characteristics of the institutionalisation of European Union counter-terrorism. Drawing upon the work of Stone Sweet, Sandholtz and Fligstein, this paper critically analyses the impact of external crises in the form of major terrorist attacks on the emergence of counter-terrorism as an area of European governance. It also highlights the key policy and institutional developments, studies the role of policy innovators on the institutionalisation of counter-terrorism and supports the relevance of 'transformative' or 'evolutionary' models for the understanding of institutional change in this domain.

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Chaltiel Florence

Premier Conseil européen sous la régime du Traité de Lisbonne
in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 534, janvier , 6-7

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Billiet Stijn

Principal-agent analysis and the study of the EU: What about the EC's external relations?
in *Comparative European Politics*, vol. 7, n. 4, december , 435-454

ABSTRACT: This paper studies the influence and autonomy of the European Commission as an agent in a very particular policy area where European Studies and international relations meet: the EC's external trade policy. It presents a case study of the Commission's role within trade-related intellectual property rights-related World Trade Organisation disputes, which suggests that the principal-agent approach needs to be refined if it is to be successfully



applied to the EC's common commercial policy, and possibly to other external policies as well.

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Ottaviano Ilaria

Profili evolutivi del rinvio pregiudiziale alla Corte di giustizia: verso una disciplina procedurale uniforme nell'ambito dello Spazio di libertà, sicurezza e giustizia

in *Studi sull'integrazione europea*, Anno IV, n. 2 , 451-477

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Angel Benjamin, Margerit Aliénor

Quelle est la portée du cours légal de l'euro?

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 532, octobre-novembre , 587-592

With the passing of the Euro, countries in the zone lost any legal capacity to determine the legal tender, but the Union refrained from doing so, thus letting different national rights and practices co-exist. Can a merchant refuse payments in cash? Is the systematic refusal of high work bills compatible with the concept of legal tender of the euro? Answers to these questions change from one country in the euro zone to the other, which is not very satisfactory and legally uncertain, regarding a common currency. A working group has for the first time been initiated this year, under the aegis of the Commission and European Central bank, with a view to finding interpretation lines common to countries in the zone. To simplify, there are currently two views of legal tender: "legalists", the broad majority, support the legal tender (payments in cash are always the default solution) and "contractualists" champion contractual liberty (a payment in cash can always be refused). It is unlikely that the current thoughts will result in a complete harmonisation of the concept of legal tender in a European regulation. Nevertheless, from the talks, a number of common guideline principles could emerge, that could then be turned into an interpretative text.

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Gohin Alexandre

Quelles conséquences d'une suppression de la politique agricole commune après 2013 ?

in *Revue d'Economie Politique*, n° 4 (juillet-août) , 633-650

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Coman Emanul Emil



**Reassessing the Influence of Party Groups on Individual Members of the European Parliament
in West European Politics**, vol. 32, n. 6, december , 1099-1117

ABSTRACT: This paper reassesses the way in which the voting behaviour of individual members of the European Parliament (EP) is influenced by their national and European party delegations. It does so within the previously used framework of one agent with two principals. First, it shows that the previous literature was unable to fully fathom the mechanisms through which the tripartite principal-agent relationship works. Second, it develops a model that looks solely at the votes contested between the European and the national group and the results of the test correct many of the findings of the previous literature. The paper also develops a new theoretical framework of vote cohesion in which the national and European groups are motivated by group norms and external incentives. Finally, the analysis of roll-call votes from the sixth EP finds that the new members from Central and Eastern Europe are more likely to stay with their European group than the members from Western Europe.

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Hodson Dermot

**Reforming EU economic governance: A view from (and on) the principal-agent approach
in Comparative European Politics**, vol. 7, n. 4, december , 455-475

ABSTRACT: This paper asks what European Union (EU) economic governance can learn from the principal-agent approach and vice versa. The answer to the first part of this question is that a stylized relationship between the Council of Ministers for Economic and Financial Affairs (ECOFIN) acting as a collective principal and the Member States acting as multiple agents can shed light on factors that may have influenced the design, breakdown and subsequent reform of the Stability and Growth Pact and the Lisbon Strategy. The answer to the second part is that applying principal-agent analysis to EU economic governance illustrates many of the advantages and limitations of this heuristic device. On the plus side, it shows that principal-agent analysis can be used to understand new modes of EU governance as well as traditional forms of supranational policy making. On the minus side, the sheer applicability of this approach raises methodological concerns with regard to the specification and over-determination of principal-agent relationships.

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Heinemann Friedrich, Mohl Philipp, Osterloh Steffen

**Reforming the EU Budget: Reconciling Needs with Political-Economic Constraints
in Journal of European Integration**, Volume 32, Number 1 / January , 59-76

Dissatisfaction with the current EU budget has inspired the ongoing general review of the Union's budgetary system. In this context our aim is threefold. First, we demonstrate that the application of normative yardsticks to the budget reveals severe shortcomings of the status quo. Secondly, we identify the political-economic obstacles to budgetary reform. Thirdly, we review the reform literature and identify 'incentive channelling reforms' as the most promising type. This type of reform option takes account of the incentives which so far cause reform resistance and tries to reconcile them with a more efficient budgetary outcome.



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Minkenberg Michael

Religion and Euroscepticism: Cleavages, Religious Parties and Churches in EU Member States

in West European Politics, vol. 32, n. 6, december , 1190-1211

ABSTRACT: Taking into account the attempts to render the European integration process a new cultural and value-based quality on the one hand, and the prevalence of sceptical positions on the other, the role of religion as a factor shaping the process of European integration and its accompanying features such as Euroscepticism deserves special attention. It may be argued that the entire EU is a project inaugurated and pushed along primarily by Christian Democratic forces and inspirations. However, the EU is currently characterised by an advanced state of secularisation in most of its member states and high levels of religious and cultural pluralisation. This article raises the question to what extent religious, in particular Christian, actors such as religious parties and the churches have strayed from this integrationist past and contributed to Euroscepticism. Furthermore, the second question is whether a confessional pattern of Euroscepticism can be identified. The paper addresses these questions by empirically and comparatively analysing the positions and influence of religious actors on Euroscepticism in a selected group of EU member states.

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Boomgaarden Hajo, Freire André

Religion and Euroscepticism: Direct, Indirect or No Effects?

in West European Politics, vol. 32, n. 6, december , 1240-1265

ABSTRACT: Taking as starting points the (growing) political significance of religion and increasing scepticism towards European integration, this study sets out to investigate the impact of religious divides and religiosity on attitudes towards the EU, both on the micro and on the macro level. In addition to considering direct effects, it focuses on the mediated nature of relationships between religion and Euroscepticism through immigration attitudes and authoritarian value orientations. Drawing on data from the 2006 European Social Survey the authors find that individuals' religious attachments have only indirect relevance for explaining Euroscepticism when controlling for immigration attitudes and value orientations. Religious context, however, does contribute to explanatory models of Euroscepticism, with citizens of Protestant countries being more Eurosceptic than those in religiously mixed or in Catholic countries. The authors furthermore show that both authoritarianism and anti-immigration attitudes are to some degree influenced by individuals' denomination and level of religiosity and in turn predict Euroscepticism. Yet, even indirect effects of religion on Euroscepticism are small or appear to cancel each other out. The article concludes that religion on the micro level is largely irrelevant for explaining Euroscepticism, whereas it is an important macro-level explanatory variable.

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Van der Brug Wouter, Hobolt Sara, De Vreese Claes

Religion and Party Choice in Europe

in West European Politics, vol. 32, n. 6, december , 1266-1283

ABSTRACT: This paper investigates religiosity in relation to party choice in European Parliament elections.



Conventional wisdom tells us that as Europe has secularised, the effect of religion on party choice should also have diminished. Yet, this cross-national and cross-temporal study of religious voting in European elections from 1989 to 2004 paints a more nuanced picture. It shows that a) the effect of religion has been declining, but has increased in recent years, b) religion matters in particular for voting for Christian Democratic parties and Conservative parties, c) while generational replacement reduces the overall effect of religion on electoral decisions, the effect of religion has recently increased within each generation, and d) the impact of religion depends on the religious context in which citizens live so that religion plays a bigger role in fractionalised societies. These findings are discussed in the light of a revived importance of religion for European politics.

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Diekmann Jochen

Renewable Energy in Europe. Strong Political Will Required for Ambitious Goals

in *Economic Bulletin*, 36 / 2009 , 242-250

A number of substantive goals and mechanisms for implementing an integrated climate and energy policy have been ratified over the last two years at the European level. By 2020, greenhouse gas emissions in Europe are to be reduced by at least 20 percent; energy efficiency improved by 20 percent; and the share of energy from renewable sources increased to 20 percent. According to a recent European Council decision, by 2050 greenhouse gas emissions in Europe are to be reduced by as much as 80 to 95 percent. In June of 2009 a new EU Directive was enacted for the promotion of renewable energy. The Directive sets binding goals for the share of energy from renewable sources in the 27 Member States by 2020 while also defining conditions for their achievement. The Directive replaced existing EU directives that had only set non-binding targets for electricity and fuels from renewable energy for 2010. These Directives have only been of limited effectiveness. Individual EU Member States must now immediately address how they plan to meet these requirements by devising and implementing appropriate domestic policy measures. Germany is in a good starting position for the further expansion of renewables, particularly because of its overhauled Renewable Energy Sources Act (EEG) and the new Renewable Energy Heat Act (EEWärmeG). Nevertheless, the new German government faces great challenges in integrating larger amounts of renewable energy into the energy economy at an accelerated pace.

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Drieghe Lotte, Orbie Jan

Revolution in Times of Eurosclerosis: The Case of the First Lomé Convention

in *Europe en formation (L')*, n. 353-354, automne-hiver , 167-181

This article examines the dynamics leading to the first Lomé Convention between the EC and the former colonies of its member states. In 1975 the EC and the ACP (African, Caribbean and Pacific) countries managed to conclude a comprehensive trade and development agreement, despite the period of eurosclerosis and economic crisis. This article aims to explain this apparent paradox. First, we examine why Lomé has been perceived as a revolutionary agreement. In this respect four features of the agreement are elaborated: (1) its broad geographical reach, (2) its wide scope, (3) the development friendly nature of its trade regime, and (4) the EC's commitment to an equal partnership. Subsequently, we analyze the EC's motives to include these distinguishing features in the Convention. Based on a research in the EU



records and some private collections, this study comes to the conclusion that this 'revolutionary' agreement was not the result of ambitious ideas about development, but stemmed from historical relations and practical consideration. Lomé I was to a large extent the continuation of previous policies by France and the United Kingdom towards their former colonies, and these two EC member states have largely shaped the content and nature of the agreement through intergovernmental bargaining. However, in times of eurosclerosis it might be useful to affirm Europe as an ambitious international actor as a response to the internal legitimacy crisis.

Full text available on-line: http://www.cife.eu/UserFiles/File/EEF/353_54/EEF353_54-10LDJO.pdf

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Piana Daniela

Scacco allo stato? Obiettivi istituzionali e conseguenze inattese della creazione dei network giudiziari nell'Europa allargata

in *Rivista Italiana di Scienza Politica*, Vol. XXXIX, Numero 2, Agosto , 235-262

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Napolitano Giorgio

Sciogliere l'antico nodo di contrastanti visioni del progetto europeo. Far emergere una nuova volontà politica comune.

in *Foro Italiano*, 2008 , V, pp. 1 - 10

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bodenstein Thilo, Furness Mark

Separating the Willing from the Able - Is the European Union's Mediterranean Policy Incentive Compatible?

in *European Union Politics* , Vol. 10, n. 3, September , 381-401

The European Union's ambitious Mediterranean policy has the declared goal of bringing about economic and political transformation by explicitly linking reform with rewards. Drawing on mechanism design theory, we argue that the EU's Mediterranean policy has the potential to reveal information about the respective partner countries' reform 'types'. However, the current incentive structure of the EU's Mediterranean policy does not fit with the requirements of incentive compatibility, which would allow for screening, because it does not encourage partner countries to reveal the costs of reform. Data on the political and economic reform performance of Mediterranean partner countries reveal the pooling pattern that we would expect from a screening model. By offering two differentiated reward agreements that are not specifically targeted towards each country's progress on reform, the European Commission could learn which countries are sincere about reforming.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Dorussen Han, Kirchner Emil, Sperling James

Sharing the Burden of Collective Security in the European Union

in International Organization, vol. 63, issue 4, october , 789-810

ABSTRACT: This article compares European Union (EU) burden-sharing in security governance distinguishing between assurance, prevention, protection, and compellence policies. We employ joint-product models and examine the variation in the level of publicness, the asymmetry of the distribution of costs and benefits, and aggregation technologies in each policy domain. Joint-product models predict equal burden-sharing for protection and assurance because of their respective weakest-link and summation aggregation technologies with symmetric costs. Prevention is also characterized by the technology of summation, but asymmetry of costs implies uneven burden-sharing. Uneven burden-sharing is predicted for compellence because it has the largest asymmetry of costs and a best-shot aggregation technology. Evaluating burden-sharing relative to a country's ability to contribute, Kendall tau-tests examine the rank-correlation between security burden and the capacity of EU member states. These tests show that the smaller EU members disproportionately shoulder the costs of assurance and protection; wealthier EU members carry a somewhat disproportionate burden in the provision of prevention, and larger EU members in the provision of compellence. When analyzing contributions relative to expected benefits, asymmetric marginal costs can largely explain uneven burden-sharing. The main conclusion is that the aggregated burden of collective security governance in the EU is shared quite evenly.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Maier Jürgen, Rittberger Berthold

Shifting Europe's Boundaries

in European Union Politics , Vol. 9, n. 2, June , 243-267

This article demonstrates that public attitudes towards EU enlargement are strongly affected by exposure to the mass media. It reveals 'priming' effects by showing that media exposure affects the standards by which individuals evaluate the accession of potential candidate countries. To gain a more refined understanding about media effects on enlargement attitudes, we analytically separate three different factors that underlie EU enlargement support for a given candidate country: its economic performance, its state of democracy and its perceived cultural 'match' with the EU. Employing an experimental design, we probe the media-induced effects of these factors on EU enlargement attitudes.

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Scirocco Alfonso, Hijmans Hielke

Shortcomings in EU Data Protection in the Third and the Second Pillars. Can the Lisbon Treaty be Expected to help?



in **Common Market Law Review**, vol. 46, issue 5 , 1485-1525

ABSTRACT: This article discusses the role of data protection in the area of police and judicial cooperation ("Third Pillar"), as well as that of the Common Foreign and Security Policy ("Second Pillar"). In other words, data protection in areas of activities of the State where there is significant increase in the importance of storage and exchange of information, and access to this information, as instruments for ensuring security.

The article demonstrates that the present arrangements for data protection are not fully satisfactory. It focuses in particular on the shortcomings of the framework for data protection related to the pillar structure of the EU Treaty. In the Third Pillar, there are a number of legislative instruments applying to different situations. Framework Decision 2008/977 is not more than a first step towards a general framework for data protection. In the Second Pillar, there is no general legal framework and there are no specific rules. Furthermore, the pillar structure itself leads to unsatisfactory solutions which the case law of the Court did not fully compensate.

The article then analyses to what extent the Lisbon Treaty provides instruments to address these shortcomings. The Lisbon Treaty offers the necessary means to ensure an effective system of data protection applicable to all areas of EU activity. Much will depend on the content and on the timing of the legislation that will eventually be adopted on the basis of the new Treaty, in particular under Article 16 TFEU.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Monforte Pierre

Social Movements and Europeanization Processes: The Case of the French Associations Mobilizing around the Asylum Issue

in **Social Movement Studies**, Volume 8, Issue 4, November 2009 , 409-425

Abstract

This paper seeks to analyse the process of Europeanization of social movements mobilizing around the asylum policy since the middle of the 1990s. Taking the example of the principal French associations which have mobilized on this topic, the paper explores the dynamics that lead these associations to increasingly address the European institutions since the launching of the process of harmonisation of asylum policies. In particular, it shows that particular attention shall be given to the relationship between the associations that have constituted at the national level and the set of actors that are mobilized on this issue exclusively at the European level (which is defined as a European advocacy coalition). Through the analysis of this relationship, it can be seen that the French associations follow different processes of Europeanization. Some follow a process of inclusion into the existing European advocacy coalition while others create alternative mobilizations at the European level. This study allows us to observe and to analyse the similarities and differences in the interactions between social movements and institutions in the national political space and in the European political space on this particular issue. In doing so, it seeks to present an original perspective on a process of 'Europeanization from below'. This research is based on the in-depth analysis of 11 associations which are representative of the diversity of the movement related to the asylum issue in France. It uses different methods that were developed in social movements studies: frame analysis, protest-event analysis and network analysis. It is based on several sources: associative discourses and publications, in-depth interviews, and associative internal literature.



Section C) Regional integration processes

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Burgoon Brian

Social Nation and Social Europe - Support for National and Supranational Welfare Compensation in Europe in European Union Politics , Vol. 10, n. 4, December , 427-455

This article investigates citizen support for welfare provisions, where these can be provided at both the national and the EU level. The guiding question is whether welfare provisions at one level dampen, increase or have little effect on support for assistance at the other level. Analysis of data on support for national and EU-level welfare assistance suggests only one-way tension between governance levels: generous national welfare may modestly diminish support for EU-level welfare assistance, as well as the degree to which economic insecurities encourage such support; but the currently meagre EU-level Structural Funds and other transfers have little effect on support for national compensation. This analysis clarifies the possibilities and dilemmas of welfare compensation where governance is multi-level in character.

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Ziller J.

Solange III, ovvero la Europarechtsfreundlichkeit del Bundesverfassungsgericht. A proposito della sentenza della Corte costituzionale federale tedesca sulla ratifica del trattato di Lisbona

in *Rivista italiana di diritto pubblico comunitario*, n. 5 , 973-996

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Scheuer Angelika, Schmitt Hermann

Sources of EU Support: The Case of Germany

in *German Politics*, Volume 18, Issue 4, December , 577-590

The determinants of support for European integration and the European Union have been analysed by previous research from a comparative perspective: factors that help to explain the differences between the levels of support of the EU member states are considered to be the factors that drive EU support in general. This article takes a different approach using a cross-time perspective to identify the sources of EU support and to investigate the causal structure of the effects. We analyse German support for European integration which is very volatile over time and test potential explanations for these fluctuations. Three bundles of factors are considered: the economy, the increasing scope of EU policies, and the domestic political process. It appears that all three are associated with fluctuations of German support for European integration. However, domestic politics seems to be mightier than often understood. The empirical evidence that is presented in support of these claims is taken from the Mannheim Eurobarometer Trendfile and recent Eurobarometer surveys, from the Comparative Political Data Set, and from the official handbook of the Bundestag.



Section C) Regional integration processes

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Bernardini Giovanni

Stability and socialist autonomy: The SPD, the PSI and the Italian political crisis of the 1970s
in *Journal of European Integration History*, vol. 15, n. 1 , 95-114

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Pardo Sierra Oscar

Stabilizing the Neighbourhood? The EU's Contribution to SSR in Georgia
in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, Volume 14, Issue 4 , 479-500

This article examines how the European Union (EU) has contributed to Security Sector Reform (SSR) in Georgia. SSR is a relatively new concept, which aims at creating a secure environment that is linked with democratic norms and institutions and which encompasses all the sectors and actors related to a state's security and not only defence or intelligence forces. The European Security Strategy (ESS) identifies SSR as one of the main new possible missions of the EU's foreign policy. Looking at the diverse EU programmes undertaken in Georgia and norms transference, the paper evaluates to what degree the EU has contributed to Georgian SSR, especially since the 2003 Rose Revolution. It is argued that in SSR the EU acts mainly as a 'transmission belt' of international norms and through bilateral ad hoc programmes. These results also show how the EU has increased its profile as a security provider, especially in the support of Georgian border management, and how the EU can become a security provider in areas of soft security such as judicial and law enforcement or police reform.

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Schroeder Ursula C.

Strategy by Stealth? The Development of EU Internal and External Security Strategies
in *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, vol. 10, n. 4, December , Special Issue: The Politics of European Security Policies: Actors, Dynamics and Contentious Outcomes , 486-505

Despite lively debates about the institutional development of the European security architecture, the larger question of the strategic aims it should serve has received less attention. This chapter serves to mitigate this lack. It asks how the EU developed its strategic choices in the security field. Comparing the emergence of both internal and external security strategies, the chapter argues that the process has been capability-driven and not strategy-led, resulting in a 'capability-strategy' mismatch. As a result of this strategic void at the heart of the European security project, actors within several policy arenas in the complex EU architecture have been able to develop different - and sometimes conflicting - strategic ends: counter-terrorism, human security, common defence, crime-fighting and stability. Particularly in areas where the EU's Justice and Home Affairs (JHA) and Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) agendas overlap, the



chapter finds that EU actors follow diverging strategic ends. The chapter finally assesses the effects of this strategy-building process 'by stealth' rather than 'by design', and concludes that the incremental development of EU security strategies has led to the emergence of fault lines in the EU's security policies.

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Schütze Robert

Subsidiarity After Lisbon: Reinforcing The Safeguards Of Federalism?
in **Cambridge Law Journal (The)**, Volume 68, Issue 03, November , 525-536

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Lavenex Sandra

Switzerland in the European Research Area: Integration Without Legislation
in **Swiss Political Science Review - Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft - Revue suisse de science politique**, Volume 15, Number 4, Winter 2009/10 , 629-651

Abstract:

From the point of view of modes of governance and constellations of interdependence, EU research policy offers ideal conditions for the flexible inclusion of non-member states: it is based on transgovernmental coordination through policy networks rather than supranational legislation, it follows scientific rather than political imperatives, and cooperation is in the interest of both the EU and of Switzerland. This article analyses the degree to which these factors have allowed for Switzerland's inclusion into the regulatory and organisational aspects of EU research policy, and highlights the limits of such flexible sectoral integration.

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Lavenex Sandra

Switzerland's Flexible Integration in the EU: A Conceptual Framework
in **Swiss Political Science Review - Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft - Revue suisse de science politique**, Volume 15, Number 4, Winter 2009/10 , 547-575

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Cudennec Annie

Terrorisme et piraterie maritimes : l'UE affirme son statut d'acteur maritime international



in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 532, octobre-novembre , 599-607

The growing violence at sea has prompted the European Union to reinforce, in the framework of the European space of freedom, safety and justice, its terrorism and piracy prevention campaign. Firstly, the Union encourages its member countries to sign international instruments, such as the SUA Convention of March 10, 1988. The Union also place its specific piracy prevention action in the international framework. Implementing the resolutions of the United Nations Security Council. it passed, on November 10, 2008, the joint action 2008/851/PESC, at the origin of the Atalanta military cooperation, whose purpose is to protect vulnerable boats sailing off the coast of Somalia. In addition, as piracy prevention cannot be limited to only one naval military operation, the Union has elaborated various restrictive measures as common positions complemented by community regulations against Somalia, which measures are aimed at reducing arms deliveries to that country. Lastly, considering the links between piracy and political instability in the region, the European Union reinforced in 2008, its development help to the transitional Somali federal government. The European maritime terrorism and piracy prevention action does not hesitate to use instruments provided within the three pillars of the Union, thus emphasising the probably unsuitable nature of that structure, which will hopefully disappear in the near future, with the implementation of the Lisbon treaty. Beyond the complexity of its structure, one should keep in mind the international maritime stature of the Union.

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Tholoniati Luc

The Career of the Open Method of Coordination: Lessons from a 'Soft' EU Instrument

in *West European Politics*, vol. 33, n. 1, January , 93-117

ABSTRACT: This article examines the career of the Open Method of Coordination (OMC) as a policy instrument. Looking at the European Employment Strategy and the Lisbon Agenda, it shows that more has been accomplished than is often realised. It argues that the OMC's apparent fragility reflects an intrinsic tension, termed here the 'soft-law dilemma': it must ensure a constant supply of items to feed the EU agenda, whilst at the same time guaranteeing a level of institutional stability sufficient to allow effective policy delivery. To maintain both legitimacy and effectiveness, the OMC has learned to navigate between the extremes of all-out policy activism and bureaucratisation. As a result, the OMC has become an established form of socio-economic governance at EU level. A decade later, EU actors have the resources to take action in areas long associated with national sovereignty, thereby widening the scope and potential for a politicisation of the EU.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Pursiainen Christer

The Challenges for European Critical Infrastructure Protection

in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 31, Number 6 / November , 721-739

Critical Infrastructure Protection has become a new field of European integration. This article identifies some of the challenges on this road towards a more shared approach. It argues that while the very concept of critical infrastructure is in flux, the whole approach is challenged by the more general approach that concentrates on resilience of societal



functions instead of mere protection of infrastructures. The article also claims that it is not completely clear against what kind of threats the critical infrastructures should be protected and by whom. The article further points out the limits of the regulatory efforts of the governments or the EU in trying to protect infrastructures that are mostly owned and operated by private actors.

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Cordewener Alex, Kofler Georg, Van Thiel Servaas

The Clash Between European Freedoms and National Direct Tax Law: Public Interest Defences Available to the Member States'

in **Common Market Law Review**, vol. 46, issue 6 , 1951-2000

ABSTRACT: In the early days of Community law the ECJ, still sheltered from political constraints, was able to develop its jurisprudence on the EC fundamental freedoms with a view to enhancing the development of Community law and to advancing the Internal Market. More recently, however, the case law in the field of direct taxation has more and more come into the political limelight as fundamental tax policy questions and billions of tax revenue are at stake. As the Court's decisions also take account of the dynamic evolution of the Community's legal system and are much influenced by considerations of policy and economics, recent case law seems to put more emphasis on a cautious re-balancing of taxpayer rights under the fundamental freedoms and possibilities for Member States to justify restrictive tax measures on the basis of overriding public interest reasons. However, the Court's recent attempts have also warranted criticism from the perspective of legal certainty, due to the potential disregard of legal precedent and the concern that the Court might deviate from general Internal Market principles in this particular area. Against this background, the present contribution aims at systematizing the recent developments and dogmatic approaches underlying the body of case law in the field of direct taxation with respect to (acceptable and unacceptable) justifications of infringements on taxpayer rights to free movement and non discrimination.

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Kaźmierzak Janusz

The Community That Never Was: The European Defense Community and Its Image in Polish Visual Propaganda of the 1950s

in **Journal of Cold War Studies**, Volume 11, Issue 4 - Fall , 118-141

Communist propaganda was sharply critical of all integration attempts made in Western Europe. In numerous political posters and cartoons published in Poland, the brunt of the criticism was borne by the European Defense Community (EDC) from October 1950, when the idea of military integration was first proposed by French Prime Minister René Pleven, until August 1954, when a vote in the French National Assembly effectively killed the project. Through a contextualized discussion of selected posters and cartoons, which are reproduced in the text, this article relates Polish visual anti-EDC propaganda to aspects of Communist ideology, Soviet geostrategic interests, and Polish domestic politics and shows how the propaganda was intended to help the Communist authorities achieve specific goals.



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Fusaro Paolo

The Constitutional Court turns its look at Europe

in Perspectives on federalism, Vol. 1, single issue , N 22-28

With the order of April 15, 2008, the Constitutional Court of Italy requested, for the first time, the intervention of the Court of Justice of the European Communities, enabling the mechanism of preliminary deferment in the context of a sentence of constitutionality primarily promoted by the State in relation to the regional law.

Full text available at:

<http://www.on-federalism.eu/index.php/notes/18-the-italian-constitutional-court-turn-its-look-to-europe>

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Warntjen Andreas

The Council Presidency - Power Broker or Burden? An Empirical Analysis

in European Union Politics , Vol. 9, n. 3, September , 315-338

The potential impact of the EU Council Presidency on legislative decision-making has been frequently identified. This article provides an empirical analysis of the Presidency's influence on decision outcomes based on a large-n data set. Two counterfactuals are used to represent consensual decision-making and hard bargaining in the Council. The role of supranational actors is controlled for directly. The findings show that a member state benefits from holding the Presidency during the final stages of the legislative proceedings. Besides the support of supranational actors, the regression analysis controls for the voting threshold, the type of proposal and salience.

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Warntjen Andreas

The Council Presidency: Power Broker or Burden? An Empirical Analysis

in European Union Politics , Vol. 9, n. 3, September , 315-338

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Presidency during the final stages of the legislative proceedings. Besides the support of supranational actors, the regression analysis controls for the voting threshold, the type of proposal and salience.

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The Editors , Komarek Jan

The Czech Constitutional Court's Second Decision on the Lisbon Treaty of 3 November 2009

in *European Constitutional Law Review*, Volume 5 - Issue 03 , 345-352

On 3 November 2009 the Czech Constitutional Court gave its second ruling within a year on the Treaty of Lisbon. The Court squarely rejected the complaints against the Treaty. For scholarship the most interesting characteristic of the ruling is the way the Court distanced itself from the Lissabon-Urteil of the Bundesverfassungsgericht in such unequivocal terms that the judgment's central passages deserve a place in this issue, even though we only dispose of a provisional translation by Jan Komárek and cannot make comments available yet. As it did in the previous judgment on the Lisbon Treaty of 28 November 2008, the Czech Court again belies the established idea that eastern European constitutional courts take the Bundesverfassungsgericht as their guide.

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Bernhagen Patrick, Mitchell Neil J.

The Determinants of Direct Corporate Lobbying in the European Union

in *European Union Politics* , Vol. 10, n. 2, June , 155-176

Whereas research on corporate lobbying in the USA has produced a set of robust findings, less is known about the determinants of business political action in other policy arenas and beyond the nation-state. In particular, we do not know how well the standard profit-seeking model of firm political activity travels. The article examines this issue with an analysis of business lobbying in the EU that reflects tactical adaptation to lobbying at the supranational level. Using data on 2000 large companies, we show that a modified profit-seeking model of corporate political behaviour is generalizable to corporate lobbying in Brussels. By contrast, theories emphasizing nationally distinct types of interest intermediation find little support in the data.

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Wolf Sebastian

The Development of the European Nuclear Energy Policy: Explaining Factors apart from Actor-Centered



Approaches

in *Oesterreichische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft* , 2009/4 , 467-482

The article is based on the assumption that the modest development of EURATOM in the past 50 years can be explained to a large extent by framework conditions apart from specific interest coalitions of key actors. Firstly, a short legal analysis of the ten EURATOM regulatory areas helps to find those areas which offer significant potential for 'spill over'-processes. In a second step, relevant political and economic framework conditions, which foster or hinder supranational integration in the nuclear sector, are identified and discussed. The conclusion includes a short debate on the future of the EU's nuclear energy policy.

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Lock Tobias

The ECJ and the ECtHR: The Future Relationship between the Two European Courts

in *Law and Practice of International Courts and Tribunals (The)*, vol. 8, n. 3 , 375-398

ABSTRACT: The current relationship between the two European courts has been discussed in some great detail while the future of that relationship has been widely neglected. This is somewhat surprising as the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty and with it of the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights as well as the EU's succession to the ECHR are probably going to take place before too long. The article first examines Article 52(3) of the Charter, which prescribes that the ECHR be the minimum standard of human rights in the EU. It is argued that Article 52 (3) does not entail a reference to the ECtHR's case law so that the ECJ will not be bound by that case law. After an accession of the EU to the ECHR, it is likely that both courts will assert that they have exclusive jurisdiction over the ECHR in inter-state cases, which creates a jurisdictional conflict for which a solution must be found. In addition, the article explores whether after an accession, the Bosphorus case law will have a future and whether the dictum found in Opinion 1/91 will be applicable, according to which the ECJ is bound by the decisions of courts created by an international agreement to which the EC is a party.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Macrae Heather

The EU as a Gender Equal Polity: Myths and Realities

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 48, Issue 1, January 2010 , 155-174

Gender equality is an important aspect of the foundational myths of the European Union (EU). However, despite a number of equality policies, the gender myth has been largely unsuccessful in creating a sense of loyalty among European women. This article draws on two cases studies, parental leave policy and liberalization of the airline industry, to investigate why the myth of gender equality has not resonated with European women. The first case demonstrates that, if the European gender narrative runs up against contending national myths, the EU narrative may be undermined. The second case shows that if EU gender initiatives are forced to compete with dominant narratives in the economic sphere, they are quickly undermined. In other words, the EU gender myth, though well grounded in legislative reality, is too weak to create the gender equal polity that it envisions.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Göler Daniel, Kurze Kristina

The EU as a transnational

in *Oesterreichische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft* , 2009/4 , 423-436

Since the recent gas disputes between Russia and Ukraine energy security has shot to the top of the EU's agenda, including the call for a common external energy policy. The role of the EU in international energy relations is thereby often framed in geopolitical terms. Not denying the relevance of geopolitics, this article focuses on the EU as an 'exporter of norms'. In contrast to most contributions written from an 'external governance' perspective, the article is however primarily concerned with the way in which the EU attempts to reproduce its institutional set-up and seeks to shape energy governance structures outside its territory. Drawing on the concept of 'milieu goals' developed by Arnold Wolfers (1962) it is argued that the EU acts as a 'transnational polity-shaper'. The concept of polity-shaping is then analysed with regards to the recently founded Energy Community.

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Delreux Tom

The EU in Environmental Negotiations in UNECE: An Analysis of its Role in the Aarhus Convention and the SEA Protocol Negotiations

in *Review of European Community & International Environmental Law*, Volume 18, Issue 3, November , 328-337

This article sheds a light on the role of the EU in environmental negotiations that are held under the auspices of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (UNECE). In particular, the EU decision-making processes with regard to the negotiations leading to the Aarhus Convention and to the SEA Protocol are examined. Based on extensive document research and in-depth interviews with policy makers involved in these negotiations, the article argues that the internal decision-making processes were rather chaotic because of diverging preferences in the EU. As a result, the greater part of both UNECE negotiation processes were not characterized by a strong EU actorness.

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Rieker Pernille

The EU — A Capable Security Actor? Developing Administrative Capabilities

in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 31, Number 6 / November , 703-719

There is a large literature claiming that the EU has become an important international security actor. While this literature focuses on the political will and the ambitions of the EU, there has been less attention paid to the actual capabilities at the disposal for the EU. Any political organization needs some kind of relationship between aspirations and capabilities. If the EU is to be considered as an important security actor, we should also expect a certain degree of administrative capability in this policy area. Increased importance of the EU as a security actor would also imply increased capabilities. This article makes three contributions. First, by drawing upon insights from institutional theory I present a conceptual



scheme for analyzing the dynamics of capabilities and assessing distinct configurations of capabilities. Secondly, I make an empirical account of the development of capabilities in the EU in the field of security policy. Finally, the article concludes with a discussion on the relationship between this specific capability configuration in the EU and its role as a security actor.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

George Philippidis, Orhan Karaca

The Economic Impacts of Turkish Accession to the European Union

in *World Economy*, Volume 32 Issue 12 , 1706 - 1729

Half a century has passed and Turkey is no further toward achieving EU membership. Under the mandate of the Barcelona Declaration, EU–Turkish industrial tariffs will be abolished, whilst agro-food protectionism remains largely intact. Consequently, the direct impacts from a hypothetical EU accession scenario will be concentrated in agro-food sectors, whilst their share of economic output in Turkey implies 'secondary' macro impacts.

To this end, a computable general equilibrium (CGE) framework is employed to quantitatively reassess full Turkish accession. Unlike previous CGE studies, agriculture, fishing and food sectors are disaggregated, whilst significant advancements to the 'standard' model code are incorporated to capture the vagaries of agricultural factor, input and product markets. In addition, a realistic 'baseline' scenario is constructed including 'up to date' trade and domestic agricultural policy reforms prior to Turkish entry to the EU.

The results show that trade-led gains in Turkey are moderated due to tariff liberalisation prior to EU entry, whilst Turkey receives significant budgetary transfers from the CAP budget, which are 'mirrored' as EU-27 costs. With additional migration effects, Turkish (EU-27) production possibilities fall (rise), whilst real income per capita rises (falls).

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Jones Erik

The Economic Mythology of European Integration

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 48, Issue 1, January 2010 , 89-109

This article examines the economic myths that surround the process of European integration. It argues that while such myths once played an important role in fostering identification and support for the process, they no longer serve that function. Instead, these economic myths have become a focal point for contestation and concern. Europeans will have to develop a new mythology to explain and justify their process of integration as a result.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Joyner James

The Eurocrats Europe Needs

in *Foreign Policy*, Issue 174, November / December



Catherine Ashton and Herman Van Rompuy should suit the European Union -- and that's all that matters.

http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2009/12/01/the_eurocrats_europe_needs

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Gagatek Wojciech

**The European People's Party and the Party of European Socialists: government and opposition?
in European View** , vol. 8, n. 2, December , 301-311

Since the introduction of direct elections for the European Parliament, the politics of this institution have presented a very low degree of adversarial confrontations amongst the two major European parties, the EPP and the PES. In the last round of elections, however, there have been signs of substantial change in direction of a more direct electoral confrontation between the PES and the EPP. According to the author, both the party manifestos and the strong political activity that preceded the nomination of the new President of the Commission signal the emergence of a sui-generis government-opposition relation between the two major parties in the European Parliament. This, still far from resembling the spirit of national politics, may represent the beginning of a new and more dynamic political confrontation around the European institutions.

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Chou Meng-Hsuan

**The European Security Agenda and the 'External Dimension' of EU Asylum and Migration Cooperation
in Perspectives on European Politics and Society** , vol. 10, n. 4, December , Special Issue: The Politics of European Security

Policies: Actors, Dynamics and Contentious Outcomes , 541-559

The consolidation of immigration and asylum as security concerns on the European Union (EU) legislative agenda has been a recent, but steadfast, phenomenon within European integration. To be sure, the European heads of state and government have repeatedly asserted the added-value of European cooperation in these two fields vis--vis third countries even before formal competence was extended to the supranational institutions in 1999. This paper will show that the formation of the external dimension of European asylum and migration cooperation has been in the making since the early 1970s and did not originate as the security problematique as it is now conventionally perceived and articulated. It will be argued that the evolution of European asylum and migration cooperation can be explained as the outcome of converging external and internal pressures for change (fluctuation in migratory flows and policy failures). However, a distinct security discourse emanated from these developments and has been re-embedded into the legislative agenda by the political actors - EU interior ministers - who dominate the decision-making process for asylum and migration measures containing an external dimension. Given that the Lisbon Treaty provisions, if and when they do come into force, did not propose any changes to the legislative procedure for such measures, the current state of play is likely to persist.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Kraemer Hannes

The European Union Civil Service Tribunal: A New Community Court Examined After Four Years of Operation in *Common Market Law Review*, vol. 46, issue 6 , 1873-1913

ABSTRACT: After four years of operation of the Civil Service Tribunal (CST), the article gives an overview over this new Community Court. Unlike the vast majority of other international organizations, in the EU the legal rules and judicial protection in staff matters are closely interconnected with other areas of law related to the organization's core activities. However, long ago staff cases were discussed as apt for an institutional diversification of the Community jurisdictional system. The article sheds light on the genesis of the CST and the shaping of the set of rules governing its judicial activity. After presenting the status and structure of the CST as a new EU judicial body – notably its composition and trial formations, its jurisdiction and procedural links with the other Community courts – the article deals with the specific procedural rules applicable to the CST and how they are applied, including the aspect of court mediation. There follows a section on scrutiny mechanisms regarding judicial decisions of the CST (appeals to the CFI and further review by the ECJ of appeal decisions, with particular attention to the new concept of “risk of the unity or consistency of Community law being affected”). The article also attempts to identify some major tendencies in the case law of the CST and in particular that of an extension of both the scope and the standards of judicial control, inter alia by enhanced references to labour law. Finally, the question whether the CST should become a precedent for the establishment of specialized judicial panels in other fields of EU law fields, such as competition (especially mergers) or intellectual property, is discussed.

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Smismans Stijn

The European Union's Fundamental Rights Myth in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 48, Issue 1, January 2010 , 45-66

Although not in the Rome Treaty, the EEC/EU has gradually developed fundamental rights narratives which constitute a political myth. They have a common basis of foundational claims, placing fundamental rights, retrospectively, as inherent to the EU and based on a common European heritage. Like all myths, this narrative contains factual error, but is believed and acted upon by both institutional myth-makers and civil society actors. Through mythological free-riding on the Member States and the Council of Europe, the EU has been relatively successful in avoiding myth competition. Success in the longer run depends on broader myth appropriation, coherence and competition with other narratives.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Hökmark Gunnar

The European Union's manifest destiny in *European View* , vol. 8, n. 2, December , 181-185

Two decades after the fall of the Berlin Wall it is time for reflection, but it is also a time for us in the established nations



of the European Union to express gratitude. We might not always appreciate the free nations of Central and Eastern Europe, but we owe them a great deal. Their success is shaping our future.

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Mazurelle Florent, Wouters Jan, Thiebaut Walter

The Evolution of European Space Governance: Policy, Legal and Institutional Implications
in *International Organizations Law Review*, vol. 6, n. 1 , 155-189

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Fonseca Ana Monica

The Federal Republic of Germany and the Portuguese Transition to Democracy (1974-1976)
in *Journal of European Integration History*, vol. 15, n. 1 , 35-56

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Reestman Jan-Herman

The Franco-German Constitutional Divide
in *European Constitutional Law Review*, Volume 5 - Issue 03 , 374-390

German Constitutional Court decision of 30 June 2009 on the compatibility of the Lisbon Treaty with the German Constitution – ‘Identity’ key word of the Lissabon-Urteil – The national identity clause in the current Union Treaty – Nation: people and state; diachronic and synchronic identity – Constitutional patriotism – The national identity clause in the Lisbon Union Treaty – Volksidentität and state identity – Verfassungsidentität: diachronic identity – Identité constitutionnelle de la France: synchronic identity – confidence and diffidence in the Union

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Garry John, Tilley James

The Macroeconomic Factors Conditioning the Impact of Identity on Attitudes towards the EU
in *European Union Politics* , Vol. 10, n. 3, September , 361-379

Factors relating to identity and to economics have been shown to be important predictors of attitudes towards the



European Union (EU). In this article, we show that the impact of identity is conditional on economic context. First, living in a member state that receives relatively high levels of EU funding acts as a 'buffer', diluting the impact of an exclusive national identity on Euroscepticism. Second, living in a relatively wealthy member state, with its associated attractiveness for economic migrants, increases the salience of economic xenophobia as a driver of sceptical attitudes. These results highlight the importance of seeing theories of attitude formation (such as economic and identity theories) not as competitors but rather as complementary, with the predictive strength of one theoretical approach (identity) being a function of system-level variation in factors relating to the other theoretical approach (macro-level economic conditions).

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Vatter Adrian, Bernauer Julian

The Missing Dimension of Democracy - Institutional Patterns in 25 EU Member States between 1997 and 2006 in European Union Politics , Vol. 10, n. 3, September , 335-359

By compiling data on 12 politico-institutional variables for 25 member states of the European Union over the years 1997—2006, we were able to investigate the emerging patterns of democracy in the European Union. The study addresses the questions of how direct democracy can be incorporated into Lijphart's (1999) typology of consensus and majoritarian democracy and how empirical democratic patterns are affected by this extension. For the western democracies, three dimensions of democracy were extracted using principal component analysis, with two resembling those found by Lijphart (1999) and a third one being shaped by the interplay between direct democracy and cabinet type. East European democracies tend to have a lower degree of interest group corporatism, weaker central banks, stronger judicial review and stronger direct democracy.

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Awesti Anil

The Myth of Eurosclerosis: European Integration in the 1970s in Europe en formation (L'), n. 353-354, automne-hiver , 39-53

The period from the mid-1960s to the mid-1980s in the context of European integration is often referred to as a period of eurosclerosis. The seeming stalling of integrative moves during these years due to Member States' refusal to further surrender their sovereignty along with the growth of protectionism in the face of economic recession supports this view. Intergovernmentalist theory is conventionally seen as the framework within which to view this period as a result of its focus on state self-interest. The aim of this paper is to critically examine the eurosclerosis period and intergovernmentalist theory as a framework within which to explain this era in the European integration process. This paper argues that by focusing on the history-making, supersystemic level intergovernmentalism fails to account for the policy-shaping, sub-systemic factors that acted as a driving force for European integration. The state-centric focus of intergovernmentalism means that it is unable to appreciate the underlying policy developments that occurred during this



period. These developments during the so-called eurosclerosis years laid the foundations for future, 'high' politics events in the European Community(EC)- European Union (EU), such as the Single European Act and Economic and Monetary Union. In taking this approach, this paper will examine the institution-building that took place during this period via an analysis of the European Parliament, the Commission and European Political Cooperation. The paper will also analyse the expansion of the EC's policy making competence, particularly in the economic sphere. In addition, an examination of the role of the European Court of Justice (ECJ) will take place, focusing on the political impacts of its landmark legal rulings. The paper concludes that not only is it false to speak of a period of stagnation, but also that intergovernmentalism, by failing to appreciate the internal dynamics of the integration process, fails to act as an adequate framework within which to analyse this period.

Full text available on-line: http://www.cife.eu/UserFiles/File/EEF/353_54/EEF353_54-3AA.pdf

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Lenschow Andrea, Sprungk Carina

The Myth of a Green Europe

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 48, Issue 1, January 2010 , 133-154

Unlike most nation-states, the EU faces the challenge of actively creating and sustaining myths about its polity. In this article we explore if and under what conditions the story of a 'Green Europe' represents a successful new myth on the European project, which is appealing to present and future generations and capable of generating legitimacy for EU politics. Exploring the narratives of policy leaders (storytellers) we trace the functional role of environmental policy for the EU polity as a whole, establish the legitimating role of environmental policy for the EU and search the extent to which the environmental narrative is constructed as an identity-building story. We argue that, while the actual performance of the EU in environmental policy might raise some doubts about the credibility and hence sustainability of the Green Europe myth, 'green' has become a brand attribute of the EU to the European public and carries a high level of legitimacy and potential for identification.

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Jacquot Sophie

The Paradox of Gender Mainstreaming: Unanticipated Effects of New Modes of Governance in the Gender Equality Domain

in **West European Politics**, vol. 33, n. 1, January , 118-135

ABSTRACT: This article examines gender mainstreaming as a paradigmatic example of the EU's new modes of governance, which have involved a shift away from the classical method of integration (the 'Community Method'). It considers the form and significance of this atypical policy instrument, introduced as a 'new' instrument to revitalise a policy deemed inadequate since the beginning of the 1990s and as an alternative to the regulatory and corrective tools of equal treatment and equal opportunities. It also investigates the ambiguous impact of gender mainstreaming on the evolution of the gender equality policy. The institutionalisation of this soft and flexible instrument has induced profound changes in the content, scope and nature of the EU gender equality policy. From a specific regulatory policy on discrimination against women it has become a softer and more diverse policy ranged against a broader spectrum of



discrimination.

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Keck-Szajbel Mark

The Politics of Travel and the Creation of a European Society

in Global Society, Volume 24, Issue 1 January , 31-50

Reflecting on debates concerning the influx of Eastern Bloc travellers, refugees, and immigrants to East Germany in 1990, this contribution details the development and the legacy of the so-called “borders of friendship”, an open border project in the 1970s and 1980s between Eastern Bloc countries, which allowed citizens to travel without visa or passport. As early as 1972, tens of millions of citizens from Poland, East Germany, and Czechoslovakia were travelling to neighbouring countries, either in a genuine attempt to foster “friendship” between nations, but usually in order to pursue unorthodox pleasures. Contrary to commonplace views of life behind the “Iron Curtain”, travel was more liberal before the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, when changes precipitated by the sudden collapse of state socialism led to a rapid shift in both the discourse concerning and the practice of travel across Europe.

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Yordanova Nikoleta

The Rationale behind Committee Assignment in the European Parliament

in European Union Politics , Vol. 10, n. 2, June , 253-280

Although most of the legislative tasks of the European Parliament (EP) are performed in its committees, it is controversial how representative they are of the overall plenary. Distributive, informational and partisan theories suggest respectively that the committee assignments system is designed to (1) serve special interests outside the EP, (2) bring informational benefits to the plenary or (3) promote partisan interests. These propositions are examined via a representative sample of committees using an original data set of MEPs' profiles in the 6th European Parliament. The results show that, whereas information-driven committees attract mainly MEPs with relevant expertise, homogeneous special interests influence assignments to interest-driven and mixed committees, turning them into preference outlying committees. However, partisan considerations do not appear to influence individual assignments strategically.

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Sørgensen Stine

The Right to Cross-Border Education in the European Union

in Common Market Law Review, vol. 46, issue 5 , 1567-1590

ABSTRACT: The ECJ is the driving force behind the realization of the right of students to pursue their education in another Member State. In the article the principle of non-discrimination on grounds of nationality is further developed as



regards cross border student mobility. It is argued that a Member State's demand for payment for an education only imposed on foreign students is a discriminatory measure falling within the ambit of the EC Treaty. The Member States thus have to justify a claim for payment imposed only on foreigners. Territorial restrictions on educational benefits, as well as territorial restrictions on student grants, are also discussed from the perspective of non-discrimination. The ECJ has consistently rejected the argument that Article 49 EC is applicable to public education. The approach to publicly funded education could however benefit from taking as its point of departure the idea that public education, like health care, is an individual welfare benefit. This approach would show that educational benefits and health care benefits have some common features which make the different legal treatment of these benefits difficult to explain.

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Van Esch Femke A.W.J.

The Rising of the Phoenix: Building the European Monetary System on a Meeting of Minds in Europe en formation (L'), n. 353-354, automne-hiver , 133-148

Decades later, the sudden and swift establishment of the European Monetary System (EMS) within the context of the 1970s economic downturn and Euro-sclerosis remains a strikingly remarkable achievement. This article argues that this unexpected leap forward in the European economic and monetary issue- area was above all made possible by a unique meeting of minds by the French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing and the German Chancellor Schmidt. However, within a context of Euro-sclerosis and economic downturn, their success was as much dependent on the opportunities and constraints provided by the domestic and European political and economic context.

Full text available on-line: http://www.cife.eu/UserFiles/File/EEF/353_54/EEF353_54-8FV.pdf

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Bilancia Paola

The Role and Power of the European and the National Parliaments in the Dynamics of Integration in Perspectives on federalism, Vol. 1, single issue , E 1-14

This essay aims at giving an overview on the role of the European and national Parliaments in the dynamics of integration. After resuming the main issues that such a subject present, the author analyses the recent developments in this field paying attention to the Protocols on subsidiarity and Protocol on the role of national parliaments in the European Union.

Full text available at:

<http://www.on-federalism.eu/index.php/essays/40-the-role-and-power-of-the-european-and-the-national-parliaments-in-t-he-dynamics-of-integration>

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Chang Michele, Hanf Dominik, Pelkmans Jacques

The Services Directive: Trojan Horse or White Knight?

in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 32, Number 1 / January , 97-114

The European Union's internal market has been at the heart of the integration process since the Treaty of Rome. The 2004 Services draft Directive (known as the Bolkestein proposal) launched an avalanche of protest despite substantial purported economic gains. A proper appreciation of the Services Directive requires a tri-disciplinary approach, which we intend to provide. It became a lightning rod for criticism and a rallying cry for those opposing further market integration, social dumping and the extension of the Anglo-Saxon social model. The directive purportedly served as a Trojan horse for increased liberalism in the eyes of opponents, whereas supporters saw it more akin to a white knight that would rescue Europe from its inflexible labour market. Indeed, the Services Directive (both the 2004 Bolkestein draft and the adopted directive 2006/123) is misunderstood in that it is both bolder and more timid than its critics and proponents, respectively, would have one believe. We show that the development of the Services Directive can be understood far better when economic, legal and political science analysis is employed together, in particular, for the meaning, scope and timing of both versions. Services remain a key sector of economic growth for the EU and the directive is likely to have important implications economically, legally and politically, possibly with long-term effects on EU integration.

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Manners Ian

The Social Dimension of EU Trade Policies: Reflections from a Normative Power Perspective

in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, Volume 14, Issue 5 , 785-803

This article provides some brief reflections on the ideas raised in the special issue on the social dimension of EU trade policies from a normative power (NP) perspective. A NP perspective attempts to understand and judge the ideational aspects of the EU by studying the EU's principles, actions and impact in world politics. The article first elaborates on the role of labour rights as human rights in the EU's external action from a NP perspective. The article then uses the NP tripartite analytical framework to examine the principles, actions and impact of the social dimension in EU trade policies found in the contributions to this special issue. Next the article asks how the EU initiatives in this area could increase the legitimacy of the 'trade and social linkage' in international politics and economics from a NP perspective. Finally the article concludes by suggesting a more holistic approach to the promotion of the social dimension of globalization.

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Kerremans Bart, Orbie Jan

The Social Dimension of European Union Trade Policies

in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, Volume 14, Issue 5 , 629-641

The European Union (EU) is widely considered as a formidable trade power. It represents about one fourth of worldwide trade flows and generally speaks with one voice in its common commercial policies. In addition, policy-makers and



scholars often regard the Union as a distinctive, 'normative power' in the world. From this perspective, Europe tries to be at the forefront of promoting values such as human rights, democracy, sustainable development, and social justice, this with a clear preference for supporting international dialogue and cooperation in these areas, rather than for using trade sanctions. This special issue combines both aspects of the EU's international role. More specifically, it concerns the social dimension of the EU's trade policies. It raises the questions of how, why, and with what impact the EU has promoted social objectives through its common commercial policies. These three questions will be addressed in this introduction, followed by a brief summary of the way in which the different contributions of this special issue deal with them.

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Zhelyazkova Asya, Torenlvied René

The Time-Dependent Effect of Conflict in the Council on Delays in the Transposition of EU Directives in European Union Politics, Vol. 10, n. 1, March, 35-62

This article analyses the effect of conflict in the Council of the European Union (EU) on delays in the transposition of EU directives. Based on enforcement and management theories, we predict that conflict in the Council speeds up the transposition process. In addition, we control for the instigation of infringement procedures by the Commission and expect a weaker effect of conflict in cases where the Commission disagrees with a directive and if directives grant more discretion to member states. These hypotheses are tested using two indicators of conflict: heterogeneity and polarization. Cox regression analysis is applied with time-dependent effects and with a shared frailty to control for the multilevel structure of the data. The analyses show that, over time, conflict has an increasing negative effect on delays.

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Al-Fattal Rouba

The Tragedy of the Commons: Institutions and Fisheries Management at the Local and EU Levels in Review of Political Economy (The), Volume 21 Issue 4 2009, 537 - 547

Garrett Hardin's Tragedy of the Commons argument states that resources held in common will inevitably suffer overexploitation and degradation. However, recent contradicting evidence has led theorists to question the soundness of this claim. This paper assesses the accuracy and predictive success of the six essential assumptions of Hardin's approach. The aim of the paper is to compare the functioning of the tragedy of the commons approach at the local and the international levels, in order to demonstrate that the context we choose affects the applicability of the hypothesis in explaining policy outcomes. The paper compares the validity of the tragedy of the commons hypothesis in three marine cases: California fisheries, modern Oregon fisheries and European Union Common Fisheries Policy. We find that at the local level the tragedy of the commons can be mitigated when a co-management of institutions is achieved, while the EU case shows that the tragedy of the commons is a realistic prediction when dealing with international institutions.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Calliess Christian



The Transnationalization of Values by European Law

in *German Law Journal*, Vol. 10, n. 10 , 1367-1382

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Wind Marlene, Martinsen Dorte Sindbjerg, Rotger Gabriel Pons

The Uneven Legal Push for Europe - Questioning Variation when National Courts go to Europe

in *European Union Politics* , Vol. 10, n. 1, March , 63-88

National courts have been key players in the legal push for Europe, though notably to varying degrees. This paper examines the persisting variations in the referral rates of national courts and the underlying causal factors, aiming to better understand why some member states' courts have been more reluctant to join in the legal push for Europe. By using econometric methods, it challenges the modified neofunctionalist argument that the extent of intra-EC trade explains the referral practice of the individual member states. Majoritarian democracy is hypothesized as a causal factor in the low referral rates for some of the EU member states. Key characteristics of majoritarian democracy versus constitutional democracy are outlined and the former is further detailed by means of two case studies: Denmark and the UK. Finally, a panel data analysis is conducted and finds evidence of a negative impact of majoritarian democracy on the number of referrals. The paper concludes that, owing to the uneven legal push for Europe, some member states and their citizens remain at arms' length from the legal integration process — and, in consequence, from the full impact of European integration.

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Plimper Thomas, Schneider Christina J.

The analysis of policy convergence, or: how to chase a black cat in a dark room

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 16 Issue 7 2009 , 990 - 1011

Political science research on policy convergence has largely remained inconclusive. While many studies found support for the convergence hypothesis, an almost equally large number of studies rejected it. Convergence thus could be a less general phenomenon than many theorists believe. This article identifies a second possible explanation. The variance approach, which dominates political science research on policy convergence, is likely to lead to wrong inferences. Analysing various artificially generated convergence processes, we find that neither the variance approach nor the coefficient of variation detects convergence when it is conditional or when theoretically unidentified convergence clubs exist. Our analysis suggests that researchers should estimate rather than measure convergence. By estimating convergence researchers may (a) test the causal relationship, (b) account for conditional convergence, (c) control for the existence of convergence clubs, and (d) examine convergence to an equilibrium level of a policy.

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De Witte Bruno

The crumbling public/private divide: horizontality in European anti-discrimination law
in *Citizenship Studies*, vol. 13, n. 5, october , 515-525

ABSTRACT: The European Union has conducted, during the last decade, an active policy of adopting anti-discrimination directives that aim at ensuring greater convergence between member-state laws in this domain. One aspect of this evolution is that the relevant EU legislation forces some states to reconsider their traditional view that fundamental rights should be binding and enforceable only against state authorities and not against private bodies and individuals. This Europe-driven 'horizontalization' of anti-discrimination law is a major challenge for many national legal systems and contributes to the emergence of new but not uncontroversial conceptions of inclusive citizenship.

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Martinico Giuseppe

The impact of the cohesion policies on the "Form of Union"
in *Perspectives on federalism*, Vol. 1, single issue , E 15-39

From a "formalistic" point of view the Regions are and have been neglected (especially in the past) in the EU law context. To express such a situation the German constitutional lawyers used the formula "Landesblindheit" (legal blindness towards the territorial subnational entities). This is confirmed in the Treaties (specifically in Article 10, ECT), where it can be seen that the subjects of the Community legal order are the states, as holders of the duty to collaborate with each other, which is instrumental for guaranteeing the effectiveness of the supranational law. It could well be argued that this "regional carelessness" constitutes just one "element" of the democratic deficit of the EU. Starting from a "broad" concept of the democratic gap (i.e. focused not only on the question of the EU Parliament's powers) we can in fact conceive the absence of a strong legal status for the Regions as one of the most important "constitutional wounds" of the EU.

Full text available at:

<http://www.on-federalism.eu/index.php/essays/43-the-impact-of-the-cohesion-policies-on-the-form-of-union>

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Jesus Diego Santos Vieira de

The processes of sharing of sovereignty in the European Union
in *Revista Brasileira de Política internacional* , vol.52 - No.2/2009 , 115-132

The main purpose of the article is to examine why there is no paradox between the development of multilevel governance structures in the context of European integration and the maintenance of the sovereign state as the source of representation and loyalty. Accepting that the cession of constitutional independence, the changing of sovereign equality and the challenge to economic autonomy have not occurred in an homogeneous way, I intend to explain the



differences among those processes of sharing of EU members' sovereignty.

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arnogurský Ján

The story of Slovakia's integration into Europe

in European View, vol. 8, n. 2, December, 167-173

The peaceful separation of Slovakia and the Czech Republic after the fall of Communism is an example of the uncontroversial political recognition of the cultural and historical differences in the old federation. The author describes Slovakia's path to democracy and freedom as deeply entrenched in the Catholic Church and the people's will to fight for religious freedom and human rights during the regime. Finally, the separate accession of Slovakia and the Czech Republic to the European Union symbolises a full recognition of their democratic path and the achievement of Slovakia's dream of 'Coming back to Europe'.

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Mitsilegas Valsamis

The third wave of third pillar law: Which direction for EU criminal justice?

in European Law Review, Vol. 34, issue 4, 523-560

No abstract available

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Buzek Jerzy

The transformation of Poland since 1989

in European View, vol. 8, n. 2, December, 187-190

The article describes the internal influences in Poland that allowed the country to emerge from Soviet influence with relative ease and prosperity. The author examines the strong public culture that led to the weakening of the grasp of the Communist Party on the nation, and the decisive political and economic reforms taken by Solidarity that allowed Poland in the 1990s to emerge quickly from the perils of misdevelopment that were due to Soviet influence. The author describes the useful role played by major political goals, such as the Copenhagen criteria, in helping to further develop the stature of the country into the beginning of this decade. The author asserts that the decisive transformations that took place in Poland over the last two decades provide principles to strategize economic recovery in present day.

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Vaucher Antoine

The transnational politics of judicialization. Van Gend en Loos and the making of EU polity



in *European law journal*, Volume 16 Issue 1 January , 1-28

This article tracks the genesis of one of the EU's most established meta-narratives, that of Europeanisation-through-case-law. Instead of studying this theory of European integration as an explanatory frame, I consider what is at stake in its genesis as a dominant frame of understanding of Europeanisation. I trace its emergence in the conflicting theorisations of the relationship between law and the European Communities that come along with the ECJ's 'landmark' decisions (Van Gend en Loos and Costa v ENEL). This approach helps seize the genesis of a specific and—at the time—rather unlikely political model for Europe in which a Court (the ECJ) is regarded as the very locus of European integration's dynamics as well as the best mediator and moderator of both Member States' 'conservatism' and individuals' 'potential excesses'.

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Dombrovskis Valdis

The 'Baltic Way' forward

in *European View* , vol. 8, n. 2, December , 191-194

In the 20 years since the 'Baltic Way', a common identity has resurfaced among the Baltic states, which are bound by strong geo-strategic interests and political ties to the European Union, NATO and the forum of cooperation of the Baltic and Nordic countries (NB-8). One of the EU's current challenges is to address the problems of uneven infrastructure and economic development in the Baltic region, along with the environmental hazards threatening the Baltic Sea. The author argues that the EU's Baltic Sea Strategy will be highly useful for restoring and maintaining the ecological balance of the Baltic Sea and for promoting balanced economic development in the region. Latvia is committed to the development of an integrated energy market and seeks to foster growth and competitiveness through the elimination of economic and social disparities in the Baltic region. Full support from all Baltic states, the European Union and international institutions and programmes is essential for reaching these goals.

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Zuba Krzysztof

Through the Looking Glass: The Attitudes of Polish Political Parties towards the EU before and after Accession

in *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, vol. 10, n. 3, September , 326-349

The objective of this paper is a comparison of the attitudes of parliamentary parties towards the European Union in terms of Poland's accession to the European Union. Therefore the parliamentary parties' attitudes after the elections in 2001 and 2005 have been analyzed and compared. Another significant aim of this paper is the identification of factors conditioning these attitudes as well as changes in them. The change from a candidate to a member of the EU forced the political parties to redefine their attitudes towards Europe since the character of the European issue itself also changed. This especially applies to those parties which strongly opposed Poland's accession to the EU. Accession was not the only factor but was definitely one of the most important. Although in the period analyzed the European issue played a secondary role in the election behaviour of the electorate, it served as a lens on more fundamental dilemmas related to the role of state sovereignty, national identity, religion or individual rights.



Section C) Regional integration processes

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Bruter Michael

Time Bomb?: The Dynamic Effect of News and Symbols on the Political Identity of European Citizens
in Comparative Political Studies , Vol. 42, n. 12 , 1498-1536

Based on a three-wave, six-country comparative panel study experiment with 1,197 participants, this article shows how in the long term, political institutions and the media can affect the European identity of citizens. It shows not only that exposure to good or bad news on Europe and to symbols of the European Union has an effect on European identity but also that news works as a powerful time bomb. It suggests that whereas increasingly cynical European citizens first resist perceived attempts of political manipulation, the effect of news ultimately kicks in and so influences citizens' European identity with remarkable efficiency in the long term. The 2.5-year study demonstrates this time bomb effect of news, as well as an immediate but growing effect of political symbols on citizens' identity.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Sebesta Lorenza

To Be or Ought to Be: That is the Question of European Security
in European Foreign Affairs Review, Volume 14, Issue 4 , 565-590

The present article examines the tenets of the present European security strategy, beginning with some considerations on the 2003 document 'A secure Europe in a better world'. It then discusses the need for an 'ought to be', that is a sense of direction, for EU security policy and suggests some alternative visions on the ways to elaborate it. It then resort to a brief historical account of the evolution of Europe, once the arena of dramatic rivalries, into a peaceful international society and suggests some often forgotten explanatory elements, while putting under scrutiny the 'common knowledge' about how European security has been achieved, referring, for example, to the ambiguous role played by North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in this context. A short analysis of the present debate on the nature and objectives of the EU as an international actor in the security field follows. Academic visions and those of practitioners are analysed and confronted. Contrary to the appearances, some ideas emerging from the scholar debate and mirrored in EU documents on security are considered to be functional to the agenda of many practitioners, focused on answering the internal needs of their governments in terms of legitimation of their military forces and increase in public funding for military firms.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Traxler Franz, Brandl Bernd

Towards Europeanization of Wage Policy
in European Union Politics , Vol. 10, n. 2, June , 177-201

Conventional wisdom regards wage regulation as uncoordinated across Europe. In relation to advanced economic integration, this implies a 'suboptimal' wage area, which led to many conjectures about its consequences, ranging from disorganization of collective bargaining to adverse macro-economic effects. This article tests the wage linkages between



Germany and the Nordic countries on time series data for the metal industry. The findings show that organized, transnationally coordinated wage policies characterize these countries: Convergence in pay rates results from both economic developments and coordination of transnational bargaining through the pattern-setting role of the German bargainers. These transnational wage policies require the consequences of European integration to be reconsidered for wage regulation and its economic effects.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Dullien Sebastian

**Towards a Sustainable Growth Model for Europe - Institutional Framework
in Internationale Politik und Gesellschaft**, Heft 1, 2010 , 36-44

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Hayton Richard

**Towards the Mainstream? UKIP and the 2009 Elections to the European Parliament
in Politics**, Vol. 30, Issue 1, February , 26-35

This article examines the performance of the UK Independence party (UKIP) at the 2009 European Parliament election, and asks whether the party's second-place finish indicates that it is now entering the political mainstream. It argues that while UKIP's success at these elections marks an important step in its development, the party continues to face significant barriers to further electoral progress. The article also considers the implications for the Conservative party under David Cameron, and cautions that UKIP's success could signal a more generalised shift towards the acceptance of the populist right in Britain. Finally, the article argues that the rise and recent success of UKIP is deserving of greater academic attention, and outlines possible research agendas to take this work forward.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

True Jacqui

**Trading-Off Gender Equality for Global Europe? The European Union and Free Trade Agreements
in European Foreign Affairs Review**, Volume 14, Issue 5 , 723-742

Trade liberalization is generally assumed to be a gender-neutral process that increases overall prosperity and is best advanced when stripped of all social and institutional baggage. Yet trade frequently increases or exacerbates structural gender inequalities between women and men in household economies and in local and transnational labour markets. The European Union (EU) purports a different model of economic integration based on the harmonization of institutional,



ostensibly 'non-market' rules and norms among Member States. This approach to economic integration opens a crucial political opportunity for gender-equal development advocates not seen in other multilateral trade organizations. Nascent EU institutional mechanisms could be strengthened to promote gender-sensitive trade policy and address gender inequalities resulting from free trade agreements (FTAs) with developing country partners. The 'Global Europe' competitiveness-oriented trade agenda, however, works against this potential for the EU's internal model of economic integration with social standards to reshape globalization.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Braniff Máire

Transforming the Balkans? Lesson Learning and Institutional Reflexivity in the EU Enlargement Approach in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, Volume 14, Issue 4 , 547-563

European Union (EU) enlargement has important implications for the political and economic transition for the candidate and 'potential' candidate states of the Western Balkans. Similarly, the enlargement approach has effects on the functionality of EU enlargement. The article explores the development of the relationships between the EU and the Balkans and the politics and functionality of EU enlargement approach. The article examines how through a process of lesson learning and institutional reflexivity the development of the EU enlargement approach has impacted the technical and political basis and operation of the EU enlargement approach. This has evolved because of the interplay of factors, which includes institutional reflexivity within and among key agencies. Consequently, the EU has significantly extended political conditionality, the timeframe for accession, and the mechanisms for enlargement. Hence, the article concludes that EU enlargement has conformed to the policy-learning model with consequences for the enlargement to the Balkans.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Dyson Kenneth, Marcussen Martin

Transverse Integration in European Economic Governance: Between Unitary and Differentiated Integration in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 32, Number 1 / January , 17-39

After more than a decade of the euro, we have a good idea about what sort of European macro-economic governance structure is in the making — its underlying principles and its relationship to EU 'deepening' and 'widening' and, not least, to globalization. In relation to economic union, above all the single market, the principle of unitary integration provides an overarching framework, its rationale provided by customs union theory. In contrast, monetary union exhibits the principle of differentiated integration, its rationale founded on 'will and capability'. This duality is expressed in the EU as 'one market' co-existing with several currencies, one of which is the euro. We conceptualize the outcome as 'transverse integration' to capture the hybrid, multidimensional and dynamic character of European macro-economic governance. This concept seeks to show that European macro-economic governance transcends traditional classifications such as euro 'insiders' versus 'outsiders' and 'frontrunners' versus 'laggards' in euro entry. It offers a tool with which to critically examine these classifications. Transverse integration is also multidimensional in capturing the input side (public opinion), governance structures ('institutional fuzziness'), and output side (performance) of European macro-economic governance. Finally, it highlights the dynamic character of European macro-economic governance, showing how the balance between the unitary and differentiated integration principles changes over time. The article argues that it makes



more sense to study unitary and differentiated integration as cross-cutting phenomena in European macro-economic governance. Experience suggests that differentiation should not be seen as a temporary phenomenon and hence that transverse integration is here to stay.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Del Gaizo Danilo

Trattato di Lisbona e metodo comunitario: il nodo da sciogliere
in *Federalismi*, Anno VII - Nr. 23

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Jakab Andras

Two Opposing Paradigms of Continental European Constitutional Thinking: Austria and Germany
in *International and Comparative Law Quarterly*, vol. 58, n. 4, october , 933-955

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Sarcinelli Mario

UEM ed Euro: i successi del passato e le sfide del futuro
in *Studi sull'integrazione europea*, Anno IV, n. 2 , 341-359

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Giorgio La Malfa

Un intellettuale europeo: la lezione di Dahrendorf
in *Aspenia*, n. 46, ottobre, "Il fine della storia: 89-09" , 66-76

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Napolitano Giorgio



Un'Europa unita per evitare il declino

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLI, n. 164 , 693-696

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Torreblanca José Ignacio

Una España confusa en una Europa desorientada

in *Política Exterior*, 133 - Enero / Febrero 2010

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

D'Atena Antonio

Una costituzione senza costituzione per l'Europa

in *Diritto e società*, n. 2 , 191-212

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Emanuela Ceva 1 and Gideon Calder

Values, Diversity and the Justification of EU Institutions

in *Political Studies*, Volume 57, Issue 4, December , 828-845

Liberal theories of justice typically claim that political institutions should be justifiable to those who live under them – whatever their values. The more such values diverge, the greater the challenge of justifiability. Diversity of this kind becomes especially pronounced when the institutions in question are supranational. Focusing on the case of the European Union, this article aims to address a basic question: what kinds of values should inform the justification of political institutions facing a plurality of value systems? One route to an answer is provided by John Rawls, who famously distinguishes between comprehensive and political values, and defends the exclusion of the former from the foundations of a political theory of justice. This article questions the tenability of the Rawlsian solution, and draws attention to an alternative twofold conceptual distinction: that between minimal and non-minimal and between substantive and procedural values. Minimal values are meant to be as independent as possible of controversial conceptions of the good and views of the world, regardless of whether these are comprehensive or purely political. It will be argued that their endorsement may thus further specify the nature of what should be shared in order to justify political institutions in conditions of pluralism. In order to refine further the account of such a basis of justification, two variants of minimalism will be presented according to whether they invest substantive or procedural values. Substantive values qualify the property of an outcome; procedural values qualify the property of a procedure. The latter part of the article consists of a 'face-off' between minimal proceduralism and minimal substantivism, considering reasons in favour of the



adoption of each. The result, we suggest, is a helpful reorientation of the political dimension of the value debates to which the multiplicity of values amid contemporary European horizons give rise.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Manzella Andrea

Verso Lisbona Plus

in **Quaderni Costituzionali**, numero : 3, settembre , 707-712

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Silvestri Andrea

Verso una Germania gollista?

in **Affari Esteri**, Anno XLI, n. 164 , 817-822

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Corsetti Rita

Visioni e visionari dell'Europa

in **Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali**, Volume 76, n. 3, luglio-settembre , 469-472

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

António Afonso, Christophe Rault

What do we really know about fiscal sustainability in the EU? A panel data diagnostic

in **Review of World Economics (Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv)**, Volume 145, Number 4 , 731-755

We assess the sustainability of public finances in the EU-15 over the period 1970–2006 using stationarity and cointegration analysis. Specifically, we use panel unit root tests of the first and second generation allowing in some cases for structural breaks. We also apply modern panel cointegration techniques developed by Pedroni (Oxf Bull Econ Stat 61(1):653–670, 1999; Econom Theory 20(3):597–625, 2004), generalized by Banerjee and Carrion-i-Silvestre (Cointegration in panel data with breaks and cross-section dependence, European Central Bank, Working Paper 591, 2006) and Westerlund and Edgerton (Econ Lett 97(3):185–190, 2007), to a structural long-run equation between general government expenditures and revenues. While estimations point to fiscal sustainability being an issue in some countries, fiscal policy was sustainable both for the EU-15 panel set, and within sub-periods (1970–1991 and 1992–2006).



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Montani Guido

Which European Response to the Financial Crisis?

in Perspectives on federalism, Vol. 1, single issue , E 40-67

The reaction of the European Union to the financial crisis consisted mainly in uncoordinated national plans. A real European recovery plan would have been more effective, but it was not possible because the EU has not a federal budget and a federal government. There are some European public goods – such as monetary and financial stability – which must be supported, in the last resort, by European resources. If the European Union cannot count on its own resources, the stronger States of the Union will be obliged to carry out the role of “lenders of last resort”. Moreover, the EU needs a federal government to speak, on equal terms, with the other continental powers. In this essay, it is suggested that the EU should propose to build a “world eco-monetary union” – reforming the IMF in order to substitute the dollar as a reserve currency with the SDRs – to guarantee monetary and financial stability and a sustainable development for the global economy.

Full text available at:

<http://www.on-federalism.eu/index.php/essays/39-which-european-response-to-the-financial-crisis>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

König Thomas, Junge Dirk

Why Don't Veto Players Use Their Power?

in European Union Politics , Vol. 10, n. 4, December , 507-534

Why do member states with veto power usually support policy change proposed by a Commission initiative when their own position is located closer to the status quo? Why do we frequently witness consensus in the Council and rarely observe a rejection of Commission initiatives even after additional veto players, such as new member states or the European Parliament, have increased the constraints on policy change by legislative decision-making in the European Union (EU)? To answer these questions, this study investigates the voting preferences and logrolling opportunities of the member states on 48 Commission proposals. We find that models that derive the voting preferences from each Commission initiative are scarcely able to explain the consensus in the Council. One reason is that the Commission attempts to avoid a divided Council by initiating proposals for which member states favour a policy change in the same direction. When member states still dispute the size of policy change, we show that they can find a solution by mutually benefiting from logrolling across proposals that either belong to the same policy domain or are negotiated during the same period. Hence, intertemporal and domain-specific logrolling can provide a powerful explanation for consensus even in a contested Council.



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Grüner Hans Peter

Why EMU is not a failure

in **European Journal of Political Economy**, Volume 26, Issue 1, March 2010

About a decade ago, papers by Grüner and Hefeker (1999) and Cukierman and Lippi (2001) predicted that European Monetary Union may lead to higher inflation and unemployment in some participating countries. Meanwhile, we know that these predictions have not come true. The present paper develops a model of trade union behavior that explains why EMU was more successful than we predicted. The paper also sheds new light on the macroeconomic role of central bank flexibility.

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Lock Tobias

Why the European Union is not a State

in **European Constitutional Law Review**, Volume 5 - Issue 03 , 407-420

German Constitutional Court decision of 30 June 2009 on the compatibility of the Lisbon Treaty with the German Constitution – Analysis of inconsistencies – Differences between the EU and a state – Sovereignty of the member states and Kompetenz-Kompetenz – Argument for a relative concept of sovereignty – Sovereignty and the right to withdraw – Critical analysis of BVerfG's assessment of the EU's democratic deficit and denial of the importance of the European Parliament

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Zivier Ernst R.

Zur Finalität des Europäischen Einigungsprozesses Überlegungen nach dem "Lissabon-Urteil" des Bundesverfassungsgerichts

in **Recht und Politik**, 45. Jahrgang, Heft 4, 2009 , 225-232

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bieber Roland

'An Association of Sovereign States'

in **European Constitutional Law Review**, Volume 5 - Issue 03 , 391-406



German Constitutional Court decision of 30 June 2009 on the compatibility of the Lisbon Treaty with the German Constitution – Continuing sovereignty of member states under the EU Treaty – Extended constitutional limits to European integration ('eternity clause') under German Constitution, but these are not violated by Lisbon Treaty – Composition of European Parliament does not satisfy fundamental requirement of democracy but does not violate German Constitution since EU is not a state – Critical assessment of conceptual foundations of decision

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Martens Hans

¿Salir de la crisis? Una política económica para la UE in *Política Exterior*, 132

¿Servirá la experiencia adquirida durante la crisis financiera para que Europa mejore o europeíce su política económica? La respuesta debería ser "sí", pero la realidad parece ser otra.

La crisis económica ha sido dura, pero ahora parece poco probable que conduzca a una recesión profunda como las que el mundo ha conocido en el pasado. Los dirigentes políticos –cómo no– se han atribuido ese mérito en su reunión del G-20 celebrada en Pittsburgh (Estados Unidos) en septiembre, y no cabe duda de que su decidida intervención para contrarrestar la crisis ha ayudado bastante, pero también ha sido fundamental el efecto positivo de los resultados relativamente buenos de India y China (y otros países emergentes) en nuestras economías globales y abiertas. Ahora la pregunta es si realmente estamos saliendo de la crisis. Podría resultar útil contemplar la crisis como una serie de acontecimientos o subcrisis. Empezó con la crisis financiera, a la que siguió una crisis económica que, a su vez, ha llevado a una crisis social o del empleo. Aunque podemos esperar que la crisis financiera haya terminado y que estemos contemplando una normalización de la función de las instituciones financieras en la sociedad, todavía vamos a enfrentarnos a un crecimiento económico lento en la mayoría del mundo industrializado, al menos hasta bien entrado 2010. Y todo indica que el paro seguirá creciendo (quizá durante bastante tiempo).

Esto tiene unos riesgos políticos considerables. La crisis financiera ha sido realmente algo a lo que podían hacer frente los políticos modernos, que hacen planes a corto plazo y son dados a la manipulación. Rescatar a los bancos y castigar a algunos de los que peor se han comportado, al tiempo que se les culpa de una conducta irresponsable y se les amenaza con limitar sus primas y salarios, son decisiones que dan buena imagen. Hacer frente a la crisis económica ha sido bastante parecido, al menos a corto plazo, porque se trataba de gastar dinero público y recibir aplausos por salvar puestos de trabajo y paliar los efectos negativos inmediatos para la economía. Pero el gasto fiscal también tiene repercusiones negativas –algunas de ellas ya las estamos viendo– y tendrá aún más repercusiones negativas en el futuro.

Sin embargo, la crisis del empleo puede ser muy difícil de gestionar.

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Fawn Rick

'Bashing about Rights'? Russia and the 'New' EU States on Human Rights and Democracy Promotion

in *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 61, n. 10, December, Special Issue "The European Union, Russia and the Shared Neighbourhood" ,



1777-1803

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Langan Mark

ACP-EU Normative Concessions from Stabex to Private Sector Development: Why the European Union's Moralised Pursuit of a 'Deep' Trade Agenda is Nothing 'New' in ACP-EU Relations
in *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, vol. 10, n. 3, September , 416-440

Recently much attention has been paid to the European Union's alleged 'new trade politics' expressed in terms of the novel centrality of moralised 'development' concessions in the Commission's pursuit of 'deep', 'behind-the-border' trade reform in developing countries. However, when these apparent novelties are considered in the historical perspective of EU relations with the African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) states, we can see that the fusion of ethics to economics within 'deep' trade agendas is nothing new in EU trade policy. Through the lens of contemporary EU assistance to ACP private sector development (PSD) under the ACP-EU Cotonou Partnership Agreement (2000-), the article illustrates that moralised 'development' concessions are indeed being utilised in the EU's vigorous promotion of far-reaching liberal reform in developing states. Nevertheless, when current PSD normative concessions are considered in the historical context of the ACP-EU Lomé Conventions' (1975-2000) Stabex programme and its moralisation of ACP structural adjustment, we can see that European moralised discourses and concessions have long been tied to the pursuit of 'deep' market-opening in the developing world.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Li Mingjiang

China-EU Relations: Strategic Partnership at a Crossroads
in *China: an International Journal*, Volume: 7, Issue: 2, September , 227-254

China-EU relations, after more than a decade of steady growth since the mid-1990s, are becoming increasingly more fluid and unpredictable. Observers who had been optimistic are now starting to warn of an impending downward spiral in Sino-European ties. This paper attempts to address these two questions: How do we understand the emerging dynamics in Sino-European relations? Is the Sino-European relationship inevitably moving towards an era of friction and contention, or will it be able to overcome the current challenges to get back to a new honeymoon? This article examines the key factors that have shaped and are likely to continue to play a significant role in China-EU ties, notably common economic and strategic interests. It also outlines some of the negative trends that have emerged in bilateral relations in recent years. It is argued that a sense of cautious optimism perhaps best reflects the reality in China-EU relations.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Skilbeck Malcolm, Connell Helen

Commonwealth Education in its Changing International Setting



in **Round Table (The): the Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs**, Volume 98 Issue 405 , December , 687-709

When compared with global bodies such as the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) and The World Bank and with the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), Commonwealth education programmes are modest in scale and resourcing. Yet there have been significant successes, including the Commonwealth Scholarship and Fellowship Plan and the Commonwealth of Learning. The distinctive features and strengths of UNESCO and OECD in international education collaboration and partnerships are useful sources of ideas for strengthening Commonwealth education. There is considerable scope for more intense collaboration and Commonwealth-wide partnerships in addressing shared concerns.

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Averre Derek

Competing Rationalities: Russia, the EU and the 'Shared Neighbourhood'

in **Europe-Asia Studies**, vol. 61, n. 10, December, Special Issue "The European Union, Russia and the Shared Neighbourhood", 1689-1713

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Céline Carrère, Jaime de Melo, Bolormaa Tumurchudur

Disentangling Market Access Effects of Preferential Trading Arrangements with an Application for ASEAN Members under an ASEAN–EU FTA

in **World Economy**, Volume 33 Issue 1 , 42 - 59

The paper develops two synthetic measures at the HS-10 level to depict effective market access for a country receiving preferential access and applies these to the market access ASEAN members would receive following the implementation of an FTA with the EU. First, the measures show that current effective market access for ASEAN EBA members is cut in half by the preferences granted by the EU to countries that compete with these countries in the EU markets. Second, the measures show that about one-quarter of the preferential margin under the proposed FTA for EBA members would be lost as a result of preferential access granted to ASEAN GSP members. Third, disaggregated estimates of the restrictiveness of rules of origin confirm that rules are more restrictive for products with higher preferential margins and that ASEAN countries usually face tougher rules of origin in the EU because of the composition of their exports.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Filippov Mikhail

Diversions Role of the Georgia–Russia Conflict: International Constraints and Domestic Appeal

in **Europe-Asia Studies**, vol. 61, n. 10, December, Special Issue "The European Union, Russia and the Shared Neighbourhood", 1824-1834



No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Ganzle Stefan

EU Governance and the European Neighbourhood Policy: A Framework for Analysis

in *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 61, n. 10, December, Special Issue "The European Union, Russia and the Shared Neighbourhood", 1715-1734

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Farrell Mary

EU policy towards other regions: policy learning in the external promotion of regional integration

in *Journal of European Public Policy*, Volume 16 Issue 8 2009, 1165 - 1184

Since the 1990s, the European Union (EU) has renewed its support for regional integration in other parts of the world, and incorporated this objective as a part of European external policy. Compared to the embryonic common foreign and security policy (CFSP), the support for regional integration and co-operation has been much less controversial, having been publicly endorsed by European Commission officials, and identified in the policy publications emanating from the various Directorate Generals (DGs). This article adopts a policy learning perspective to investigate this departure in external policy by the EU, and to identify the explanatory capacity of collective learning for the core beliefs, preferences, and policy instruments eventually adopted by European policy-makers. The article identifies what types of learning have taken place, and assesses the impact of learning on the policy outputs and outcomes.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Lucas Edward

EU–Russia relations: between cooperation and confrontation

in *European View*, vol. 8, n. 2, December, 217-220

Drawing on his experiences as a journalist in Eastern Europe, the author describes Eastern perceptions of the West before and after the collapse of Communism in 1989. Although the West has often taken its political and economic system for granted, those living behind the Iron Curtain clearly recognised the advantages in quality of life and personal freedom made possible under democracy. However, since 1989 the Western model of capitalism and the rule of law has grown threadbare, losing much of the credibility it once held. It is important that we re-establish the moral confidence we once had in our democratic system and recover the necessary enthusiasm to make capitalism work properly.

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Gillespie Richard

European Union responses to conflict in the western Mediterranean
in *Journal of North African Studies* , Volume 15, Issue 1, March , 85-103

The European Union (EU) announced an increased commitment to conflict resolution beyond its external border when it adopted the European Neighbourhood Policy in 2003, yet this has not led to any practical initiatives in the western Mediterranean. While the more latent nature of conflicts there puts less pressure on the EU to act than do the 'hot' conflicts of the Middle East, various disputes over territorial sovereignty persist and tend to undermine the broader EU ambition to promote stability, Euro-Mediterranean cooperation and region-building. In addition to the bilateral disputes over Gibraltar, Ceuta, Melilla and a number of Spanish islands and rocks off the Mediterranean coast of Morocco, there is the broader regional conflict over Western Sahara, which has long brought tension to relations between Morocco and Algeria and between Spain and each of these North African countries, while also frustrating efforts to build the Arab Maghreb Union. Analysis of the EU's weak responses to both the deadlocked Saharan conflict and to the more recent confrontation that took place between Spain and Morocco over Parsley Island in 2002 shows the importance of internal EU divisions and the Union's concern not to upset partners in North Africa, especially Morocco. Yet, despite the EU's reluctance and/or inability to engage in conflict resolution in the western Mediterranean, its policies do have consequences for regional conflicts, even when the EU claims to be neutral. Its privileging of relations with Morocco involves an acceptance that the Moroccan authorities are valid interlocutors for reaching agreements that affect Western Sahara.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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V.S. Seshadr

Evolution in India's Regional Trading Arrangements
in *Journal of World Trade*, Volume 43 issue 5 , 903–926

This paper traces the evolution of India's Regional Trading Arrangements (RTAs). From limited scope RTAs with developing countries earlier to more comprehensive agreements with neighbouring economies, India is now negotiating RTAs with some of the major Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) economies. These moves are examined in the context of the global RTA scene with particular relevance to Asia. The impetus provided by India's liberalized trading framework and its rapid growth is assessed. The pros and cons of RTAs are looked at and the possible approaches that India could adopt in shaping more balanced agreements dwelt upon.

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Gower Jackie, Timmins Graham

Introduction: The European Union, Russia and the Shared Neighbourhood

in *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 61, n. 10, December, Special Issue "The European Union, Russia and the Shared Neighbourhood" , 1685-1687

No abstract available



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Gherari Habib

L'accord de partenariat économique CARIFORUM-CE: vers une nouvelle génération d'accords de libre-échange?

in *Revue générale de droit international publique*, Vol. 113, n. 3 , 523-554

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Haukkala Hiski

Lost in Translation? Why the EU has Failed to Influence Russia's Development

in *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 61, n. 10, December, Special Issue "The European Union, Russia and the Shared Neighbourhood", 1756-1776

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Pawlak Patryk

Network Politics in Transatlantic Homeland Security Cooperation

in *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, vol. 10, n. 4, December , Special Issue: The Politics of European Security Policies: Actors, Dynamics and Contentious Outcomes , 560-581

This article explores the development of the EU border security policies through the prism of the EU-US homeland security cooperation in the aftermath of the September 11 terrorist attacks. As the case of the EU-US homeland security illustrates, international developments provide the context for the European policies to take shape. The case of the Passenger Name Record negotiations elucidates the evolution of the transatlantic networks universe - from the one based on geographical and political criteria (i.e. EU versus US, European institutions versus US institutions) towards functionally based networks (i.e. 'transatlantic diplomats' versus 'transatlantic security specialists', 'transatlantic executives' versus 'transatlantic legislatives'). It also shows that this shift takes place within a highly political process whereby actions and decisions evolve around network membership, centrality of actors and a particular role of bureaucrats. Finally, this article shows how the European approach to the use of personal data for security purposes emerges from interactions between the geographical and functional networks and allegiances that membership in those networks imply. This allows for certain ambivalence and ambiguity in the interpretation of actors' position. The article demonstrates that the European security debate is developing beyond the control of any single actor.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Costalli Stefano

Power over the Sea: The Relevance of Neoclassical Realism to Euro-Mediterranean Relations



in **Mediterranean Politics**, Volume 14, Issue 3, November , 323-342

The Barcelona Process and the European Neighbourhood Policy have often been considered inherently constructivist policies. This article maintains that power and the logics based on it are important in such policies and that the political dynamics at stake in the Mediterranean area offer an interesting occasion to reflect on the current relevance of the realist tradition. Drawing on classical and neoclassical realism, this research highlights that the realist perspective does not necessarily neglect ideational factors and the non-material dimension of power and it aims at showing that classical realism can be usefully updated to interpret phenomena of contemporary international politics such as Euro-Mediterranean relations.

Full text available online: http://pdfserve.informaworld.com/666963__916756040.pdf

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Forsberg Tuomas, Seppo Antti

Power without Influence? The EU and Trade Disputes with Russia

in **Europe-Asia Studies**, vol. 61, n. 10, December, Special Issue "The European Union, Russia and the Shared Neighbourhood" , 1805-1823

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Richardson Ben

Restructuring the EU-ACP sugar regime: Out of the strong there came forth sweetness

in **Review of International Political Economy**, Volume 16 Issue 4 2009 , 673 - 697

In 2005 the EU instigated the most substantial reform to the sugar sector since the UK acceded in 1973 and just two years later caused consternation among the African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) countries by denouncing the 34-year long Sugar Protocol. In contrast to existing literature, which has taken a snapshot of the post-reform period and identified 'winners and losers' accordingly, this article examines the processes of capital accumulation in the industry and the legacies these have left. It argues that despite defeat in a World Trade Organization (WTO) dispute case, concentration and diversification in the EU sugar industry has enabled its leading corporations to prosper after reform, while divestment in the ex-colonies has left producers in the ACP facing difficulties of adjustment far in excess of plain terms of trade losses. Further, it also reveals why EU reform was not solely a response to WTO legislation but rather, because of the relationship of sugar to wider economic fortunes, resulted from an assiduous attempt by the EU Trade Commission to press the sector into a WTO-compatible Common Agricultural Policy.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Kalniete Sandra

Russia at the gates: the ambivalent neighbour

in **European View** , vol. 8, n. 2, December , 211-216



A new tension in the relationship between Russia and its western neighbours, particularly Latvia, has emerged since countries in the former Russian sphere of influence were brought into the EU and NATO. The EU should make use of the new Member States' knowledge of Russia acquired during their forced coexistence, in order to promote the emergence of effective cooperation with Moscow. The author argues that a rapid reduction of Russia's labour force, corresponding to its demographic decline, will advance Russia's political ambitions to return to the politics of power that existed in the nineteenth century. Russia will not stop trying to interfere in regional politics and will find new tools, such as energy, to do so. Russia's inability to offer an honest evaluation of history, along with its resurgence as an authoritarian state and as a military and energy superpower, does not reveal Russia as a friend of a united Europe.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Paradorn Rangsimaporn

Russia's Search for Influence in Southeast Asia

in Asian Survey, Volume: 49, Number: 5 September/October, 786–808

This article examines Russia's relations with Southeast Asia and ASEAN, analyzing in particular the increased attempts under President Vladimir Putin to assert Russian influence in this sub-region. It looks at how Southeast Asia and ASEAN are important for Russia in its aspirations to become a major regional player.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Wilson Andrew, Popescu Nicu

Russian and European neighbourhood policies compared

in Southeast European and Black Sea Studies, vol. 9, n. 3, September, Special Issue: The Security Context in the Black Sea Region, 317-331

The European neighbourhood policy (ENP) has been unable to shift the political and security processes in the Eastern neighbourhood of the European Union. This is partly to do with the fact that ENP has been developed as if the EU is the 'only game in town' and that its neighbours are keen to adopt the European model, just as Central Europe was in the 1990s. In reality, however, the ENP faces a well-resourced, albeit informal, Russian neighbourhood policy. Both Russia and the EU have used soft and hard power to achieve their objectives in the neighbourhood, and have often undermined each others' policies in the region. Improving the effectiveness of the ENP will require more EU commitment to deliver on its promises, as well as an understanding that there can be no stable EU-Russia partnership without greater cooperation, not disengagement, in the shared neighbourhood.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Dangerfield Martin

The Contribution of the Visegrad Group to the European Union's 'Eastern' Policy: Rhetoric or Reality?

in Europe-Asia Studies, vol. 61, n. 10, December, Special Issue "The European Union, Russia and the Shared Neighbourhood", 1735-1755



No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Fischer Sabine

The European Union and security in the Black Sea region after the Georgia crisis

in *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, vol. 9, n. 3, September, Special Issue: The Security Context in the Black Sea Region , 333-349

The Black Sea region is an area rich in natural resources and cultural diversity. It has great potential as a transit corridor between Asia and Europe. At the same time, it is characterized by persistent state weakness, destructive nationalism, unresolved conflicts and endemic fragmentation, repeatedly leading to crises such as the 2008 Russian-Georgian war. 2007 enlargement brought the EU to the shores of the Black Sea. This contribution investigates how the EU addresses security-relevant issues in this area and why its policies have so far not brought about a tangible improvement in the security situation.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Bossuyt Fabienne

The Social Dimension of the New Generation of EU FTAs with Asia and Latin America: Ambitious Continuation for the Sake of Policy Coherence

in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, Volume 14, Issue 5 , 703-722

This article examines the commitment of the European Union (EU) to advance social goals through the 'new generation' of Free Trade Agreements (FTAs) with partner countries in Asia and Latin America. It does so by analysing the positions of the relevant policy actors on the inclusion of social issues in these prospective agreements. The study finds that the EU is pursuing an ambitious social agenda for the future bilateral trade arrangements while building on existing EU initiatives to strengthen the Social Dimension of Globalization (SDG). It will be argued that this high level of social commitment should be attributed to the Commission's pro-activeness and entrepreneurial ability in rallying the Member States behind the incorporation of social issues in the negotiating mandates. In asking why the Commission is so committed to promoting social justice through the new trade agreements, the article offers three explanations, one referring to the goal of increasing policy coherence in the social-trade nexus, one drawing on the issue of legitimacy and one relating to the pursuit of bureaucratic interests. The article concludes that the EU's ambitious agenda nevertheless needs to be qualified. The Commission's attempts to face policy incoherence between the trade and social spheres risk being hampered by a number of internal and external factors, including weak bureaucratic coordination, contradictory policy goals and opposition by the negotiating partners.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Calleya Stephen C.

The Union for the Mediterranean: An Exercise in Region Building

in *Mediterranean Quarterly*, Volume 20, Number 4, Fall , 49-70



This article assesses early twenty-first-century dynamics in the Mediterranean area as indications of the limited success of countries in the region to integrate further into the emerging international system.

Successive attempts to enhance regional and subregional dynamics across the Mediterranean have remained in an embryonic stage at best. A review of foreign policy priorities of the riparian states reveals a divergence in agenda setting, with either EU membership or subregional affairs dominating the foreign policy strategic planning. There is little to indicate that an intensification of trans-Mediterranean regional dynamics is taking place.

Until France officially took the initiative to promote the Union for the Mediterranean initiative in 2008, interest was waning in the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership that was launched in November 1995. The Union for the Mediterranean offers the blueprint to address the physical architectural deficit that has prevented the Mediterranean area from becoming a coherent, functional economic regional space.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Campanella Raffaele

Un nuovo corso di Obama per l'America Latina?

in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Volume 76, n. 3, luglio-settembre , 345-350

In a context of ongoing deep changes in Latin America, Obama is opening a new path towards the subcontinent, yet without launching any spectacular initiative neither making precise commitments. In a context of renewed confidence, the Port of Spain Summit of the Americas sets an ambitious agenda that will require a strong involvement of all the governments in order to achieve an improvement of the socio-economic situation in the subcontinent.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1. Federalism

Mijah Etham B.

Democracy, Federalism and Marginal Groups in Nigeria

in *Indian Journal of Federal Studies*, Issue 20

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1. Federalism

Filibi López Igor

Evolución histórica del federalismo: el federalismo global o integral

in *Cuaderno de federalismo*, Volumen XXII , 163-198

No abstract available



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1. Federalism

Henson Jayne R., Benoit William Lyon,

Functional Federalism in Political Campaign Debates

in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, vol. 39, n. 4, Fall , 696-706

Which factors influence the topics addressed by candidates in political debates? This study investigates the question of how the level of elective office influences the content of political debates by employing computer content analysis to investigate the issue emphasis of political campaign debates. Paul Peterson's (1995, *The price of federalism*. Washington, DC: CQ Press) theory of functional federalism recognizes that political offices at different levels of government have discrete purviews, so that senators are more likely to emphasize national issues than governors. This study confirms the prediction of functional federalism in non-presidential debates and then extends it by demonstrating that presidential campaign messages emphasize federal issues even more than Senate (or gubernatorial) discourse.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1. Federalism

Gagnon Alain-G., Dionne Xavier

Historiographies et fédéralisme au Canada

in *Revista d'Estudis Autònoms i Federals*, n. 9 , 10-50

This article studies the historical representation of the two main national communities in Canada; that is, the English-Canadian and the French-Canadian. Throughout the history of the English Canadian community, one can see an ambitious national project. The national construction of Canada suggests the existence of a neutral model of government but, when looking at this carefully, it is possible to see something quite different. English-speaking historians from Canada have normally introduced the concept of a unitary federalism as the most perfect form of the Canadian integration project. This integrating federalism, that does not lead to emancipation, stems from the centralist views of John Macdonald, one of the fathers of Canadian federalism. This approach has been kept for over 140 years of common history and, to this date, continues to be one of the main obstacles for minority nations within Canada. To strengthen their thesis, the authors base their work on an extensive analysis exploring the three big strategies used by the central government to assert its authority on the member States of the Canadian Federation in the long term: using the judicial power, centralizing powers and globalization. The strategies used have varied depending on the economic scenario, political leaders and the political power relations regarding the links between the Federation and the provinces.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Porro Nicola

Il corpo della Nazione. Mito politico e immaginario nazionalistico nella narrazione del Milite ignoto

in *Rivista trimestrale di scienza dell'amministrazione*, fasc. 2

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Bresser Pereira Luis Carlos

Amérique latine: de l'interprétation nationaliste à l'interprétation par la dépendance

in *Revue Tiers Monde*, n. 199 , 533-546

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Owen Olly

Biafran pound notes

in *Africa: The Journal of the International African Institute*, Volume 79, Number 4 , 570-594

This article examines the recent re-release of the Biafran pound currency, previously used by the breakaway Republic of Biafra between 1968 and 1970, by the separatist-revival group the Movement for the Actualization of a Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB) in south-eastern Nigeria. It briefly traces the circumstances of its re-release, contextualizes it in the light of MASSOB's aims and activities and in reference to the original Biafran currency, and then works through rationales for such an action. The article first explores and then dismisses economic justifications for releasing an alternative currency, then examines the more meaningful political case, before moving to an examination of cultural factors which lie behind the choice to challenge a state's sovereignty via its currency. The broad label of 'cultural factors' is then unpacked to open a window on a rich tradition of political history centred on currency in the south-east Nigerian context, which spans the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial decades. The study also touches on contemporary studies of sovereignty and connects to wider debates on the nature of money as regards its 'economic' and 'political' functions as a token of value.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Pavel Carmen E.

Cosmopolitanism, Nationalism and Moral Opportunity Costs

in *Polity*, Volume 41, Issue 4, October , 489-513

Cosmopolitanism and nationalism are at war, if the criticism they relentlessly direct at each other is any guide. The current debates between defenders of these two views tend to solve their disagreements by showing that one view is



incoherent and assigning victory to the other. I argue instead that cosmopolitanism and nationalism do not fail on their own, but are rather incomplete facets of the truth, because each reflects demands of morality that are in permanent tension with one another. Moreover, there may be no way in principle to establish a binding order of priority between nationalistic and cosmopolitan claims, even if in practice we will find various ways to negotiate between them.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Prohuber Henio Hoyo

Cuando las ideas se vuelven creencias útiles: el nacionalismo como instrumento político

in **Foro Internacional**, VOLUMEN XLIX - NÚMERO 2

“Nation” and “nationalism” are terms in constant use in both academic literature and political discourse, even though their definition is extremely vague. Hence, the debate on the nature and characteristics of nations and types of nationalism continue to the present day. The author suggests that nationalism’s importance and continuance can be explained by distilling three traditions of political thinking –realism, romanticism and messianism; along with notions of sovereignty of the people. As a result, nationalism becomes an extremely useful and adaptable political instrument that a great many political actors can use to gain support and legitimacy in pursuing their objectives and interests

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Zarmandili Bijan

Dalla teocrazia alla stratocrazia

in **Aspenia**, n. 46, ottobre, “Il fine della storia: 89-09” , 115-119

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Baron Ilan Zvi

Dying for the state: the missing just war question?

in **Review of International Studies (The)**, Vol. 36, Issue 1, January , 215-234

This article introduces the problem of having to risk one's life for the state in war, asking first why this question is no longer asked in the just war literature and then suggesting five issues that relate to this question: 1) that of individual consent, 2) whether or not any state can be justified in obliging its citizens in this regard and whether or not the type of government is important, 3) whether or not the problem of the obligation differs between conscript and volunteer armies, 4) the problem of political obligation and how any individual could be justifiably obliged to risk his or her life for the state in war, and 5) the question of whether a citizen may be obliged to go into any war. The argument is that these questions are no longer given much attention in the just war literature because of the way that the concept of proper authority has come to be understood. The article concludes by suggesting that the problem of the ‘obligation to die’ should be included in our understanding and use of just war theory and the ethics of war.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

D'Costa Anthony P.

Economic nationalism in motion: Steel, auto, and software industries in India
in *Review of International Political Economy*, Volume 16 Issue 4 2009 , 620 - 648

With increasing economic interdependence, the scholarly treatment as well as the practice of economic nationalism is either seen as theoretically redundant or practically impossible. Contrary to this conclusion, I argue that economic nationalism is not inconsistent with globalization. States are not only active participants in globalization but they continue to strategically express nationalism in new global settings by supporting national firms and citizens overseas. By redefining economic nationalism from protectionism to the leveraging of national resources to secure economic benefits from the world economy, this paper provides an alternative view of economic nationalism. This paper analyzes economic nationalism as a dynamic concept. Empirically, it takes up three Indian industries (steel, auto, software) since 1950 to understand how nationalism was practiced and how it has changed under globalization. The paper establishes India's pursuit of economic nationalism under globalization through its support of Indian businesses and citizens abroad. Though the coherence of nationalism may be weak, it can still be expressed in looser forms of national 'presence' abroad.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Izquierdo Jorge Gómez

El mito mestizo. Definición racista de la identidad nacional

in *Metapolítica : revista trim. de teoría y ciencias de la política*, Num. 67, noviembre - diciembre 2009

El mito de la nación mestiza es un mito fabricado por las élites blancas para ser impuesto al resto de la población mexicana. La conciencia mestiza que promueve un orgullo étnico de pertenencia colectiva de ninguna manera puede ser considerada como la expresión elaborada de aquellos a quienes dice dar voz, como si se tratase de la representación ideológica de una nueva raza, que después de siglos de dolorosa gestación, despierta a la conciencia del valor de su propio ser para afirmarse como la representación de la nación entera y se asume como su conductora. La conciencia mestiza no es elaborada por mestizos de verdad, si hemos de entender como tales a los descendientes de padre español con madre indígena. En todo caso, la identidad mestiza es confusa en cuanto a la definición de las características de dicha etnia y tampoco puede precisar el número de personas y grupos que supuestamente engloba. Además, ninguno de entre los héroes intelectuales-políticos, cultivadores esmerados del mito del mestizo, podría ufanarse de tener "sangre" de indio en sus venas. Casi todos ellos provienen de las clases dominantes, descendientes altivos y arrogantes de la raza blanca de los conquistadores europeos

La reivindicación del mestizo y de los mestizajes por parte de las élites blancas nunca puso en cuestión la pertinencia de una jerarquía racial en la que el hombre blanco emerge como el parámetro para todos los demás, ello explica el objetivo de transformar con la infusión de torrentes de sangre blanca a la población de piel morena. Las élites mexicanas no repugnaron, aunque sólo lo hicieran de dientes para afuera, del mestizaje con los inferiores, si así se avanzaba en la regeneración nacional, pero en realidad prefirieron dejar esa tarea en sementales importados de



Europa antes que ellos mismos pusiesen el ejemplo, con sus hijos e hijas yendo al encuentro amoroso de parejas sexuales indias para formalizar matrimonios y hacer surgir, congruentes con su ideología, la tan pregonada consanguinidad en la familia mestiza. De todas formas, la solución europea nunca llegó a nuestro país en las cantidades requeridas para garantizar el éxito de tal empresa. Pero como gran parte de las élites intelectuales y políticas del siglo XIX veían en el “indio” una traba para el progreso, insistieron en promover la afluencia europea como si esta fuese una urgente necesidad nacional (González Navarro, 1988). Los científicos porfiristas abominaron no sólo del indio. Su racismo también los llevó a crear en 1904 una comisión para estudiar los efectos de la inmigración china, a la que impugnaron por ser inasimilable a la comunidad mexicana. Los chinos fueron percibidos como una amenaza de degeneración racial, pues se temía su unión con las indias mexicanas. Ciertamente, los científicos porfiristas deseaban fervientemente la desaparición de la raza india pero no su degradación por culpa de su eventual mezcla con los asquerosos chinos, por eso se esforzaban en el mestizaje con europeos, pues así se lograría darle unidad a la raza mexicana (Gómez Izquierdo, 1991).

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Eve Hepburn

**Explaining Failure: the Highs and Lows of Sardinian Nationalism
in Regional and Federal Studies**, Volume 19 Issue 4 & 5 , 595 - 618

Most analyses of nationalist and regionalist parties focus on cases of 'success'—with the usual suspects of the Scottish National Party, Parti Québécois and Convergència i Unió dominating the field. Yet, by exploring the performance of only a select group of most-similar cases, it is difficult to distinguish what the conditions for success—and failure—in regional mobilization are. This contribution focuses on the rise and fall of the Sardinian Party of Action (Partito Sardo d'Azione), the oldest nationalist party in Italy. It explores the decisions that the party has made in response to multi-dimensional competition in a multi-level polity, and identifies which factors have led to its continuing electoral and political weakness. These include the party's ideological incoherence, its failure to compete successfully with nationalist competitors and regional branches of state-wide parties, the bipolarization of the party system, its erratic choices of coalition partners, and its limited adaptation to multi-level politics.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Vidal Cécile

**Francité et situation coloniale. Nation, empire et race en Louisiane française (1699-1769)
in Annales: Histoire, Sciences Sociales**, Vol. 64, n. 5, septembre-octobre , 1019-1050

Through the case of French Louisiana, this essay will demonstrate that the formation of new colonial societies in the Americas, which relied on slave or forced labor, the formation of multiethnic and multiracial empires, and the imperial rivalries that developed along with these phenomena, launched a debate on the nation. On the one hand, having a national identity became significant for a growing number of people. On the other hand, the definition given to the French nation, in opposition to other nations and in relation to the different groups that were part of it, began to transform. By questioning the concepts of “colonial empire”, “nation”, and “identity”, and by analyzing the peculiar meanings of Frenchness in the Louisiana context, this article will suggest that we cannot discuss the concept of nation in



the eighteenth century without taking into account the complex relationships between nation, empire, and race.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Dodds Klaus, Hemmings Alan D.

Frontier Vigilantism? Australia and Contemporary Representations of Australian Antarctic Territory in Australian Journal of Politics & History , Volume 55, Issue 4, December , 513-529

This article considers the way in which recent commentators have represented Australia's relationship with Antarctica including current and future challenges. While successive Australian governments from the 1950s onwards have sought inter alia to develop and protect the country's southern oceanic and Antarctic interests, concern has persisted about the activities of other parties. The signing of the 1959 Antarctic Treaty helped to ensure that the territorial status quo prevailed with regard to the Australian Antarctic Territory. The entry of the United Nations Law of the Sea Convention (UNCLOS) into force in 1994 created new opportunities for further expressions of sovereign rights in this region. While mindful of the evolving legal geographies affecting Antarctica, our paper asks a series of questions about this relationship with the far south: how has Australian national identity been informed and influenced by Antarctic engagements? Will UNCLOS actually weaken the Antarctic Treaty System? Finally, do contemporary Australian pronouncements on the Antarctic hint at anxieties reminiscent of the 1950s? We conclude with a warning that nationalistic evocations may well unsettle a delicate balance concerning the Southern Ocean and disputed ownership of Antarctica.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Waters Johanna L.

Immigration, Transnationalism and 'Flexible Citizenship' in Canada: An Examination of Ong's Thesis Ten Years On

in Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie (Journal of Economic & Social Geography) , Volume 100, Issue 5, December , 635-645

This paper examines the relationship between transnationalism and belonging, with particular reference to Ong's concept of 'flexible citizenship', ten years after it was first articulated. It asks 'to what extent is Ong's work still relevant for the contemporary experiences of transnational migrants?' With a focus on research in Canada, I argue that, contrary to their 'flexible' intentions, transnational immigrants often demonstrate a high level of local civic involvement and a localised sense of identity in the 'new' country, even when continuing to practice transnationalism on a daily basis. In addition, the paper contributes to debates around the relationship between transnationalism and integration over time. It draws upon an indepth qualitative study of immigrant women over eight years to examine the extent of their transnational activities and feelings of belonging. It concludes that while the notion of flexible citizenship would in many cases seem to describe accurately the objectives of Chinese immigrants to Canada, it is perhaps less salient in relation to some of their experiences.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism



Berglund Henrik

Including Women: Strategies of Mobilization within the Hindu Nationalist Movement

in India Review, Volume 8, Issue 4, October , 385-403

Indian politics has, for the last decades, witnessed significant political success for the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), the political outlet of the Hindu nationalist movement. This movement has also targeted women during its mass campaigns, trying to recruit them as activists by stressing historical and mythical images of women as warriors and aggressive goddesses. This strategy clashes with the traditional Hindu nationalist definition of gender roles in which women are primarily designated the role of care-takers, wives, and mothers. In this article, a conflicting pattern is revealed showing both a development toward an increasing awareness of gender issues as well as continuation of a strong patriarchal tradition within the movement. The local study, conducted in Varanasi, Uttar Pradesh, indicates that the activist images of women displayed in the mass campaigns of the 1990s are now dormant, allowing for a return to a more traditional definition of gender roles.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Sinem Gürbey

Islam, Nation-State, and the Military: A Discussion of Secularism in Turkey

in Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and Middle East, Volume 29, Number 3 , 371-380

In comparative and theoretical discussions, Turkey—where secularism is imposed from above as one of the irrevocable founding principles of the constitution—is criticized for being religiously hostile, aiming to repress religion in the public sphere in a coercive manner. This view is faulty on two grounds. First, it essentializes religion by assuming that religion is an objectively identifiable concept and that as such it can be separated from the realm of the secular and become an object of state power. The separation between the secular and the religious, as this article argues, is premised on particular definitions of religion, the roots of which are historically contingent and intimately linked to the rise of the modern nation-state. As the article argues, a particular conception of Islam is integrated into the nation-state's projects of rationalization, homogenization, and disciplinization, and as such it is turned into a disciplinary tool through which new citizens are created. Second, the claim that the state represses "religion" relies exclusively on legal and constitutional machinery that restricts the use of religion for political purposes and consequently misses how a particular conception of religion is disseminated by state institutions in the private realms of culture and education in order to form new Islamic selves that agree to put the nation's "sacred" interests above all "particular" interests. The article problematizes the way military service is normalized in defending the secular constitution through an appeal to the Islamic conception of martyrdom, wherein "good" citizens are promised to be rewarded not in the secular time but in the hereafter.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Reeta Chowdhari Tremblay‌

Kashmir's Secessionist Movement Resurfaces: Ethnic Identity, Community Competition, and the State

in Asian Survey , Volume: 49, Number: 6 November/December , 924–950

The May 2008 Jammu & Kashmir government's decision to transfer 99 acres of land to a Hindu shrine reignited the Kashmiri nationalist movement. This essay argues that Kashmiri ethnonationalist aspirations remain entrenched among



the Valley's Muslim population and that electoral participation is no guarantee of attenuated ethnonationalist demands.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Cipolloni Marco

Le aldeas malditas del nazionalismo debole: cinema ed españolismo tra studi culturali e storia

in *Spagna Contemporanea*, Anno XVIII, n. 35 , 119-129

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Negrelli Giorgio

L'idea politica di nazione: ieri, oggi. Considerazioni

in *Clio - Rivista trimestrale di studi storici*, a. 45, n. 3 , 371-388

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Ndlovu-Gatsheni Sabelo J., Willems Wendy

Making Sense of Cultural Nationalism and the Politics of Commemoration under the Third Chimurenga in Zimbabwe

in *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Volume 35, Issue 4, December , 945-965

This article examines the range of cultural events and activities that were promoted by the ruling Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) in the 2000s under the banner of the Third Chimurenga. It contributes to a lively debate on post-2000 cultural imaginings of a fetishised nation riddled by contestations over state power. The article posits that the 'cultural' nationalism that was promoted through the Third Chimurenga emerged partly as a political response to the failures of 'developmental' nationalism of the 1980s and 1990s, and partly as a continuation and intensification of the earlier imaginings of Zimbabwe that dated back to the 1960s. Through a range of cultural activities, the ruling party sought to legitimise its continued rule in the face of the challenges posed by the increasingly popular Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) and the growing number of civil society organisations. Through the specific genre of the 'music gala', cultural nationalism came to attribute new meanings to concepts such as 'independence', 'heroes' and 'unity' in the changed political context of the 2000s. The gala effectively syncretised the elite memorialism of the 1980s and 1990s with the cultural practices of the 1970s liberation war. The revival of cultural nationalism in the 2000s assisted ZANU-PF in deepening and strengthening the liberation war as Zimbabwe's primary foundation myth. It also enabled the ruling party to delegitimise the MDC as a party without liberation war credentials and as a threat to the country's 'independence' and 'unity'. This article tracks the roots of cultural nationalism prior to the 2000s, and analyses the forms that were promoted as part of the Third Chimurenga, with a specific focus on music galas, bashes and commemorations, in order to consider the type of nation that was being celebrated, performed and commemorated in the post-2000 period.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Choudhry Sujit

Managing linguistic nationalism through constitutional design: Lessons from South Asia
in *International Journal of Constitutional Law*, Vol. 7, n. 4, 577-618

How should constitutional design respond to competing claims for official language status in countries where there is more than one language, whose speakers are concentrated in a specific territory, and hence, where more than one language is a plausible candidate for use in public services, public education, legislatures, the courts, and public administration? This is one of the most pervasive and pressing constitutional problems of modern political life. It has been largely ignored in the literatures on comparative constitutional law and constitutional design. This article therefore turns to constitutional practice, and focuses on South Asia, where linguistic nationalism has been one of the principal forces shaping constitutional developments for over sixty years. South Asia has been a constitutional laboratory on questions of linguistic nationalism, and vividly illustrates both that it is possible to manage linguistic nationalism through constitutional design, and conversely, that the cost of getting official-language policy wrong can be very high,

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Uberoi Varun

Multiculturalism and the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms
in *Political Studies*, Volume 57, Issue 4, December, 805-827

Section 27 of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms states: 'This Charter shall be interpreted in a manner consistent with the preservation and enhancement of the multicultural heritage of Canadians', and we know surprisingly little about why the Canadian Federal Government agreed to insert it in the Charter and how this occurred. In this article I will use new historical evidence to explain both these things and I proceed in three stages. Firstly, I explain why the Canadian Federal Government agreed to include what became Section 27 in the Canadian Charter. Secondly, I explain how it was actually included. I then conclude the article by explaining why the evidence in it not only explains why and how Section 27 was included in the Charter; it also increases the possibility that a largely unsubstantiated claim made by certain prominent scholars is true. The claim is that the Canadian Federal Government's policy of multiculturalism was used to shape the Canadian national identity.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Kissane Bill, Sitter Nick

National identity and constitutionalism in Europe: Introduction
in *Nations and Nationalism*, Volume 16, Issue 1, January 2010, 1-5

www3.interscience.wiley.com/journal/123225906/abstract



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Campbell John L., Hall John A.

National identity and the political economy of small states

in *Review of International Political Economy*, Volume 16 Issue 4 2009 , 547 - 572

Building on insights from Katzenstein and Gellner, the authors theorize that small, culturally homogeneous countries with a strong national identity have institutional advantages that tend to enhance their long-term socioeconomic performance. They can coordinate policy in ways that help them respond successfully to external vulnerabilities by building institutional capacities for cooperation, sacrifice, flexible maneuvering, and concerted state action in the national interest. The emphasis on culture and national identity is an important innovation in understanding the political economy of small states. The theory is illustrated by means of an extended analysis of Denmark.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Nimni Ephraim

Nationalism, Ethnicity and Self-determination: A Paradigm Shift?

in *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism* , vol. 9, n. 2, September , 319-332

An ongoing paradigm shift is giving birth to a more multidimensional understanding of the relationship between nationalism, sovereignty, self-determination and democratic governance. A common element among the various versions of the new paradigm is the dispersal of democratic governance across multiple and overlapping jurisdictions. Governmental processes are no longer seen as discrete, centralised and homogenous (as in the old nation-state model) but as asymmetrical, multilayered, multicultural and devolved into multiple jurisdictions. These changes have hardly affected the two main conceptual frameworks that dominate the study of nationalism: modernism and ethnosymbolism. As a result, these frameworks risk becoming irrelevant to the new forms of national self-determination, asymmetrical governance and shared sovereignty. Modernism and ethnosymbolism insist that nationalism seeks to equate the nation with a sovereign state, while in reality the overwhelming majority of nations are stateless and unable to build nation states because they often inhabit territories shared with other nations. The paradigm shift occurs through the realisation that nation-state sovereignty is no longer a feasible solution to the demands of stateless nations. Ethnosymbolism is in a much better position to adapt to the paradigm shift provided it abandons the claim that the nation state is the best shell for the nation.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Storm Eric

Painting Regional Identities: Nationalism in the Arts, France, Germany and Spain, 1890—1914

in *European History Quarterly*, Volume 39, No. 4, October , 557-582

During the decades before 1914, nationalism pervaded cultural discourse more than ever before as a new type of subjectivist, organic nationalism came to the fore. At the same time nations were seen as consisting of a harmonious whole of organically grown regional folk cultures. Thus, a new more activist nationalism coincided and overlapped with the rise of a more folkloristic and regionalist interpretation of the respective national identities. But how did this affect the



arts? Paintings by highly relevant fin-de-siècle artists such as Simon and Cottet in France, Bantzer and Mackensen in Germany and Zuloaga in Spain could be seen as interpretations of a specific national or regional 'soul'. A detailed, comparative analysis of the reviews of their work in the major art magazines of the period shows that their paintings skilfully translated the new, more activist and popular nationalist ideology into art, using similar arguments and rhetorical devices.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Dedering Tilman

Petitioning Geneva: Transnational Aspects of Protest and Resistance in South West Africa/Namibia after the First World War

in *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Volume 35, Issue 4, December , 785-801

This article explores the transnational dimension of anti-colonial protest and resistance in mandated South West Africa during the period between the First and Second World Wars. In its capacity as a mandatory power, the South African government had to operate within the parameters of trusteeship laid down by the League of Nations. The Western Allies intended that the League's Permanent Mandates Commission monitor a 'reformed' type of imperialism. However, colonised peoples eagerly responded to the Wilsonian message of national self-determination by complaining to the League about the infringement of the principles of self-governance. Focusing on the extensive petitioning campaign of the Rehoboth Basters in South West Africa as a case study, this article argues that marginalised communities were able to alleviate some of the harsh effects of colonial rule by articulating their dissent in an international forum.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Nasreen Ghufra#8204;

Pushtun Ethnonationalism and the Taliban Insurgency in the North West Frontier Province of Pakistan

in *Asian Survey* , Volume: 49, Number: 6 November/December , 1092–1114

This article examines the rise and contemporary dynamics of the Taliban insurgency in the NWFP and FATA (Federally Administered Tribal Area) regions of Pakistan. It argues that the Taliban insurgency is not necessarily a product or reflective of Pushtun ethnonationalism. Instead, it is based on a particular interpretation of Islam, irrespective of ethnic or linguistic demarcations. U.S. and NATO military intervention along the Afghan-Pakistan border since 2001 has exacerbated the Taliban insurgency in Pakistan.

PDF (1,024.718 KB) PDF Plu

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Adeel Khan#8204;

Renewed Ethnonationalist Insurgency in Balochistan, Pakistan: The Militarized State and Continuing Economic Deprivation

in *Asian Survey* , Volume: 49, Number: 6 November/December , 1071–1091



A mini-war is going on between the military and ethnic nationalists in Balochistan, Pakistan's territorially largest province. The military claims that violence is the result of tribal chiefs' opposition to the Pakistani government's development projects, whereas the militants believe that the Punjabi-dominated military is colonizing their land and exploiting its resources. This article argues that the violence is unlikely to subside, absent a comprehensive change in the government's approach to the conflict.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Griffiths Ryan D.

Security threats, linguistic homogeneity, and the necessary conditions for political unification

in Nations and Nationalism, Volume 16, Issue 1, January 2010 , 169-188

The proposition that security threats can drive states to pool their sovereignty has been around for some time. The existence of these threats, according to William Riker, is a necessary condition for political unification. A less common argument centers on linguistic homogeneity; it asserts that states must be sufficiently similar and speak the same language before they can successfully imagine a common state. This paper tests both hypotheses in a large-N analysis that identifies all instances of voluntary political unification between 1816 and 2001. It takes the form of a falsification probe and examines whether any unification happened in the absence of either an external security threat or a common language. It finds that political unification has occurred in relatively tranquil settings, but that all unifying dyads have shared a common language. Security threats are not a necessary condition, but a common language may well be.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Sanjib Baruah

Separatist Militants and Contentious Politics in Assam, India: The Limits of Counterinsurgency

in Asian Survey , Volume: 49, Number: 6 November/December , 951-974

Insurgency-related violence continues in the northeast Indian state of Assam. Even though the fortunes of the United Liberation Front of Assam have declined significantly, a political settlement remains elusive. Unresolved tensions between regional patriotism and pan-Indianism explain the insurgent organization's resilience and the continuing appeal of its political ideology.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Fozdar Farida, Spittles Brian

The Australian Citizenship Test: Process and Rhetoric

in Australian Journal of Politics & History , Volume 55, Issue 4, December , 496-512

In late 2007, Australia's relatively liberal citizenship eligibility requirements were modified, ostensibly to improve the value of citizenship by restricting access to it. A key change involved the introduction of a citizenship test. This article tracks its development and implementation. We challenge claims of overwhelming support for the test, explore the discourses around the "Australian values" being tested, and outline the process by which the legislation was enacted



(during which a number of principles of parliamentary democracy were compromised). Using evidence from politicians' speeches, we argue the citizenship test served to re-direct the Australian imagination away from a nascent "multicultural" identity, back to one redolent of the times of the "White Australia Policy", confidently celebrating connections with an Anglo-Saxon heritage, the European Enlightenment, and Judeo-Christian roots. As such it was a key aspect of the 1996–2007 Howard Government's retreat from multiculturalism.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Van Dyke, V.

The Khalistan Movement in Punjab, India, and the Post-Militancy Era: Structural Change and New Political Compulsions

in **Asian Survey**, Volume: 49, Number: 6 November/December, 975–997

A Sikh militant movement in Punjab is unlikely to reemerge in the near future because of exhaustion from the militant era, the shift toward federalism in the Indian political system, the increased importance of state level parties, the rise of the Bharatiya Janata Party, and the emergence of coalition politics.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

DeVotta, N.

The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam and the Lost Quest for Separatism in Sri Lanka

in **Asian Survey**, Volume: 49, Number: 6 November/December, 1021–1051

The ethnocentric policies successive Sri Lankan governments pursued against the minority Tamils pushed them to try to secede, but the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam's (LTTE) immanent contradictions—the quest for state-building and independence juxtaposed with fascistic rule and terrorist practices—undermined the separatist movement and irreparably weakened the Tamil community. The Sri Lankan government's extraconstitutional counterterrorism strategies under Prime Minister Mahinda Rajapaksa helped defeat the LTTE, but the attendant militarism, culture of impunity especially among the defense forces, and political machinations bode further ill for the island's democratic and polyethnic future.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Panzer Michael G.

The Pedagogy of Revolution: Youth, Generational Conflict, and Education in the Development of Mozambican Nationalism and the State, 1962-1970

in **Journal of Southern African Studies**, Volume 35, Issue 4, December, 803-820

This article addresses a lacuna in analyses of FRELIMO's nationalist development during the 1960s. Specifically, the article examines the impact of generational tensions between Mozambican youth and FRELIMO party 'elders' that



emerged during the anti-colonial war at the FRELIMO secondary school in Dar es Salaam. The main argument is that under the auspices of the Mozambique Institute, which operated almost exclusively in Tanzania, the FRELIMO secondary school was a site of significant intergenerational tensions that affected the liberation movement during a particularly critical moment of its anti-colonial war against Portugal. This analysis is particularly relevant for the issue of generational tensions and may help to encourage historians of contemporary Africa to (re)consider how African nationalist groups, operating within another nation's sovereign space, could build legitimacy and establish hegemony. This article, then, also indirectly argues that FRELIMO was able to utilise sovereign space within Tanzania and was, therefore, able to construct institutional bodies (schools, hospitals, military camps) that garnered hegemonic legitimacy in such a way as to allow the nationalist movement to act as a proto-state.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Kissane Bill, Sitter Nick

The marriage of state and nation in European constitutions

in Nations and Nationalism, Volume 16, Issue 1, January 2010 , 49-67

This article maps out the role played by national identity in modern European constitutions. It does this by comparing its impact on constitutions across Gellner's time zones of European nationalism, and shows how the impact of nationalism has increased gradually over time, and is now strongest in Central and Eastern Europe. It concludes with a reflection on why this has been the case, and why constitutional politics have increasingly lent themselves to nationalist influences in the modern era.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Sven Gunnar Simonsen

The role of East Timor's security institutions in national integration - and disintegration

in Pacific Review (The) , Volume 22 Issue 5 , 575 - 596

This article examines the interplay between security sector developments and national unity in East Timor since the Indonesian occupation ended in 1999. Particular attention is paid to the regional distinction between Loromonu and Lorosae - people from the west and east of East Timor, respectively. In 2006, East Timor experienced a crisis that saw the disintegration of the military and police forces, and widespread violence that led to massive internal displacement. It was during this crisis that the Loromonu-Lorosae distinction first emerged as a major societal cleavage. The article argues that the independence cause and the guerrilla force Falintil had been an important focus of East Timorese national unity in 1999. In the years that followed, however, the implementation of flawed security policies led to new military and police forces that were politicized, factionalized and lacking in cohesion. Prior to the 2006 crisis, the Loromonu-Lorosae distinction was primarily an issue within the army. As the crisis escalated, however, the violence was to a large extent framed by the east-west dimension, and popular perceptions of the military as 'eastern' and the police as 'western' hardened. A year after the crisis, little if any progress had been made towards reducing the increased salience of the Loromonu-Lorosae distinction in society. The main internal security challenges - gang activity, the unresolved issue of the so-called 'petitioners', and the destabilizing role played by fugitive former head of military police Alfredo Reinado - all had an east-west dimension. The article also finds that new initiatives aimed at reforming East Timor's military and police forces appeared to be lacking in both depth and relevance for addressing the country's new



level of internal division, and its immediate, internal security challenges.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Motyl Alexander J.

The social construction of social construction: implications for theories of nationalism and identity formation in Nationalities Papers, Volume 38, Issue 1, January 2010 , 59-71

Abstract

Although most contemporary theories of nationalism and identity formation rest on some form of social constructivism, few theorists of nationalism and identity formation interrogate social constructivism as a social construction - a social science concept "imposed" on the non-self-consciously constructivist behaviors of people, who generally do not believe they are engaging in construction. Since social constructivism - unless it is a metaphysics about what is real - is really about the concept of social construction, the first task of constructivists is to ask not how various populations have engaged in social construction but how social construction should be defined. As this article shows, constructivism is at best a run-of-the-mill theoretical approach - perfectly respectable, but no different from any other theoretical approach in the social sciences. It is only when social constructivism makes outlandishly radical claims - that all of reality or all of social reality is constructed - that it is unusual, exciting, and wrong.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Keating Joshua

Today's Berlin Walls

in Foreign Policy, Issue 174, November / December

The fall of the Berlin Wall united Germany and eliminated the Cold War's most potent symbol. Here are five barriers that continue to divide nations and disrupt lives today. Part of an FP series, 20 years after the fall of the Berlin Wall.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Tanrisever Oktay F.

Why Are Federal Arrangements not a Panacea for Containing Ethnic Nationalism? Lessons from the Post-Soviet Russian Experience

in Japanese Journal of Political Science, Volume 10, Issue 3, December , 333-352

Federal arrangements have been considered by some thinkers as a panacea for containing ethnic nationalism in the ethnically defined regions. This article challenges this view by arguing that federal institutions may enable ethnic nationalists in the ethnically defined regions to consolidate their power through the guarantees that they receive from the federal centre. Although the post-Soviet Russian leadership under Boris Yeltsin sought to use federalism as a tool for containing ethnic nationalism, Russia's this experiment with federalism demonstrates that federalism may serve not to contain but to strengthen ethnic nationalism. Disillusioned with Yeltsin's failed use of federalism in containing ethnic



nationalism, the overwhelming majority of the Russian people supported Vladimir Putin's anti-federalist reforms since 2000 which made federalism redundant in Russia. While undermining the basis for Western style democracy in Russia, Putin's centralism proved to be more effective than Yeltsin's federalism in containing ethnic nationalism.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Gagnon V.P. (Chip) Jr.

Yugoslavia in 1989 and after

in Nationalities Papers, Volume 38, Issue 1, January 2010 , 23-39

The year 1989 marked a turning point for the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY). But unlike other places in the region, that year saw a turn towards growing political conflict which soon led to violent warfare. This paper identifies and discusses three processes that led to this outcome. The first process was the impetus towards reform of the Yugoslav federal state, its political and economic system. The second was the conflict over the future of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (Savez komunista Jugoslavije - SKJ). The third was the shifting meanings of ethnic and nonethnic labels and the ways in which putative "national" and "ethnic" interests came to be aligned with specific political options. By the end of 1989 these three processes had come together to spell the end of the SKJ, of the SFRY, and of "Yugoslavism" as a political identity. In their places, ruling parties threatened by changes within their own societies, as well as by pressures created by the 1989 revolutions in the region, resorted to strategies of conflict and violence in an attempt to forestall the kinds of changes and elite turnovers seen in other socialist countries.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Havard Gilles

« Les forcer à devenir Cytoyens ». État, Sauvages et citoyenneté en Nouvelle-France (XVIIe-XVIIIe siècle)

in Annales: Histoire, Sciences Sociales, Vol. 64, n. 5, septembre-octobre , 985-1018

In New France, the French monarchy was led to fashion new forms of sovereignty in order to officially define the status of the Natives. While claiming over them an allegiance of a feudal type inspired from the international language of "protection" , in the XVII th century its policy was based on the optimistic belief of the rapid cultural ("frenchifying") and legal (naturalization) transformation of the "Savages": this interweaving of approaches constituted an innovation of the French imperial system. It is entirely possible that this colonial plan altered certain traditional principles of the Ancien Régime monarchy and participated in the birth of a more unified and centralized state. In the North American laboratory, the monarchy and its local representatives not only improvised an original reflection on Frenchness, but also, in the course of the XVIIIth century, when the irreducibility of the Amerindian "savagery" became widely accepted, elaborated anew the concept of citizenship in a more cultural direction.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3.Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Gauvreau Michael



Catholicisme, nationalisme et fédéralisme dans la pensée de Claude Ryan. La contribution de l'Action catholique, 1945-1964

in *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française*, Volume 62, numéro 3-4, hiver-printemps , 429-472

Cet article est une première étape d'un projet plus large, soit une biographie intellectuelle, spirituelle, et politique de Claude Ryan, militant catholique, journaliste, homme politique et intellectuel engagé. Il se base sur des nouvelles recherches dans le Fonds Claude Ryan, logé à Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec. L'article analyse le développement intellectuel de Ryan lorsqu'il était secrétaire nationale de l'Action catholique canadienne de 1945 à 1962 et trace les rapports entre un nationalisme canadien-français modéré, une vision du fédéralisme décentralisée et une conscience grandissante de l'universalisme du catholicisme. L'hypothèse avancée maintient que jusqu'en 1952, Ryan a gravité autour d'un nationalisme « traditionnel » tel que défini par les chefs de file Lionel Groulx et Esdras Minville. Après son congé d'études à Rome en 1952, et par réaction contre les divisions de plus en plus aigües au sein du groupe de nationalistes intellectuels québécois, Ryan adopte une vision plus claire de l'universalisme du catholicisme et une conception plus positive et dynamique des rapports entre le Canada et le Québec. Ce sont les convictions de base qui animent sa pensée lors de son entrée en fonction de directeur du quotidien montréalais *Le Devoir* en 1964.

Abstract

This article constitutes the first part of a much larger project, namely a full-scale intellectual, religious, and political biography of Claude Ryan, Catholic activist, journalist, politician, and public intellectual. Based on new research in the Fonds Claude Ryan, held by Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec, the article analyzes Ryan's intellectual development while he was national secretary of Action catholique canadienne from 1945 to 1962. More specifically, it assesses the relationship in his thinking between a moderate French-Canadian nationalism ; a decentralized, Quebec-centred vision of Canadian federalism ; and a growing sense of the universalism of Catholicism. The main argument advanced in the article is that until 1952, Ryan moved within an orbit defined by the « traditional » nationalism of Lionel Groulx and Esdras Minville. After having studied in Rome in 1952, and in response to the growing divisions within the community of nationalist intellectuals, Ryan adopted a more affirmative view of the universalism of Catholicism, which he linked to a more positive and activist view of Canadian federalism. These were the convictions that he brought with him when he assumed the directorship of the Montreal daily *Le Devoir* in 1964.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Masini Fabio

Economics and Political Economy in Lionel Robbins's Writings

in *Journal of the History of Economic Thought*, Volume 62 Issue 4, November 2009 , 421-436

The paper challenges the commonplaces on the atomistic conception of society and the "ivory-tower" role of the economist in society through a systematic assessment of the use of the terms "economics" and "political economy" in Lionel Robbins's writings

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Gorman Daniel



Ecumenical Internationalism: Willoughby Dickinson, the League of Nations and the World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship through the Churches

in *Journal of Contemporary History*, Volume 45, No. 1, January , 51-73

Despite the eventual collapse of the international system, the interwar years also gave rise to lasting developments in international co-operation. Such co-operation was largely taken up not by nation-states, but by representatives of international civil society. Two of their foremost causes were the League of Nations and the nascent Christian ecumenical movement. One of the most active proponents of internationalism in the 1920s was the British liberal Willoughby Dickinson, the leading parliamentary proponent for female suffrage. After the war, Dickinson turned to international politics, advocating a form of ecumenical internationalism that combined his religious and liberal beliefs. This article outlines Dickinson's background in British progressive politics. It then examines how he came to develop his ideas of 'international friendship' and 'ecumenical internationalism' through his leadership roles in the World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship through the Churches and the International Federation of League of Nations Societies. It concludes by examining his support for the newly emergent question of minority rights in the interwar years.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Medoff David

Freud's Reply to Einstein on Delivering Mankind from War

in *Peace Review*, vol. 21, n. 4, october , 437-441

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Keat Russel

Habermas on ethics, morality and European identity

in *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, Vol. 12, n. 4, December , 535-557

This paper examines Habermas's theoretical account of ethical (as distinct from moral) reasoning in politics, presented in *Between facts and norms*, and considers its possible application to his later discussion of European identity and the need for political union to address the impact of globalisation and the threat posed by neoliberalism. It argues that this practical application of the theory point to serious defects in it: a failure to show that ethics differs from morality in being inseparable from identity, and an inability to explain how a genuinely rational debate about the specifically ethical dimensions of political issues can be conducted. It concludes by considering the relationship between Habermas's view of the place of ethics in political reasoning and debates about neutrality and perfectionism in liberal theory, including Dobson's recent argument in *Supranational citizenship* that different principles should operate at different levels of governance.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Klusmeyer Douglas



Hannah Arendt's Case for Federalism

in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, vol. 40, n. 1, Winter , 31-58

Hannah Arendt developed an acute defense of Republican Federalism as an alternative to the prevailing model of state sovereignty. However, the literature on the history of federalist ideas has long neglected her contributions, despite her continuing reputation as one of post-World War II's premier political theorists. One reason for this neglect is that her contributions are scattered across a broad array of different works. This article seeks to encourage a redress of this neglect by providing a guide to her critique of sovereignty and her arguments for the federal principle. Arendt's approach poses a fundamental challenge to the realist dismissal of world federalism as an exemplar of the naive utopianism they attributed to their idealist opponents.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Scichilone Giorgio E.M.

Il 'Potere costituente'. La teoria politica federalista di Carl J. Friedrich e l'"occasione' europea

in *Pensiero Politico (II)*, Anno XLII, n. 1, gennaio-aprile 2009 , 84-97

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Winterer Caroline

Model Empire, Lost City: Ancient Carthage and the Science of Politics in Revolutionary America

in *William and Mary Quarterly*, Volume 67, Number 1, January

Ancient Carthage (ca. 804–146 BCE), mighty rival to Rome for supremacy in the ancient Mediterranean, is here restored to its important place in early modern British and revolutionary American political thought. Along with ancient Greece and Rome, Carthage supplied early British empire builders with an example of an enduring, stable republic that was also a profitable sea empire. Britons frequently summoned Carthage as an example as they founded colonies in the Atlantic. The ancient republic also captivated James Madison and John Adams in the 1780s as they sought a model for the new American Republic that was both politically stable and expansively commercial. Yet since most of its archaeological and literary remains had not survived, Carthage also exposed problems in the emerging idea that politics could be a science that rested on knowable facts and principles. How could politics claim to be empirical if its evidentiary base rested on examples such as Carthage, about which frustratingly little could be discovered? The article suggests that some of the epistemological dilemmas revealed by the case of Carthage in the Constitution-making period marked the beginning of a modern era in which political science turned away from antiquity and toward other sources of evidence.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Penner James

The State Duty to Support the Poor in Kant's Doctrine of Right

in *British Journal of Politics & International Relations* , Vol. 12, Issue 1, February , 88-110



Recent works of Weinrib and Ripstein argue in favour of the state duty to support the poor found in Kant's 'Doctrine of Right'. The argument is not Kant's own, but is said to flow from the most basic precepts of that work. It is, roughly, the following: because the institution of property rights can lead to the situation whereby, there being nothing left to appropriate, persons could become dependent upon others for their very existence, the validity of property rights (and private rights in general) in the civil condition depends upon the state's supporting the poor so as to ensure that such relations of dependence do not arise. This article argues that this welfarist state duty is incompatible with the structure of the Doctrine of Right, and independently implausible.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Battistini Matteo

The Transatlantic Republican. Thomas Paine e la democrazia nel "mondo atlantico"
in *Contemporanea - Rivista di storia dell'800 e del '900* , n. 4, ottobre , 625-650

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Lorenzini Sara

The roots of a 'statesman': De Gasperi's foreign policy
in *Modern Italy* , Volume 14, Issue 4, November , 473-484

This article reviews De Gasperi's foreign policy in the light of his recently published writings and speeches. Research has been carried out into the stages of his youth and his internal exile, seeking elements of continuity that would re-emerge later on in De Gasperi's policies as Foreign Minister, and his Atlantic and European policies. The key moments of De Gasperi's international political action, in particular the talks he took part in concerning the Italian Peace Treaty, membership of the Atlantic Pact and promotion of European integration, help to cast light on the characteristics of De Gasperi's political style. Above all, three elements are emphasised: responsibility, loyalty, and a capacity for renewal.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Williams Howard

The torture convention, rendition and Kant's critique of 'pseudo-politics'
in *Review of International Studies (The)* , Vol. 36, Issue 1, January , 195-214

By what standards ought we to judge politicians? The article addresses the question in the light of the treatment of two controversial issues in contemporary world politics: the implementation of the 1984 UN Convention against Torture; and the post 9/11 rendition of terrorist suspects to US authorities by European governments. Their treatment brings out the way in which the role of political leaders is popularly conceived and understood. This conventional understanding is



contrasted with the role recommended by Kant's political philosophy. An answer to the question depends on how we conceive politics in the first place. If politics is seen as a 'free for all' where all strategies can be canvassed then the response will be entirely different from a situation where we consider ourselves bound by rules of legitimacy and its attendant problems of morality and law. The article represents a rejection of certain received accounts of politics and approval of a Kantian view. The account of politics which in one respect or another tries to drive a wedge between politics and ordinary morality is seen as inferior to a Kantian concept of politics which is always conditioned by morality.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Meliá Manuel Cancio

Internacionalização do Direito Penal e da política criminal: algumas reflexões sobre a luta jurídico-penal contra o terrorismo.

in *Panoptica. Revista Eletrônica Acadêmica de Direito*, n. 17 , 1-22

O Direito penal constitui-se, a princípio, na manifestação jurídica por excelência da soberania estatal. Ao lado disso, a crescente globalização da economia e da sociedade promove o surgimento de uma criminalidade globalizada. Estabelece-se, então, um novo desafio para o Direito penal, ao mesmo tempo em que há a internacionalização do crime é preciso que também se internacionalize a política de combate ao crime. Aponta-se que a internacionalização do crime afeta, sobretudo, âmbitos diretamente relacionados com a economia mundial. E que este processo se torna ainda mais dinâmico em virtude do uso da tecnologia para acelerar a troca de informações, especialmente com o uso da internet. Neste passo, verifica-se ao mesmo tempo uma globalização do e uma convergência de discursos sobre o Direito penal. Neste ensaio, procura-se, então, fazer uma reflexão acerca destes discursos penais internacionalizados, inicialmente de uma perspectiva geral e, depois, específica e exemplificativamente, a partir do terrorismo.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Bozo Frédéric

"Winners" and "Losers": France, the United States, and the End of the Cold War

in *Diplomatic History*, vol. 33, n. 5, November , 927-956

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Wrightson Nick

"[Those with] Great Abilities Have Not Always the Best Information": How Franklin's Transatlantic Book-Trade and Scientific Networks Interacted, ca. 1730–1757

in *Early American Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, vol. 8, n. 1, Winter , 94-119

This article establishes the importance of overlapping modes of reputation making in Benjamin Franklin's mutually reinforcing careers as naturalist and printer (ca. 1730–57). It reevaluates the key trans-Atlantic relationships on which Franklin relied and demonstrates the interdependence of Franklin's objectives and those of his colleagues in determining



their shared social progress. Finally, it explores the changing perceptions of British Atlantic society within the communities in which Franklin participated. In doing so it illustrates how the experience of belonging to particular Anglo-American social networks directly shaped members' attitudes toward nation and empire.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Troy Jodok

'Catholic waves' of democratization? Roman Catholicism and its potential for democratization
in *Democratization*, vol. 16, n. 6, December, Special Issue: "Religion and Democratizations", 1093-1114

The aim and scope of the article is to examine if Catholicism is or can be a major force in democratization. And if so, what are its core values and motivations? To examine this issue, it is also necessary to evaluate democratization outcomes where the church was not involved. We shall see that it is unavoidable to take into account fundamental Christian and thus also Catholic values and doctrines which are - despite all 'earthly' constraints - in favour of both liberal and democratic values. In the case of the Catholic Church this is primarily because it perceives the social message of the gospels not merely as theory but also as a call to action, followed by many of its adherents. The article argues that the main reason for this was the result of the church's changing political theology, following the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965), which enabled the church's adoption of a pronounced focus on: human rights, religious freedom, democracy, and economic development.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Orgad Liav

'Cultural Defence' of Nations: Cultural Citizenship in France, Germany and the Netherlands
in *European law journal*, Volume 15 Issue 6 - November , 719-737

This article presents a new development in European immigration policy. Focusing on France, Germany and the Netherlands, I describe a process of 'culturalisation' of admission and citizenship rules in Europe intended to reinforce liberal values and national identity. I then suggest a two-stage set of immigration-regulation principles: in the first stage, immigrants would have to accept some structural liberal-democratic principles as a prerequisite for admission. While Europe has criteria for state admission, anchored by the Copenhagen Criteria, Europe has not yet formalised definite criteria for immigrants' admission. In the second stage, as part of the naturalisation process, immigrants would be expected to recognise and respect constitutional principles essential for obtaining citizenship of a specific state. I call this concept 'National Constitutionalism'.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Pearce Lynne, Wodak Ruth

(Re)constructing the region in the 21st century
in *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, Volume 13, No. 1, February 2010 , 3-8

No abstract available



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Farneti Roberto

A Mimetic Perspective on Conflict Resolution

in *Polity*, Volume 41, Issue 4, October , 536-558

Current theories of international justice and conflict resolution seem to rest on the assumption that discord among humans can, in principle, be settled by means of a fair allocation of a limited set of available goods. The assumption, in turn, is grounded in the idea (supported by John Rawls) that peoples of genuinely democratic and liberal societies “have nothing to go to war about,” once their basic needs are satisfied and their fundamental interests made fully compatible with those of other democratic peoples. The article builds on René Girard's theory of “mimetic desire” to show that the notion of “peace by satisfaction” is problematic: people's needs and desires, which are mimetic in nature, are hardly extinguishable. Classical approaches to conflict resolution fail to address this mimetic dynamic and wrongly assume that there is an objective measure of desire to be filled to satisfy the contenders. The solution to the dilemma involves the reflective ability of the people engaged in a dispute to address the (mimetic) sources of their animosity.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Galtung Fredrik, Tisné Martin

A New Approach to Postwar Reconstruction

in *Journal of Democracy*, Volume 20, Number 4, October , 93-107

In countries emerging from war, the immediate post-war period rarely lives up to the hopes and expectations of the country's citizens or the international community. An upsurge in corruption and a lack of accountability, which frequently become entrenched during this time, can erode trust in democracy and its institutions, thereby eating away at the legitimacy of the postwar state. The authors argue that an anticorruption approach that builds on local resources and competencies in distinctive ways and that emphasizes local accountability such as citizen-based monitoring is more likely to succeed in stemming corruption as well as increase participation and trust in the reconstruction process.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Barras Amélie

A rights-based discourse to contest the boundaries of state secularism? The case of the headscarf bans in France and Turkey

in *Democratization*, vol. 16, n. 6, December, Special Issue: “Religion and Democratizations” , 1237-1260

For the last two decades the human rights discourse has been increasingly used across the world - one could argue that there has even been a globalization of human rights. This discourse has also been intrinsically linked to positivism, enlightenment and secularism. It is with this in mind that this article looks at how religious Muslim individuals and groups in France and Turkey have been appropriating the human rights discourse and its national, regional and international legal channels to challenge state secular policies and redefine the relationship between religion and the state. By



looking into two specific case studies - the work of the Collective Against Islamophobia in France (CCIF) and the Merve Kavakci case v. Turkey presented at the Strasbourg European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) - I investigate if groups and individuals have found through the use of this 'authorized narrative' a space where they can propose a new plural ethos that can better co-exist with their piety. This is a space where they can offer a more plural and de-centralized vision of secularism. To complement this analysis, I also highlight some of the possible paradoxes found within the human rights discourse - paradoxes that might enlighten us on the challenges of using such a discourse, particularly to ask for the right to display publicly one's religion. In other words, I attempt to shed some light on whether the use of a rights-based discourse by religious rights groups and individuals can help resolve democratically disputes between the religious and the secular - encouraging perhaps the democratization of secularism in specific contexts.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Raphael, Lutz

Auf halbem Weg steckengeblieben. Eine Geschichte der modernen Geschichtsschreibung im Zeichen der Globalisierung

in *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, Heft 2009/35,3 , 472–478

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Palti Elías José

Beyond Revisionism: The Bicentennial of Independence, the Early Republican Experience, and Intellectual History in Latin America

in *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Volume 70, Number 4, October , 593-614

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Shum Robert Y.

Can attitudes predict outcomes? Public opinion, democratic institutions and environmental policy

in *European Environment/Environmental Policy and Governance*, Volume 19, Issue 5, September-October , 281-295

The post-materialist value hypothesis, positing heightened concern for the environment, should predict eventual convergence in environmental policies. In the meantime, surprisingly wide variations persist, even when controlling for income levels. Is there a role for public opinion to explain better the divergences and outcomes observed in environmental policies? This paper explores a possible mechanism by which widely hypothesized income effects on policy can occur via pressure from public opinion. By building upon a median-voter model of environmental policy-making and developing an extension to include voter-information characteristics, we test these effects on air pollution outcomes of varying (global, regional and local) scales. The results provide evidence of significant effects, but suggest two antecedent conditions necessary for political and opinion variables to have an effect: redistributive



opportunities, and credible frameworks for addressing collective action problems. The implication is that relying on democratic reform alone may not suffice to improve environmental performance if underlying collective action problems are not addressed.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Hope Kempe Ronald

Climate change and poverty in Africa

in International Journal of Sustainable Development and World Ecology, Volume 16, Issue 6, December , 451-461

Africa is most vulnerable to climate change, although it makes the least contribution to factors that result in global and regional climatic changes. High levels of vulnerability and low adaptive capacity across the continent have been linked to, among other things, poverty. This paper discusses and analyses the relationship between climate change and poverty in Africa. It investigates the relationship between climate change and poverty patterns in Africa, analyses the resultant impact, and discusses potential adaptation policies for moderating the consequences of climatic changes on poverty in the region. The record shows that climate change is happening. What is not discussed or is little researched is the potential devastating impact of climate change on socio-economic development in Africa and the policy measures available to the continent for adaptation.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Haynes Jeffrey

Conclusion: religion, democratization and secularization

in Democratization, vol. 16, n. 6, December, Special Issue: "Religion and Democratizations" , 1282-1291

The overarching theme of this special issue was the attempts by various religious actors - Christian, Muslim, and Jewish - to try to assert their values and pursue their goals in variable political circumstances. We saw that they sought to do this in contexts characterized not only by secularization and political changes, some of which emanate from within countries, but also as a result of external pressures, often a consequence of globalization.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Levy Yagil

Controlling the invisible: The essence of effectual control of the modern military

in International Politics , Volume 47, Issue 1, January , 104-124

Militaries work intentionally, visibly and in a politically controlled manner to fulfill their formal assignments as the professional perpetrators of external violence on behalf of the state. It is to this level of military action that the existing literature on the civilian control of the military is confined. However, through the intensive interaction between the military and civilians, the effects of formally controlled military activity go beyond the professional domain and are felt in civilian areas, where, in the long term, military activity helps create structures of unequal power relations. Given its structural dimension, this aspect of the military is not necessarily or immediately visible to the main agents involved; hence, it is



divorced from effective civilian control. I conceptualize this neglected type of control as effectual control, distinct from the theoretically well-established notion of operational control. This paper theorizes the essence of effectual control.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Sitaraman Ganesh

Counterinsurgency, The War on Terror, and The Laws of War

in *Virginia Law Review*, Vol. 95, issue 7 , 1745-1839

Since the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, military strategists, historians, soldiers, and policymakers have made counterinsurgency's principles and paradoxes second nature, and they now expect that counterinsurgency operations will be the likely wars of the future. Yet despite counterinsurgency's ubiquity in military and policy circles, legal scholars have almost completely ignored it. This Article is the first to evaluate the laws of war in light of modern counterinsurgency strategy. It shows that the laws of war are premised on a kill-capture strategic foundation that does not apply in counterinsurgency, which follows a win-the-population strategy. The result is that the laws of war are disconnected from military realities in multiple areas – from the use of non-lethal weapons to occupation law. It also argues that the war on terror legal debate has been myopic and misplaced. The shift from a kill-capture to win-the-population strategy not only expands the set of topics legal scholars interested in contemporary conflict must address but also requires incorporating the strategic foundations of counterinsurgency when considering familiar topics in the war on terror legal debates.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Newman Edward

Critical human security studies

in *Review of International Studies (The)*, Vol. 36, Issue 1, January , 77-94

From a critical security studies perspective – and non-traditional security studies more broadly – is the concept of human security something which should be taken seriously? Does human security have anything significant to offer security studies? Both human security and critical security studies challenge the state-centric orthodoxy of conventional international security, based upon military defence of territory against 'external' threats. Both also challenge neorealist scholarship, and involve broadening and deepening the security agenda. Yet critical security studies have not engaged substantively with human security as a distinct approach to non-traditional security. This article explores the relationship between human security and critical security studies and considers why human security arguments – which privilege the individual as the referent of security analysis and seek to directly influence policy in this regard – have not made a significant impact in critical security studies. The article suggests a number of ways in which critical and human security studies might engage. In particular, it suggests that human security scholarship must go beyond its (mostly) uncritical conceptual underpinnings if it is to make a lasting impact upon security studies, and this might be envisioned as Critical Human Security Studies (CHSS).



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Sohn Christophe, Reitel Bernard, Walther Olivier

Cross-border metropolitan integration in Europe: the case of Luxembourg, Basel, and Geneva in Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy, Volume 27, Issue 5, October , 922-939

In this paper we question the integration processes in three small cross-border metropolitan areas: Luxembourg, Basel, and Geneva. By referring to an original analysis framework, we evaluate the nature and intensity of the functional and institutional integration and highlight the elements that structure the cooperation between the actors. The analysis shows that there is not necessarily a reciprocal link between the size of the functional area and the extent of the cooperation. Whilst no metropolitan-sized organisation is on the agenda in Luxembourg, the example of Basel and Geneva shows that the presence of a national border offers an opportunity to invent original forms of governance, to increase the autonomy of the local authorities by different types of cooperation which transcend the institutional and territorial divides, and to promote the international character of the metropolitan centre. In a context of global competition, these features represent an undeniable benefit.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Cots Francesc, Tàbara J. David, McEvoy Darryn, Werners Saskia, Roca Elisabet

Cross-border organisations as an adaptive water management response to climate change: the case of the Gadiana river basin

in Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy, Volume 27, Issue 5, October , 876-893

In this paper we analyse the role played by cross-border organisations in the Gadiana river basin in Iberia, and the extent to which new emerging institutional arrangements carry on adaptive management practice as a response to mounting climate change risks in the river basin. Particular attention is paid to the new transboundary agencies, as promoted by the EU INTERREG programmes, and their potential for mainstreaming climate change considerations into Gadiana river basin development strategies. Results indicate that the penetration of climate change concerns into regional development policies requires a better integration of different policies and improved connectivity and coordination between multiple actors operating across sectors, and at different spatial scales. We argue that the emergence of new transboundary agencies capable of performing these bridging functions is a vital ingredient for building climate adaptive capacity in these cross-border regions.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Jayant Menon

Dealing with the Proliferation of Bilateral Free Trade Agreements

in World Economy, Volume 32 Issue 10 , 1381 - 1407

Bilateral free trade agreements (BTAs) have been proliferating. The outcome of this proliferation of often overlapping BTAs and plurilateral free trade agreements (PTAs) is described as the spaghetti bowl effect or, in the Asian region, the noodle bowl effect. This is costly, and welfare reducing. How do we remedy the situation? In this paper, we consider the various options proposed in dealing with the spaghetti bowl, and assess their ability to do so. A general limitation of



these proposals is their tendency to group all kinds of BTAs together, treating them as a homogeneous group. Thus, the proposals ignore underlying differences in motivation in forming BTAs. To overcome this, we develop a taxonomy for classifying BTAs by motivation before considering the effectiveness of the different remedies proposed. We find that each proposal has its pros and cons, and can cater for different types of BTAs. Thus, a combination of the various proposals may be warranted, even in the event of an expeditious and bona fide conclusion to the Doha Round.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Baumgart-Ochse Claudia

Democratization in Israel, politicized religion and the failure of the Oslo peace process

in Democratization, vol. 16, n. 6, December, Special Issue: "Religion and Democratizations" , 1115-1142

While the positive relationship between democracies and peace is by now a commonplace of international relations (IR) literature, the possible dangers of democratization processes for international peace and security have only recently become a focus of IR research. This article argues that some of the mechanisms prevalent in democratizing states' ambivalent conflict behaviour help to explain why the state of Israel initially entered into the peace process with the Palestinians, but soon reverted to former hostile policies. In the initial stages of the peace process in the early 1990s, the Labour-led government based its efforts towards peace on the typical norms of democratic peace and thus explicitly stated the need to improve Israel's defective democratic regime. This involved amending the electoral system by ending the de facto control of the Palestinians in the territories, who did not participate in Israeli democratic politics. However, the prospect of 'land for peace' threatened the politicized religious Jewish settler-elite in the territories who feared not only the destruction of the basic tenets of their religious identity, but also the loss of both power and resources in Israeli politics. As a consequence, this threatened elite engaged in fierce religious-nationalist mobilization in order to derail the peace negotiations and at the same time subvert the process of improving Israel's democratic regime.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Jamal Amal

Democratizing state-religion relations: a comparative study of Turkey, Egypt and Israel

in Democratization, vol. 16, n. 6, December, Special Issue: "Religion and Democratizations" , 1143-1171

This article examines the complex relationship between state, religion and democratization in Turkey, Egypt and Israel. It demonstrates that binary and static models of separation and integration between state and religion are not sufficient to understanding the complex relationship between them and chances of democratization. Based on examining the democratization processes in the three Middle Eastern countries, the article argues that separation or integration between state and religion, although different, does not precondition democratic transformation and democratization. It is the form, the measure and the direction of separation or integration that makes the difference. The article demonstrates that democratization is not a one dimensional linear model, but rather can take two opposing directions when it comes to religion and state relations. Whereas in some cases the public return of religion and the subsequent representation of religious groups reflect democratization, in other cases, where state and religion are tightly integrated, democratization means the decoupling of state and religion and the downgrading of religious control of public institutions and individual personal status. Moreover, the examination of the three Middle Eastern countries demonstrates that democratization could involve the return of religion to the public sphere, as part of the basic democratic right of social



groups to be represented and their right to participate in determining their cultural and ideological environment. It could also involve the deinstitutionalization of religion as exclusive authority and identity in the public sphere and in the private life of individuals. Based on such understanding the article claims that dynamic models of state-religion relations are necessary in order to anticipate the chances of democratization and consolidation.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Baker Andrew

Divided sovereignty: Empire and nation in the making of modern Britain

in International Politics, Volume 46, Issue 6 - Special Issue: Beyond Hypocrisy?:Sovereignty Revisited, November, 691-711

Great Britain is regarded as a classic example of the Weberian state, and thus as a model of a developed state that might be contrasted with developing states. However, this view conceals the formative role of empire in the evolution of the British state. Rather than take the distinction between a 'metropolis' and a 'periphery' as given, this article explores the mutual constitution of state and empire. What it finds is that the political identity of the British state changed dramatically during the first half of the twentieth century as British intellectuals and policy-makers attempted to develop a new political community, primarily through the vehicle of the Commonwealth. The British state of the interwar years decentralised its decision making and embedded itself firmly in new multilateral networks. A rationalised, centralised British state emerged after the Second World War and only then within a context of multiple (principally Atlantic and European) political identities. The modern British state is as much a post-colonial invention as are states of the 'developing' world.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Morelli Umberto, Castaldi Roberto

Editorial Perspectives on Federalism: Why a new journal?

in Perspectives on federalism, Vol. 1, single issue, I-VI

In launching a new journal we feel the need to explain the reasons why the Centre for Studies on Federalism takes this initiative, characterised by a range of specific features. Several interesting scientific journals in English devoted to federalism are already issued all over the world. They are generally focused on one geographic area in particular, on certain levels of government or on specific academic disciplines. Therefore we believe there is room for a new interdisciplinary journal to consider federalism – federal institutional arrangements as well as potentially federalising processes - at all levels of government. The very name Perspectives on Federalism stresses that the journal will consider federalism from different disciplinary, geographic and theoretical perspectives.

Full text available at:

<http://www.on-federalism.eu/index.php/editorial>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea



Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Jiménez Sánchez José J.

El acto del origen y la soberanía nacional en la Constitución de 1979

in *Cuadernos de pensamiento político*, Nr 24, octubre-diciembre 2009

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Willy Jou

Electoral Reform and Party System Development in Japan and Taiwan: A Comparative Study

in *Asian Survey*, Volume: 49, Number: 5 September/October, 759–785

This article examines changes in patterns of party competition in Japan and Taiwan following the introduction of mixed parallel electoral systems. National and district level election results demonstrate the consolidation of a two-party system in both countries. Differences in the speed and extent of this development are analyzed.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Durántez Prados Frigidiano Alvaro

Elementos para la articulación del espacio ibérico. Propuesta de un tratado tripartito entre Andorra, España y Portugal

in *Cuaderno de federalismo*, Volumen XXII, 233-244

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Russell James A.

Environmental Security and Regional Stability in the Persian Gulf

in *Middle East Policy*, Volume 15, Issue 3, Fall, 90-101

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Berg Eiki, Toomla Raul

Forms of Normalisation in the Quest for De Facto Statehood

in *International Spectator (The)*, Vol. XLIV, n. 4, October-December



De facto states are political entities unable to achieve widespread recognition of their sovereignty that therefore remain largely or totally unrecognised by the international society of sovereign states. Yet, recognition can vary to certain degrees. Instead of taking federal schemes unconditionally for granted, the avenues open for current de facto states to establish themselves in international society have to be analysed first. Kosovo, Taiwan, North Cyprus, Abkhazia, Transnistria, Nagorno-Karabakh and Somaliland have all received some kind of recognition (negation, boycott, toleration or quasi-recognition), securing their standing in the political, economic and public spheres.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Torkunov Anatoly

Four Scenarios of Russia's Future Development

in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Volume 76, n. 2, aprile-giugno , 179-184

Today the Russian government seems to have made a strategic choice for the nearest future. It chose to utilize the model of State-centric modernization. However, other alternatives of Russia's modernization strategies have not been swept away as such. The Author exposes a prognosis of four feasible scenarios of Russia's future development as it resulted from a special research project. The project implied the analysis of international and internal political factors and alternative variants of their influence on the country's future and specific challenges Russia is facing.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Thatcher Ian D.

From Stalin to Gorbachev: Reflections on the Personality of Leaders in Soviet History

in *Contemporary European History* , vol. 19, n. 1, February , 95-107

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Knoll Bernhard

Fuzzy Statehood: An International Legal Perspective on Kosovo's Declaration of Independence

in *Review of Central & East European Law*, vol. 34, n. 4 , 361-402

This contribution subjects Kosovo's declaration of independence of 2008 to a comprehensive and detailed analysis from the perspective of international law. It begins with a reflection on Kosovo's status process as it unfolded in 2006 and discusses some of the challenges that Serbia faced when it proposed that Kosovo be vested with "more than autonomy, less than independence". The main body of the article speculates on some of the implications that Kosovo's independence may have in public international law, especially with a view to the forthcoming International Court of Justice (ICJ) advisory opinion on the matter. It concludes that the resolution of Kosovo's status has to be seen in the context of a decreasing reliance on the international norm that has hitherto protected the territorial integrity of states.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Brenner Neil, Elden Stuart

Henri Lefebvre on State, Space, Territory

in *International Political Sociology* , Volume 3, Issue 4, December 2009 , 353-377

In this article, we offer an account of how the French Marxist philosopher and sociologist Henri Lefebvre can be read as a theorist of territory. While Lefebvre's writings on state space have generated some interest in recent years, the territorial dimensions of his thinking on this issue have not been explored. Meanwhile, the question of territory has been oddly undertheorized in the post-1970s literatures on international relations and spatialized political economy. Against this background, we suggest that Lefebvre's work contains some insightful, if unsystematic, observations on the relationship between states, space and territory. Following consideration of Agnew's (1994) influential injunction that social scientists transcend the "territorial trap," we develop this reading of Lefebvre with reference to three key dimensions of his approach to state space as territory—first, the production of territory; second, state territorial strategies; and third, the "territory effect," namely, the state's tendency, through its territorial form, to naturalize its own transformative effects on sociospatial relations. Thus construed, Lefebvre's approach productively raises the issue of how the territorial trap is actually constructed and reproduced.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Kurkia Milja, Sinclair Adriana

Hidden in plain sight: Constructivist treatment of social context and its limitations

in *International Politics* , Volume 47, Issue 1, January , 1-25

This article argues that constructivism in International Relations (IR) suffers from certain important shortcomings in its analysis of the idea of social context. Specifically it is argued that constructivists fail to adequately engage with 'social structural' forces in world politics. While constructivists have pitched themselves as theorists who aim to account for the role of social context in world political inquiry, their conceptual focus on ideational factors – rules, norms and inter-subjective beliefs – has resulted in an inadequate, or incomplete, conceptualisation of social structure. Constructivists, it is argued here, tend to leave the role of materially embodied social structures theoretically and empirically unexplored. The limitations of constructivist treatments of social context have significant consequences for their analysis of world politics, for example, for recent constructivist attempts to deal with international law. Constructivist interventions into analysis of law remain deficient in important senses because of their failure to conceive of international law in social structural terms and because of their inability to explore in depth law's relationship with other social structures, such as patriarchy or capitalism. This entails that the structured systems of inequality and hierarchy embodied in law fail to be adequately recognised. Recognising the 'incompleteness' of the constructivist accounts of social context, we argue, is important in highlighting the often un-noted limitations of constructivist scholarship and in potentially redirecting constructivist scholarship towards closer engagement with 'critical theory' investigations into IR and law.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea



Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Veneruso Danilo

Il tramonto del potere sovietico

in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Volume 76, n. 2, aprile-giugno , 249-272

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Jean Carlo

Il ventennio lungo

in *Aspenia*, n. 46, ottobre, "Il fine della storia: 89-09" , 49-59

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Bassetti Piero

Impresa, glocalismo, nuova statualità glocal. Una scommessa vinta

in *Impresa & Stato*, Supplemento al N. 85/2008 , 7-9

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Lindahl Hans

In between: Immigration, distributive justice, and political dialogue

in *Constellations*, Vol. 16, Issue 4, December , 415-434

How is distributive justice possible with respect to immigration if political decisions about entry and membership cannot be grounded in the symmetry of a prior commonality, human or otherwise, that could guarantee reciprocal relations between members and nonmembers? This paper deals with both aspects of this question. Initially, it engages critically with Seyla Benhabib's plea for 'dialogical universalism,' showing why the strong discontinuity between political and moral reciprocity precludes understanding distributive justice as the process of mediating between political particularity and moral universality. Subsequently, it suggests that a way out of this conceptual and normative impasse can be found in the fact that boundaries create a double asymmetry. This double asymmetry is constitutive for the 'dia' of the political dialogue that separates and joins members and nonmembers. This 'in between,' which eludes control by the parties to a dialogue, is the realm of distributive justice.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Hernández Antonio María

Informe sobre el federalismo argentino

in *Cuaderno de federalismo*, Volumen XXII , 1-20

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Kosfeld Michael, Okada Akira, Riedl Arno

Institution Formation in Public Goods Games

in *American Economic Review*, Vol. 99, No 4, September 2009 , 1335–55

Sanctioning institutions are of utmost importance for overcoming free-riding tendencies and enforcing outcomes that maximize group welfare in social dilemma situations. We investigate, theoretically and experimentally, the endogenous formation of institutions in public goods provision. Our theoretical analysis shows that players may form sanctioning institutions in equilibrium, including those governing only a subset of players. The experiment confirms that institutions are formed and that it positively affects cooperation and group welfare. However, the data also shows that success is not guaranteed. Players are unwilling to implement equilibrium institutions in which some players have the opportunity to free ride. Our results emphasize the role of fairness in the institution formation process.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Baubck Rainer, Guiraudon Virginie

Introduction: realignments of citizenship: reassessing rights in the age of plural memberships and multi-level governance

in *Citizenship Studies*, vol. 13, n. 5, october , 439-450

ABSTRACT: The contributions to this special issue of *Citizenship Studies* generally understand citizenship as referring to a status of equal membership in bounded political communities. This introduction sketches three realignments of citizenship that challenge the common equation between the community of citizens and territorial populations of independent states. First, the imagined co-extensionality of state, nation and people is increasingly challenged by processes of migration and globalization. However, as proposed in Chwaszcza's contribution to this issue, the unity of the political people may still be needed as a necessary fiction in order to ensure the diachronic continuity of a democratic polity. Second, as discussed in Baubck's and Keating's contributions, the territorial boundaries of citizenship are no longer identical with those of states for two reasons. External citizens can claim status and rights from outside the territory and territorial devolution has created new spaces for sub-state models of social citizenship. De Witte's and Guiraudon's contributions, finally, discuss the tension between norms of equality derived from principles of citizenship and non-discrimination respectively. As we argue in this introduction, the European anti-discrimination legislation has produced complex realignments of the boundary between negative and positive conceptions of liberty and universal and particularistic norms of equality.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Grigoriadis Ioannis N.,

Islam and democratization in Turkey: secularism and trust in a divided society

in Democratization, vol. 16, n. 6, December, Special Issue: "Religion and Democratizations" , 1194-1213

The history of Turkish modernization has been inextricably linked with the question of secularism. From the advent of the Turkish Republic in 1923, Islam was held responsible for the underdevelopment and eventual demise of the Ottoman Empire. Based on the laicit of the Second French Republic, the secularization programme of modern Turkey's founder, Kemal Atatrk, entailed the full subjugation of Islam to the State, its eradication from the public sphere and its limitation into a very narrowly defined private sphere.

The transition of Turkey to multiparty politics in 1946 was linked with a rising role of Islam in the public sphere. Islam became a crucial element in the political vocabulary of peripheral political forces which challenged the supremacy of the secularist, Kemalist bureaucratic elite. While a number of military coups aimed - among other things - to control religion, Turkish political Islam showed remarkable resilience and adaptability.

Most recently, the transformation of the Justice and Development Party (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi - AKP) into the strongest proponent of Turkey's European Union (EU) integration brought Turkey closer than ever to EU membership, challenged the monopoly which the Kemalist elite enjoyed as the representative of Western political values and suggested a novel liberal version of secularism. Yet Turkey has been embroiled since 2007 in successive political crises which had secularism as their focal point. This article argues that the transformation of Turkish political Islam has produced an alternative, liberal version of secularism; yet, it has not resolved deep social divisions. Building a liberal consensus between religious conservatives and secularists is imperative for the resolution of deep social divisions in Turkey. The European Union as a guarantor and initiator of reform could play a major role in building trust between the secularist and the religious conservative segments of society.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Rathbun Brian C.

It takes all types: social psychology, trust, and the international relations paradigm in our minds

in International Theory, Volume 1, Issue 03, November , 345-380

The insights of social psychology are not thoroughly integrated into international relations theory, yet social psychology has much to offer. Social psychology provides a conceptualization of a number of varieties of trust – moralistic, strategic, and generalized – and their opposites that implicitly drive the logic of major works of international relations. It also reveals the empirical presence of a number of different types of trusters who make different assumptions about the trustworthiness of others and consequently show markedly different propensities towards cooperation. The rough correspondence between these different 'social orientations' and the logics of the three approaches of structural realism, neoliberal institutionalism, and constructivism suggest that individuals carry a crude paradigm in their minds.

Metatheoretically, the implication for international relations theory is that scholars capture a part but not the totality of world politics, the behavior of those who trust (or do not trust) in a particular way that matches the logic of their paradigms. Theoretically it suggests a research agenda at multiple levels of analysis, utilizing all of the types of trust and trusters. I review the work of others that offers some preliminary evidence for its plausibility, suggest some hypotheses



of my own, and address potential theoretical objections.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Vallès Josep M.

La abstención ‘diferencial’: una nota sobre los casos de Cataluña y de la Comunidad Autónoma de Madrid in Revista española de ciencia política, n. 21 , 93-105

La existencia de una abstención “diferencial” en las elecciones autonómicas catalanas suele atribuirse al origen territorial de un sector de su población, procedente de la inmigración interna del pasado siglo. Una débil identificación de este electorado con el sentimiento nacional catalán y con las instituciones autonómicas sería un factor desmovilizador de su participación en las elecciones catalanas. Sin embargo, la comparación con los datos electorales de la Comunidad Autónoma de Madrid debilita la fuerza de dicha explicación, cuando se comprueba que ambas comunidades presentan pautas de abstención muy parecidas. Por esta razón se hace necesario recurrir a otros factores explicativos válidos para ambos casos. Puede serlo la opinión predominante de que las elecciones autonómicas son elecciones de “segundo orden”. Igualmente, el análisis del comportamiento electoral a nivel municipal muestra una menor participación en las consultas autonómicas y locales en los mayores núcleos urbanos de Madrid y de Cataluña, debido tal vez al menor arraigo social de la población allí donde se produjo un gran y acelerado aumento de población en el último tercio del siglo XX. Es necesario, en todo caso, profundizar en el análisis de los datos para llegar a una explicación de la llamada abstención “diferencial” más convincente de la utilizada hasta hoy.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Gutiérrez Aguilar Raquel

La autonomía indígena-campesino-originaria en Bolivia o El difícil matrimonio entre política in Metapolítica : revista trim. de teoría y ciencias de la política, Num. 67, noviembre - diciembre 2009

Entre 2000 y 2005, a partir de una prolongada ola de movilización y levantamiento indígena y popular que abarcó, de manera intermitente, múltiples rincones del país, se desplomó el proyecto liberal de reconfiguración económica y política implementado por las élites desde 20 años antes. Tales acciones pusieron también en entredicho, negaron, destituyeron o desplazaron partes importantes de la vieja forma de hacer política, sostenida por una arquitectura institucional con fuertes rasgos coloniales y sobre un entramado legal excluyente y elitista. Fueron años intensos de creativa beligerancia social durante los cuales los hombres y mujeres de las comunidades rurales y urbanas, principalmente de origen aymara y quéchua, organizados de maneras variadas y a partir de infinidad de acciones de deliberación, lucha y movilización, establecieron sistemáticos “vetos” a los proyectos y políticas públicas promovidas por sucesivos gobiernos liberales, llegando a cercar varias ciudades y a “hacer caer” a varios presidentes. En este contexto, el 23 de enero de 2006, Evo Morales tomó posesión como presidente de Bolivia, iniciándose un proceso de democratización política y social que se conoce como “revolución democrática y cultural” o sencillamente como “Evismo”. Han pasado, desde entonces, más de tres años plagados de tensiones, en ocasiones amargamente violentas, como en septiembre de 2008 durante la Masacre de Pando. Sin duda, durante este tiempo han ocurrido



significativos cambios en algunos ámbitos de la vida política boliviana: la tensa y complicada realización de una Asamblea Constituyente que logró promulgar una Nueva Constitución Política (NCP) en octubre de 2008; así como la renegociación general de los términos de la explotación del gas boliviano entre el Estado y diversas corporaciones transnacionales, con resultados favorables para el primero al menos en términos fiscales, a la cual se le designa pomposamente como “nacionalización de los hidrocarburos”.

Comunidad e identidad. Procesos psicosociales para entender la vulnerabilidad social

Almeida Acosta Eduardo

Este artículo busca algunas pautas para entender los retos que la vulnerabilidad social plantea a nuestro presente y a nuestro futuro. Llamamos vulnerabilidad social al conjunto de situaciones conflictivas mal confrontadas que afectan la calidad de la convivencia social e impiden, por lo tanto, una cohesión social que favorezca procesos identitarios y comunitarios sanos.

En esta búsqueda los referentes serán dos conceptos debatidos pero vigentes en las ciencias sociales: comunidad e identidad. Al considerar estos dos términos, el riesgo es cosificarlos, hacerlos entidades conceptuales fijas, siendo que como todo lo humano, se trata de procesos que evolucionan a lo largo de una historia (Elias, 1990).

Manuel Cruz (2005, p. 24) ha expresado que la identidad es el correlato sociológico del yo. Tal vez puede decirse en paralelo que la comunidad es el correlato sociológico del nosotros. La relación entre estos dos conceptos puede dar luces acerca de la dinámica individuo/sociedad que involucra la compleja realidad de que la identidad como “yo” no puede existir sin la identidad como “nosotros” y puede, además, ayudar a establecer una “regulación consciente de las tensiones y conflictos individuales y sociales” (Fernández Christlieb, 2007).

Por comunidad entendemos el proceso de construcción social de redes humanas a través de situaciones que implican interacción, conflicto y perspectiva utópica para favorecer a su vez la individuación y la capacidad colectiva de poder hacer (Almeida, 2006). La identidad la conceptualizamos como el proceso cognitivo, emocional y simbólico de ubicación en el tiempo y en el espacio, que implica la elaboración, deconstrucción y reelaboración del sujeto, personal o colectivo, a partir del reconocimiento y la diferenciación (Sánchez, 2009).

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Bon Cristina

La secessione in cammino. Percorsi di ricerca storico-istituzionale sulle cause della Guerra Civile Americana
in *Giornale di storia costituzionale*, n. 17 - I sem. , 139-162

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Haddad Simon

Lebanon: From Consociationalism to Conciliation
in *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, Volume 15, Issue 3 & 4, July 2009 , 398-416

This article seeks to interpret recent developments in Lebanon in the light of a well-known theory, consociationalism, which presents itself as a model for the government of deeply divided societies. It therefore begins by looking at the character of this particular approach to government, describing the main features of consociationalism. The next section



explores the historical background to contemporary Lebanese politics, from the pre-independence period to the 2005 crisis. This is followed by a discussion of events since 2005, and of the changing dynamics of Lebanese politics. The last section seeks to interpret these events, returning to the question of consociationalism and questioning its relevance in understanding the Lebanese conflict.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

David François

Les protestants américains, l'Europe, et la sortie de l'isolationnisme : le Conseil fédéral des Églises et le Comité pour une paix juste et durable

in *Histoire Economie et Société*, n. 4 , 85-96

Dans les années trente et quarante, la douloureuse sortie de l'isolationnisme ne s'accompagna pas seulement aux États-Unis d'un aggiornamento politique, mais aussi d'une succession de transformations morales où le protestantisme joua un rôle éminent. Les principaux responsables religieux américains entendaient de plus en plus servir de ferment à l'unité des chrétiens et à la paix mondiale. Ainsi, le nouveau Comité pour une paix juste et durable réussit à tracer le cadre conceptuel et profondément novateur de la géopolitique américaine d'après-guerre : les Églises protestantes ont repris à leur compte le principe wilsonien d'« indépendance dans l'interdépendance » dont dérive étroitement le concept d'une unité européenne fondée sur la supranationalité. De même, elles ont combattu la vision d'un après-guerre dominé par l'impérialisme anglo-saxon et récusé une exploitation égoïste et nationaliste de la victoire. En outre, le Comité pour une paix juste et durable a lourdement insisté pour inclure l'Allemagne dans l'oeuvre de régénération occidentale, en prenant le contre-pied exact du traité de Versailles mais aussi, à la même époque, du plan Morgenthau. Enfin, dès 1940, les Églises américaines ont appelé de leurs voeux la création de la future ONU.

In the United States, during the thirties and the forties, the painful fading of isolationism is coupled with moral transformations, largely owing to the Protestant Churches. The religious leaders hoped to become the stimulus to Christian unity and World Peace. Therefore, the newly designated « Committee for a just and durable peace » succeeded in establishing the conceptual and fruitful framework of post-war American geopolitics. The Reformed Churches stuck to the wilsonian motto « Independence within interdependence » and applied it to the supranational integration of the European continent. In the same perspective, they refused that the Anglo-Saxon countries would rule the World after the victory and that they would take a nationalistic profit from their overwhelming military successes. Moreover, the Committee insisted upon forgiveness and redemption as far as Germany was concerned. Germany could be a part of the solution – and not exclusively a problem, in complete contrast either to the Versailles Treaty misconceptions or, more recently, to the Morgenthau pitiless program. In last resort, the creation of a worldwide institution for the United Nations should crown this ambitious design.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Jahn Beate

Liberal internationalism: from ideology to empirical theory – and back again



in *International Theory*, Volume 1, Issue 03, November , 409-438

This article shows that Andrew Moravcsik's 'nonideological' formulation of a liberal theory of international relations is itself deeply ideological – both in terms of his own criteria and in terms of a broader conception of ideology. The source of this outcome lies in Moravcsik's mistaken conception of ideology. While ideological knowledge is indeed particular rather than general, it shares this feature with all political knowledge. In the political sphere, it is therefore not general knowledge that transcends the limits of ideology but rather an explicit engagement with these limits. A nonideological study of liberalism would thus require an historical account of the origins and development of liberalism in the context of its struggle with internal and external competitors. While such a study would not constitute a liberal theory of international relations in general, it would provide a general theory of liberal international relations – and would thus be highly relevant in the context of a liberal world order.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Springborg Patricia

Liberty Exposed: Quentin Skinner's 'Hobbes and Republican Liberty' (Review Article)

in *British Journal for the History of Philosophy*, Volume 18, Issue 1, January 2010 , 139-162

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Kirsch Adam

Life On Venus: Europe's Last Man

in *World Affairs*, Vol. 13, n. 1, Spring

<http://www.worldaffairsjournal.org/2009%20-%20Spring/full-Kirsch.html>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Schwinn Thomas

Multiple Modernities: Konkurrierende Thesen und offene Fragen. Ein Literaturbericht in konstruktiver Absicht

in *Zeitschrift für Soziologie*, Jahrgang 38, Heft 6, 2009 , 454-476

Abstract

Der Ansatz multipler Modernitäten wird in Auseinandersetzung mit konkurrierenden Theorieangeboten und der Klärung offener Fragen vorgestellt und fortentwickelt. Zunächst werden die grundsätzlichen Schwierigkeiten bei der Bestimmung verschiedener Formen von Modernität dargelegt (1). Neomodernistische Positionen behaupten eine zunehmende Angleichung der Gestalt moderner Gesellschaften, die der These vielfältiger Modernisierungsmuster widerspricht. Dies wird mit dem Argument einer fixierten Interdependenz des Sets moderner Institutionen begründet (2). Da dabei ein



Primat der Struktur unterstellt wird, müssen die Wirkungen kultureller Gegebenheiten auf Modernitätsmuster genauer verfolgt werden (3). Weltsystemansätze bestreiten, dass es voneinander abgrenzbare Modernitäten gebe (4). Am Beispiel der vergleichenden Kapitalismusforschung, die einen deutsch-japanischen Kapitalismustyp bildet, wird gefragt, ob sich Vielfalt und Variation quer zu kulturellen Grenzen ausbilden (5). Mit den zuvor gewonnenen theoretischen Einsichten werden die ungeklärt bleibenden Modellprämissen der Debatte um den EU-Beitritt der Türkei sichtbar gemacht (6). Abschließend werden die zentralen noch offenen und weiter klärungsbedürftigen Fragen aufgelistet (7).

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Hobson Kersty

**On the Modern and the Nonmodern in Deliberative Environmental Democracy
in *Global Environmental Politics*, Volume 9, Issue 4, November , 64-80**

The “deliberative turn” in green political theory and applied environmental decision-making is now well-established. However, questions remain about the applicability of its concepts and methods to non-Western or “nonmodern” contexts, to use a term from Gupte and Barlett’s 2007 article in this journal that is the stimulus to this article. In such places the societal pre-conditions of modernity deemed theoretically necessary for “authentic deliberation” to occur are mostly absent. Yet, authentic deliberation does take place, prompting questions about the geographical and cultural bias of the deliberative environmental democratic project. This article takes up such questions, arguing that in deliberative theory modernity is more than a bias, which is highlighted when the nonmodern is counted in. Instead, in its noun-form modernity suggests a particular type of deliberating subject, replete with specific capacities and knowledge, which the nonmodern is, in true binary fashion, deemed to lack. This article draws on qualitative data from deliberative workshops in northern New Mexico, USA, to argue that such categorizations do not hold up to empirical or conceptual scrutiny, particularly in light of Bruno Latour’s work on modernity and the Modern. Thus, this article argues that deliberative environmental democracy research should therefore be recast as an ethnographic and context-based project, and explores how such a project could be carried out.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Oklopčić Zoran

**Populus Interruptus: Self-Determination, the Independence of Kosovo, and the Vocabulary of Peoplehood
in *Leiden Journal of International Law*, Volume 22, Issue 04, December , 677-702**

This article uses the contested independence of Kosovo as an opportunity to re-examine the theoretical imagery behind the concept of self-determination, and then confront those findings with the more recent approaches to polity formation from other theoretical genres: normative theories of secession, on the one hand, and the global governance approach to self-determination, on the other. What emerges from the encounter between these bodies of thought is not a new interpretation, or a theory of self-determination and its relationship to *uti possidetis*, but rather a plea for an approach to polity formation which is simultaneously critical and prudential. That is, an approach which would accept the role of external actors as inevitable, but goes further and unmasks them as complicit in labelling certain projects as ‘civic’ and ‘multicultural’ on the one hand and ‘ethno-nationalist’ on the other. Equally, the proposed approach reveals the ever-present aspiration to unanimity as a concealed ideal of polity formation, shared by both the ‘civic’ and the ‘ethnic’ variants of self-determination. Finally, this approach to polity formation sketches the contours of an alternative, thin



vision of a political community – one not wearing the badge of peoplehood – one glued together not by normative imperatives of participation and solidarity, but rather by the acknowledgement of geopolitical fiat.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Arroyo Lara Eladio, Pérez Gil Luis V.

Priority constitutional application of international law

in *Estudios internacionales : revista del Instituto de Estudios Internacionales de la Universidad de Chile*, Vol. 42 / 2009 / Nr 163

The main purpose of this essay is to sustain the thesis of the priority application of international law over domestic law through a methodical and systematic interpretation of the Spanish Constitution of 1978. This qualification is not exclusive of the Spanish case. Constitutional systems such as that applicable in Germany before reunification, both in the Federal and in the Democratic Republic established the equivalence of general international law and domestic laws and, as the case, may bes the prevalence of conventional international law. Although pertaining to a different legal system, mention should be made of English common law, so as to point that the Spanish Constitution is not an isolated and unusual case among homogeneous legal spaces, but follows a tradition common to almost all present legal systems.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Garlinger Patrick P.

Privacy, Free Speech, and the Patriot Act: First and Fourth Amendment Limits on National Security Letters

in *New York University Law Review* , Vol. 84, n. 4 , 1105-1148

Congress's passage of the Patriot Act after 9/11 expanded the Federal Bureau of Investigation's (FBI) information-gathering authority to issue national security letters (NSL). Without any judicial review, the FBI issues NSLs to telecommunications providers to obtain customer subscriber information, including sources of payment, records of Internet activity, addressees and subject lines of emails, websites visited, and search queries. Because a subscriber has voluntarily given the data to a third party, the NSL is not considered a "search" for Fourth Amendment purposes, under the so-called "third-party doctrine." To overcome this constitutional shortcoming, commentators have argued that the chilling effect NSLs have on the exercise of free speech makes such investigations suspect under the First Amendment.

Despite the appeal of the First Amendment argument, this Note argues that a subscriber's free speech claim against an NSL faces more significant doctrinal hurdles than scholars have recognized: The First Amendment does not directly protect privacy, making a chilling effect claim hard to sustain. Furthermore, the standard of



review in First Amendment cases may be too deferential to the government because the Patriot Act does not directly target speech, only data related to communicative activity. Instead, this Note proposes statutory reform for more enhanced judicial review and considers how the First Amendment could be used, not as an independent challenge, but rather as a basis for modifying the third-party doctrine. The Note concludes that the concern for chilling free speech is valid, and although First Amendment doctrine may not provide the means to defeat an NSL, concern for free speech interests could provide courts with a rationale for finding a reasonable expectation of privacy in Internet data, thus strengthening our currently impoverished Fourth Amendment safeguards.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Anne van Aaken, Jürgen Kurtz

Prudence or Discrimination? Emergency Measures, the Global Financial Crisis and International Economic Law in *Journal of International Economic Law*, Volume 12, Number 4 , 859-894

Economists and political scientists have begun to isolate the causes and implications of the spread of the global financial crisis in late 2008. Critical attention—often accompanied by strident disagreement—has also focused on the efficacy of various domestic plans implemented in response to the crisis. International economic lawyers have started to explore the legal implications of these developments. Our analysis offers a contribution by examining whether and how certain aspects of international economic law might act as a credible constraint on state tendencies toward domestic preference when formalizing emergency responses to the crisis. We begin by offering a typology of emergency measures implemented to date. We then assess whether particular international economic law rules can target the nuanced forms of protectionism embedded in those responses. We survey both treaty commitments on trading relations (especially under the World Trade Organization) and the treatment of foreign investors. We argue that international investment law is, in the short term due to legal and extra-legal factors, more likely than any other area of international economic law to give rise to initiation of legal action and examine the most probable substantive norms likely to be violated.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Haynes Jeffrey

Religion and democratizations: an introduction

in *Democratization*, vol. 16, n. 6, December, Special Issue: "Religion and Democratizations" , 1041-1057

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Filipescu Corina

Revisiting Minority Integration in Eastern Europe: Examining the Case of Roma Integration in Romania

in *Debate: Journal of Contemporary Central and Eastern Europe*, vol. 17, n. 3, December , 297-314



This article examines the integration of Romania's second largest minority group, the Roma population, by examining a range of integration programmes initiated during 2000-2007. This period witnessed an increase in the development of minority rights and minority integration, based on the external and international pressure, which indicated that Romania had a long way to go in order to consider itself a country where minorities were integrated and rights recognized. By analysing integration initiatives and Roma's responses to these, the article will enable scholars and readers to understand better the implementation of particular types of integration programmes and examine which actors have been most involved in the integration process. Addressing questions such as "Were Roma integration initiatives successful?" and "What was the outcome?" will help to answer the concluding question "What works and what does not work in Romanian society and most importantly, what needs to be done in order to achieve successful integration?".

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Tan Andrew T. H.

Security Challenges in the Malay Archipelago

in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Volume 76, n. 2, aprile-giugno, 185-205

Should Al Qaeda succeed in transforming these ethno-nationalist organizations into transnational pan-Islamist networks, as has occurred in Chechnya, the security challenge would become much more serious, with important implications for regional and international security. The response by external powers to these security challenges, in the form of a more proactive security role in the region has, however, led to fears of growing great power rivalries, especially given the context of growing strategic rivalry between China on the one hand, and the Usa and Japan on the other. The interrelatedness of these security challenges, and their transnational political, economic and social impacts, leads to the conclusion that they must be seen holistically. In turn, this suggests that managing the complex, inter-related security challenges in the Malay Archipelago requires a comprehensive approach comprising political, economic and social elements, including regional and international cooperation amongst affected local and external actors, instead of the simplistic, unidimensional and military-oriented approach inherent in the Usled Gwot, which has thus far been narrowly focused on containing terrorism.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Gladys Ganiel

Spiritual capital and democratization in Zimbabwe: a case study of a progressive charismatic congregation

in *Democratization*, vol. 16, n. 6, December, Special Issue: "Religion and Democratizations", 1172-1193

Throughout Africa, charismatic Christianity has been caricatured as an inhibitor of democratization. Its adherents are said either to withdraw from the rough and tumble of politics ('pietism') or to preach a prosperity gospel that encourages believers to pour their resources into their churches in the hope that God will 'bless' them. Both courses of action are said to encourage such people to be politically quietist, with no interest in democratization or other forms of political activity. This is said to thwart democratization. This article utilizes an ethnographic case study of a 'progressive' charismatic congregation in Harare, Zimbabwe, in 2007, to provide evidence that 'pietism' and 'prosperity' are not the only options for charismatic Christianity. Drawing on the concept of 'spiritual capital', it argues that some varieties of charismatic Christianity have the resources to contribute to democratization. For example, this congregation's self-styled 'de-institutionalization' process is opening up new avenues for people to learn democratic skills and develop a worldview



that is relationship-centred, participatory, and anti-authoritarian. The article concludes that spiritual capital can be a useful tool for analysing the role of religions in democratizations. It notes, however, that analysts should take care to identify and understand what variety of spiritual capital is generated in particular situations, focusing on the worldviews it produces and the consequences of those worldviews for democratization.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Bromley Roger

Storying community: Re-imagining regional identities through public cultural activity

in *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, Volume 13, No. 1, February 2010 , 9-25

This article is designed to stimulate discussion around a number of related topics. Sceptical that governments, regional or otherwise, are capable of producing regional identities in any other but rhetorical or formulaic terms, it is argued that, in the past decade or so, a number of potentially popular and democratizing tendencies have developed in the wake of new media technologies, but also in different forms of public, community-based cultural activity. Drawing upon models of such activity like the 1993 Chicago Culture in Action project and other examples of a new genre of public art in Manchester and London, together with television-based initiatives, it will be shown how active communities, however tentative and provisional, can be brought into being through interests held in common. On the other hand, new social media are explored for their potential for producing 'network communities' in online and offline modes. One prominent and widespread example is digital storytelling, which, at local, regional, national and international levels, has recognized the power of the complex and multiple narratives that shape people's lives and has harnessed these in ways that bring together narrative, technology and community-building as part of a development strategy, particularly for those alienated or otherwise excluded from access to media. Linked to the focus on digital storytelling will be a brief consideration of citizen media sites and initiatives as a means of possibly helping to open up, legitimate and construct regional identity in a multilayered fashion.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Hansen-Magnusson Hannes, Wiener Antje

Studying Contemporary Constitutionalism: Memory, Myth and Horizon

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 48, Issue 1, January 2010 , 21-44

This article proposes to apply a praxeological approach to study contemporary constitutionalism. The approach is conceptualized following critical constructivist research on constitutionalism that focuses on experience and expectation when studying the contested meaning of norms in international relations. It argues that the concept of memory offers an important view on the language-based concept of experience which extends beyond the confines of behavioural approaches that study habitual change with regard to norms. The article offers a conceptual discussion of approaches to constitutionalism, emphasizing the distinction between modern and contemporary constitutionalism and their respective foci on regulatory versus cultural practices, introduces a praxeological dimension of horizons and elaborates on political memory and myth as concepts of functional memory.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea



Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Kitchen Nicholas

Systemic pressures and domestic ideas: a neoclassical realist model of grand strategy formation
in *Review of International Studies (The)*, Vol. 36, Issue 1, January , 117-143

Scholars in international relations have long known that ideas matter in matters of international politics, yet theories of the discipline have failed to capture their impact either in the making of foreign policy or the nature of the international system. Recent reengagement with the insights of classical realists has pointed to the possibility of a neoclassical realist approach that can take into account the impact of ideas. This article will suggest that the study of grand strategy can enlighten the intervening ideational variables between the distribution of power in the international system and the foreign policy behaviour of states, and thus constitute the key element in a neoclassical realist research agenda.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Sherzod Abdukadirov

The Failure of Presidentialism in Central Asia
in *Asian Journal of Political Science*, Volume 17 Issue 3 , 285 - 298

Institutional design can impact the dynamics of power relations in Central Asian states. Majoritarianism and the rigidity of the fixed terms of presidential systems are amplified by the personalist regimes of Central Asia, often leading to instability. A parliamentary system may reduce the political repression of these regimes by decreasing the stakes in each particular election. It may also increase stability due to the higher flexibility of the system. The effectiveness of the parliamentary system, however, depends largely on the existence of strong cohesive parties.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Gozaydın Istar B.

The Fethullah Gulen movement and politics in Turkey: a chance for democratization or a Trojan horse?
in *Democratization*, vol. 16, n. 6, December, Special Issue: "Religion and Democratizations" , 1214-1236

Since 1923 the official ideology of republican Turkey has been strictly secular. However religious networking has always been a very important component of the socio-structural system in the country. Over time, the republican regime sought to stifle development of such networking, while at the same time also promoting changes in this regard. For 50 years - between 1930 and 1980 - Islamic networks in Turkey developed market relations that promoted strategies to improve the economic position of their members. In this context, several 'new' religious groups emerged, including the Fethullah Glen movement. This article is concerned with the democratic involvement of the Fethullah Glen movement in recent democratization in Turkey.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Schwartz Scott

The Hapless Ecosystem: A Federalist Argument in Favor of an Ecosystem Approach to the Endangered Species



Act

in *Virginia Law Review*, Vol. 95, issue 5 , 1325 -1360

The Endangered Species Act (ESA), first passed in 1973, is possibly the most wide-ranging of the protective environmental statutes. Grounded in Congress's ability to regulate interstate commerce, it purports to protect biodiversity by keeping animal species from going extinct. Although there have been numerous challenges to the ESA on the basis that it goes beyond Congress's power under the Commerce Clause, all of these were narrowly defeated in the Courts of Appeals. With the recent appointments to the Supreme Court, however, the Act remains vulnerable. Shifting the Act to focus on ecosystems, rather than on individual species, could insulate it from additional federalism challenges. Ecosystems are more directly tied into interstate commerce and the economy than individual species through a number of factors, including "ecosystem services." Since biodiversity is important to maintaining ecosystem health, Congress could still protect endangered species as a part of ecosystems while maintaining a link to interstate commerce. Although this could lead to some changes in scope to the Act, it remains the most faithful way to keep Congress's intention of protecting biodiversity, but still avoiding constitutional concerns.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Lotshwao Kebapetse

The Lack of Internal Party Democracy in the African National Congress: A Threat to the Consolidation of Democracy in South Africa

in *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Volume 35, Issue 4, December , 901-914

This article argues that the lack of internal democracy within the African National Congress (ANC) is a threat to the consolidation of South African democracy. The ANC has leadership elections but few other elements of internal party democracy. There is a centralised style of leadership in which the National Executive Committee (NEC) or even individual leaders dominate decision-making to the exclusion of the membership and lower party structures, and there is still an adherence to Leninist principles such as 'democratic centralism' and the need for 'absolute party discipline' on the part of party members. Coupled with an intolerance of debate and dissent by the leadership, these features stifle debate of important issues and policies. Thus, bad decisions by the leadership cannot be checked within the party before becoming public policy. Since lower structures and the general membership are deprived of an opportunity to influence public policies, the government in some instances becomes unresponsive to the people's needs. Democratic centralism and the absolute party discipline required from ANC members deployed in various state institutions, especially parliament, weakens their ability to provide oversight over the executive or influence public policy that contradicts the party line. The executive is thus left unchecked and virtually free to act as it wishes where the institution of accountability is ANC-dominated. Instead of consolidating democracy, these factors could lead, eventually, to the gradual decay of liberal democracy in South Africa. Whilst multiparty democracy might well continue to exist, such democracy could be of low quality, particularly with regard to government responsiveness and accountability, given the overwhelming dominance of the ANC. Thus, internal democracy within the ANC is a prerequisite for the consolidation of South African democracy.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous



Starr Paul

The Liberal State in a Digital World

in *Governance*, Vol. 23, n. 1, January , 1-6

<http://www3.interscience.wiley.com/journal/123226301/abstract>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Huhtanen Tomi

The Meaning of 1989

in *European View* , vol. 8, n. 2, December , 163-165

The images of 1989—the fall of the Berlin Wall, with celebrating and exuberant citizens crossing the border under the grim watchtowers soon to be torn apart—may be considered the most memorable in Europe's modern history. These images had a deep impact not only on the German population but also on generations of Europeans who had lived through the Cold War and the constant threat of a nuclear conflict. A period of confrontation seemed to have come to an end, and new possibilities and perspectives appeared to be endless.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

De la Reza German A.

The Memories of the Duke of Sully (or the ups and downs of the first project of European union)

in *Revista Brasileira de Política internacional* , vol.52 - No.2/2009 , 102-114

The present article analyses the writing, edition and diffusion of the Memories of the Duke of Sully. With that in mind, the first section refers to the context in which the work was made; the second presents general characteristics of the European confederation; and the third describes discrepancies of its versions. The fourth, fifth and sixth sections studies the chronology and the stages of the writing, the changes made in the manuscripts and their diffusion; the seventh examines the debate on the historical primacy of the Memories. The article tries to reconstruct the conditions that determine the elaboration and reception of the first Pan-European project.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Besley Timothy, Persson Torsten

The Origins of State Capacity: Property Rights, Taxation, and Politics

in *American Economic Review*, Vol. 99, No 4, September 2009 , 1218–44

Economists generally assume that the state has sufficient institutional capacity to support markets and levy taxes. This paper develops a framework where "policy choices" in market regulation and taxation are constrained by past investments in legal and fiscal capacity. It studies the economic and political determinants of such investments, demonstrating that legal and fiscal capacity are typically complements. The results show that, among other things,



common interest public goods, such as fighting external wars, as well as political stability and inclusive political institutions, are conducive to building state capacity. Some correlations in cross-country data are consistent with the theory.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Volk Kyle G.

The Perils of "Pure Democracy": Minority Rights, Liquor Politics, and Popular Sovereignty in Antebellum America

in *Journal of the Early Republic*, Volume 29, Number 4, Winter , 641-679

Examining conflict over local option liquor license laws passed in numerous states during the mid-1840s, this article exposes a pioneering moment in the history of direct democracy. Spurred by the temperance movement's crusade against alcohol and liquor licensing, local option laws empowered local voting majorities, in a referendum-like manner, to decide annually at the ballot box whether or not licenses would be issued. Based on investigation of reform literature, legislative reports, newspapers, and court opinions, this article illustrates how reformers' enlistment of the ideas of majority rule and popular political empowerment to legitimate local option prompted debates that moved beyond the propriety of restrictive liquor regulation and resulted in a widespread reassessment of fundamental tenets of American popular sovereignty. Turning to the activities of liquor dealers and others who resisted local option, this article uncovers a groundbreaking strain of dissent that coalesced in Delaware. By suggesting limits to popular political empowerment and majority rule and stressing the ability of representative democracies to protect minority rights, attorneys representing pro-liquor forces convinced Delaware's highest court to declare local option unconstitutional. Not only did their ideas reverberate in other court decisions and policy debates of the period, but they established a lasting practice of questioning ballot box legislation grounded in the ideas of James Madison and other elite thinkers concerned about the threat of majority tyranny. In the process, pro-liquor groups helped democratize the tradition of questioning majority rule for future use by other nonelite minorities.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Cohn Ellen R.

The Printer and the "Peasant": Benjamin Franklin and Pierre-André Gargaz, Two Philosophers in Search of Peace

in *Early American Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, vol. 8, n. 1, Winter , 146-172

As Franklin was trying to launch peace negotiations with Great Britain in the spring of 1782, an ex-convict named Pierre-André Gargaz brought him a plan for how to secure perpetual peace in Europe through a union of nations ruled by a representative council. Franklin had the treatise printed on his private press. This article traces the enduring relationship between these two "philosophes," analyzes the evolution of Gargaz's ideas and suggests Franklin's influence on them, discusses the establishment and purpose of Franklin's press at Passy, and demonstrates how this meeting changed Franklin's view of himself as an independent printer under the ancien régime.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea



Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Pain Emil'

The Russian-Georgian Armed Conflict

in **Russian politics and law**, vol. 47, n. 5, September-October , 10-25

The author argues that Russia and Georgia share responsibility for the war of August 2008: poisoned by imperial myths and illusions, both countries pursued unrealistic goals and harmed their real national interests.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Frederiksen Harald D.

The World Water Crisis and International Security

in **Middle East Policy**, Volume 16, Issue 4, Winter , 76-89

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Künkler Mirjam, Leininger Julia

The multi-faceted role of religious actors in democratization processes: empirical evidence from five young democracies

in **Democratization**, vol. 16, n. 6, December, Special Issue: "Religion and Democratizations" , 1058-1092

Abstract

The article comparatively investigates the role of religious actors in the democratization processes of five 'young' democracies from the Catholic, Protestant, Christian-Orthodox and Muslim world: West Germany after World War II (1945-1969), Georgia and Ukraine post-1987/9, Mali (post-1987), and Indonesia from 1998. The analysis provides an overview of the roles religious actors played in the erosion of authoritarian rule, the transition to democracy and subsequent democratic consolidation processes, as well as de-democratization processes. Our three paired comparisons, including one in-country comparison, show that the condition which most affected the role of religious actors in all three phases of democratic transitions was the de facto autonomy they enjoyed vis--vis the political regime as well as the organizational form these actors took. Their aims, means, and the political significance of their theology were highly dependent on the extent to which they benefitted from de facto autonomy within the state.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Marier Patrik

The power of institutionalized learning: the uses and practices of commissions to generate policy change

in **Journal of European Public Policy** , Volume 16 Issue 8 2009 , 1204 - 1223



This article analyses the conditions under which commissions succeed in influencing policy change. The paper tackles three questions: What do governments gain by establishing a commission? What are the tools employed by commissions in order to make their recommendations and ensure that their output will have political significance? And how do commissions influence policy outcomes? Five different types of influence are introduced and tested by focusing on the role of pension commissions in France, Sweden, and the UK.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Harel-Shalev Ayelet

The problematic nature of religious autonomy to minorities in democracies - the case of India's Muslims in Democratization, vol. 16, n. 6, December, Special Issue: "Religion and Democratizations" , 1261-1281

This article focuses on the ambivalent effect of religious autonomy in India and the outcome for democracy in the country. The Indian constitution guarantees autonomy to its religious minorities, and promises the minorities the freedom independently to manage their religious affairs in addition to a proportional share of the budget. At the same time, the constitution emphasizes the aspiration to legislate 'uniform personal laws' for all the citizens of India in accordance with the principles of secularism, equality and with India's self-definition as a civic nation. This recommendation has however remained a 'dead letter' until today. In this domain, the state has constituted a civic law for Hindus, which adjusts Hinduism to democratic principles. In this sense, the state has nationalized Hinduism, and the government has assumed authority and reformed Hindu civic and marriage laws. However, although they have tried, the state's legal and political institutions have not interfered thus far with Muslim marriage and religious laws. Muslims are committed to the Sharia while Hindus must obey the state's civic laws. By avoiding enforcement of affirmative action for Muslims in the spheres of political representation or public employment, while simultaneously prohibiting Hindus' group rights, and providing religious autonomy to the Muslim minority, the Constitution, which stresses so-called secularism as well as minority protection, intensifies the conflict between these two governance principles. The conclusion is that this situation not only leads to ideological conflicts and resource competition but also, overall, threatens the stability of India's democracy.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Papini Roberto

Towards a theory of international relations according to Maritain
in Estudios internacionales : revista del Instituto de Estudios Internacionales de la Universidad de Chile, Vol. 42 / 2009 / Nr 163

The international dimension of the thought of French philosopher Jacques Maritain (1896-1973), the author deals with potential cooperation between peoples pertaining to various religions, cultures and political systems, respect of human rights and the need for a democratic system – also at the international level – for the achievement of peace. The possibility of a common practical thought that could orient actions of people who hold different theoretical positions would allow common good, both at the domestic and the international levels. All human rights declarations are determined by the moral conscience of civilization, in each historical era. Its fulfillment allows preventing dispersion as well as maintaining hope.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Gärtner Heinz

Towards a theory of arms export control

in *International Politics* , Volume 47, Issue 1, January , 125-143

The Wassenaar Arrangement (WA) is a multilateral regime designed to control exports of conventional arms and dual-use goods and technologies to contribute to regional and international security and stability. Unlike traditional arms control and disarmament agreements WA is not legally binding. It has to rely on cooperation and voluntary compliance of the actors concerned – principally states and industries. For them the WA provides guidance for cooperation and compliance. The question is whether the actors involved are interested in complying with the guidelines. The article applies two IR theories to address this question, liberal institutionalism and realism. One argument of liberal institutionalism is that international institutions and regimes not only have a vital catalytic role to play in promoting cooperation among states, but they also develop synergetic effects and reinforce each other in the framework of effective multilateralism. In many ways this might well be the case, but the opposite is also true. The economic interests of member states and jealousy between them have long hampered cooperation among the various regimes that have been designed to act as the multilayered export control and non-proliferation system that all involved have agreed is necessary. But it is not only liberal institutionalism that fails to explain the behavior of states, international institutions and regimes. For realists, it is states' interests that matter, with common norms, rules and principles mattering less, if at all. But contrary to the realist argument, states do also support the general guidelines and best practices of the international institutions that have been created to avoid the destabilizing effects of the accumulation of certain categories of conventional arms and the proliferation of dangerous weapons. Neither realism nor liberal institutionalism is fully able to capture the complex relationship between the interests of individual countries and general principles and norms. The diplomatic delegations in multilateral fora have the difficult task of identifying the cumulative interests of the countries they represent. They have to support and reject cooperation with states and other export control regimes and institutions, often at the same time.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Luova, Outi

Transnational Linkages and Development Initiatives in Ethnic Korean Yanbian, Northeast China: “Sweet and Sour” Capital Transfers

in *Pacific Affairs* , Volume 82, Number 3, Fall , 427-446

The success of coastal China in mobilizing resources from the overseas Chinese community has been well documented, and is deemed to have played an important role in the expansion of the Chinese economy. This article adopts a new approach by looking at the issue from the point of view of an ethnic minority border region. It explores the mobilization of the Korean minority's transnational ties in the service of local economic development in the Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture, located in Jilin Province at the North Korean border. These pursuits are conceptualized as “transnationalism from above,” whereby the local government focused on mobilizing, institutionalizing, steering and controlling transnational activities in support of its own specific goals. How were these linkages built up and how did the government balance between the positive and negative, or the “sweet and sour” aspects of transnational ethnic capital



transfers? The study points to a new mechanism for economic development that is emerging along China's borders.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Tamayo Restrepo Fernando John

Tribunales constitucionales: dinamizadores en la construcción de la democracia contemporánea para John Rawls

in *Cuestiones constitucionales. Revista mexicana de derecho constitucional*, n. 21 , 233-249

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Kater Thomas

Una riflessione filosofica sulla nonviolenza

in *Quaderni Satyagraha*, n. 15 - Le rose sbocciano in autunno. La rivoluzione nonviolenta dell'89 , 141-151

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Benhabib Seyla

Utopie und Anti-Utopie. Das 'Prinzip Hoffnung' im kosmopolitischen Zeitalter

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, Dezember, 2009 , 75-85

Die Verleihung eines Preises, der im Namen eines großen Denkers gestiftet wird, bringt den Preisträger unmittelbar in die Position, über mögliche Affinitäten, gar Einflüsse nachzudenken, die das Werk dieses Denkers auf die eigene Arbeiten ausgeübt hat. In meinem Fall war das nicht sonderlich schwer: Mein erstes Buch, „Critique, Norm and Utopia: A Study of the Foundations of Critical Theory“, das 1986 in englischer Sprache erschienen und 1992 ins Deutsche übersetzt worden ist, endet mit ...

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Minuto Rizzo Alessandro

Venti anni dopo la caduta del muro. Una presentazione geopolitica della Russia

in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Volume 76, n. 2, aprile-giugno , 173-178

Russia today is a country of diversity which makes it difficult to reach a consensual opinion. At first view it remains a giant: an immense territory in two continents, an energy superpower, with the status of nuclear parity with the United States. On the other hand it is a country in transition since 1991, after the end of the Soviet Union, and this process is



ongoing. It will probably take many more years. It is logical that a complete change in the economic and political system is a formidable challenge. At the same time it is undeniable that no other country in the world, with the exception of the United States, has so many strategic interests at the same time.

Russia is proudly nationalistic and it keeps the conviction that it had the decisive role in defeating Germany in World War Two. Its supremacy over Eastern Europe was seen as a sort of compensation for the terrible losses caused by the war. It considers itself as a great military power and the country is proud of its tradition in this area. The President has recently stated that the armed forces need the necessary means to carry on their duties to the motherland. The present Prime Minister declared some time ago that the dissolution of the Soviet Union represents one of the greatest tragedies of the past century. Russia is also proud of its values and the Church views itself as the embodiment of those values and of the national traditions. It is however struggling to find an international status replacing the one of the Soviet Union and it is ready to do everything to be seen as a superpower. The fact that it remains a very relevant regional power does not seem to be enough. There is a perception of profound diversity of interests, but if we look at things without prejudice we see no real difference over fundamental issues like international terrorism, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction or the Middle East. One thing seems to be clear: it gives priority to political and strategic issues over the rest. The picture becomes much more complicated if we look at the society as a whole. The population is decreasing by about 700,000 people every year. Life expectancy in 2007 was 15 years lower for men and 10 years for women in comparison with European Union. In 2007 the income per capita was more than 40% lower than Italy. It is however true that in Russia the standard of life is higher than it has ever been before. Russia considers the territories of the former Soviet Union to be of vital national interest. It has not completely accepted for instance the idea that Ukraine is a fully independent country. That is why an enlargement of Nato further to the East seems to be unacceptable. Moscow looks at Washington as a reference for political issues. In the same way it should look at Brussels for the economy, but this relationship has never reached the same level and so the relations with the Member States remain mainly bilateral. We don't know how Russia will exit the current economic crisis, but the same thing is true for everybody else.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Cotton James

W.K. Hancock and International Relations in Australia: the Commonwealth as a Model of World Government in Australian Journal of Politics & History , Volume 55, Issue 4, December , 475-495

W.K. Hancock's most important contribution to Australian international relations is his Survey of the Commonwealth, a work informed by a nuanced analysis of the theory of sovereignty sympathetic to the Grotian position of the emerging "English school". Committed to the contemporary idea of the Commonwealth centred on a shared affirmation of liberty derived from self-rule, Hancock also took seriously but rejected a political economy approach. Though sceptical of some of the grander claims made for the Commonwealth, he did not sufficiently confront the anomalous position of India despite evidence that this question preoccupied him. His conception of the Commonwealth is ultimately derived from the prescription of J.C. Smuts for international organisation and is thus founded on the advocacy of a species of international society as the key to international order.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Lohmar Achim



Was ist eigentlich Toleranz?

in *Zeitschrift für Philosophische Forschung*, Band 64, Heft 1, 2010

Während es im moralisch-politischen Diskurs geradezu unkontrovers ist, dass Toleranz eine eminent wichtige Rolle für ein friedliches Zusammenleben von Menschen in pluralistischen Gesellschaften spielt, ist es alles andere als klar, was Toleranz überhaupt ist. Insbesondere die häufig anzutreffende Auffassung, dass es ‚Paradoxien‘ der Toleranz gäbe, sowie die in der Literatur immer von Neuem auftauchende Vexierfrage, ob Toleranz auch den Feinden der Toleranz gelten kann oder muss, sind deutliche Anzeichen dafür, dass es kein stabiles Verständnis der Natur dieser Einstellung gibt. Das Problem ist nicht zuletzt ein methodologisches. Ich stelle zunächst einige Adäquatheitsbedingungen für eine Theorie der Toleranz auf, und argumentiere dann, dass eine Theorie der Toleranz als eine moralpsychologische Theorie vom normativen Begriff der Tolerierbarkeit frei zu halten ist. Nach der hier vorgeschlagenen Theorie besteht das Herzstück der Toleranz in einer verhaltenswirksamen Kontrolle moralischer Aversionen. Diese Theorie erfüllt die Adäquatheitsbedingungen für Theorien der Toleranz und wird von ihnen sogar erzwungen. Auf der Grundlage der erzielten Ergebnisse, erläutere ich dann Sinn und Rechtfertigung der Toleranzforderung und skizziere ihren Ort innerhalb der Ethik.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Caryl Christian

Who Brought Down the Berlin Wall?

in *Foreign Policy*, Issue 174, November / December

Reagan? Economics? The CIA? Why the usual suspects get too much credit. Part of an FP series, 20 years after the fall of the Berlin Wall.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Patterson Eric, Mason Roger

Why Kosovo doesn't matter, and how it should

in *International Politics*, Volume 47, Issue 1, January, 91-103

Although observers from around the world have suggested that the 'Kosovo problem', particularly if it resulted in independence, had the potential to unsettle world politics, this is simply not likely. We argue that the Kosovo case is so unique that it is not an exemplar for international affairs. In other words, due to factors such as the scale of international investment, security commitments, and great power tutelage and recognition, Kosovo just 'doesn't matter' as a model for other separatist movements. That being said, we conclude with at least one feature of the long-running Kosovo intervention that has become an important pattern in US diplomacy – the liberation of average Muslim citizens from tyranny.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Panke Diana



Why discourse matters only sometimes: effective arguing beyond the nation-state

in *Review of International Studies (The)*, Vol. 36, Issue 1, January , 145-168

Pre- and post-agreement discourses are an integral part of international relations. Yet, they only matter sometimes as an empirical analysis of European judicial discourses shows. State of the art Habermasian and social psychology approaches on effective arguing cannot sufficiently explain variation in the success of discourses. This requires a fine-grained perspective: Only if actors share yardsticks fitting to the issue at stake, they can commonly assess the quality of arguments and incrementally develop a consensus. If such issue-specific reference standards are absent, actors talk at cross-purposes and dissent prevails. The article empirically illustrates the importance of intersubjective validity for the effectiveness of discourses and tests its central claim against alternative constructivist and rationalist explanations.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Pearce Lynne

'Writing' and 'region' in the 21st century: Epistemological reflections on regionally-located art and literature in the wake of the digital revolution

in *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, Volume 13, No. 1, February 2010 , 27-41

This article, which draws upon the work of the AHRC-funded research project Moving Manchester (2006—9), looks at the ways in which Manchester's vibrantly multicultural writing community positions itself in relation to issues of region and regional identity. In particular, it investigates how contemporary writers have both reproduced and challenged the stereotypes associated with the city, issues of filiation/affiliation and the way in which many local writers' groups may be said to have produced literature which is of the region without necessarily being about it. The innovative 'grassroots' nature of much Manchester writing (notably its 'live literature' scene) is also considered. The final section of the article compares this community-based experience of 'writing' and 'region' with that found on digital storytelling websites and posits that the digital form would seem to encourage transnational rather than regional identifications in the texts produced.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Mertha, A.

"Fragmented Authoritarianism 2.0": Political Pluralization in the Chinese Policy Process

in *China Quarterly (The)*, Volume 200, December , 995-1012

Traditional analyses of political liberalization in China focus on elections or other facets of democratization. But they cannot account for the fact that although China remains authoritarian, it is nevertheless responsive to the increasingly diverse demands of Chinese society. I argue that the rules of the policy-making process are still captured by the fragmented authoritarianism framework, but that the process has become increasingly pluralized: barriers to entry have been lowered, at least for certain actors (hitherto peripheral officials, non-governmental organizations and the media) identified here as "policy entrepreneurs." With policy change as the variable of interest, I compare three cases of hydropower policy outcomes. I argue that policy entrepreneurs' ability to frame the issue effectively explains variation in hydropower policy outcomes. I then extend these findings to an unlikely policy area, international trade, specifically, the



2001–06 Sino-EU trade talks over child-resistant lighter safety regulations.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Hirik Serhiy

“The Permanent Revolution” and “the Asian Renaissance”: Parallels between the Political Conceptions of Leon Trotsky and Mykola Khvylovy

in *Debate: Journal of Contemporary Central and Eastern Europe*, vol. 17, n. 2, August , 181-191

Mykola Khvylovy was one of the most popular Ukrainian writers and thinkers of the 1920s (the “Executed Renaissance” period). His ideas had a great influence on Ukrainian intellectuals of that time. This article shows parallels between the political views of Mykola Khvylovy and Leon Trotsky in such important questions as the problem of the “westernization” of culture, the peasant question, the role of the person in history and perspectives of the world revolution.