



Bulletin n. 3/2011 - February 2012

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Tarr G. Alan

Federalism and Health Care In the United States

in *Revista d'Estudis Autonomics i Federals*, 14 , 10-35

President Barack Obama proposed a major overhaul of the American health system, and in 2010 the U.S. Congress enacted his proposal, the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act. Opponents of the Act challenged its constitutionality in federal court, claiming that it exceeds the powers granted to the federal government under the Commerce Clause and the Necessary Proper Clause of the federal Constitution. Some courts have upheld the law, but others have agreed with the critics, in particular ruling that the provision requiring citizens to buy health insurance is unconstitutional.

Eventually the U.S. Supreme Court will rule on the issue. This article traces the controversy, surveys the interpretation of pertinent constitutional provisions in past cases, analyzes the constitutional arguments presented by proponents and opponents of the Act, and concludes that the Act is constitutional.

Full text available at:

http://www10.gencat.cat/drep/binaris/_reaf14_Tarr_tcm112-180567.pdf

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

Subsection 1. The theory of federation

Knott Jack H.

Federalist No. 10: Are Factions the Problem in Creating Democratic Accountability in the Public Interest?

in *Public Administration Review*, Volume 71, Issue Supplement s1 , s29–s36

Federalist No. 10 contains an optimistic view of the national government's ability to fulfill its obligations in the midst of what was, at the time, a small but challenged nation. This essay suggests that the founders did not anticipate the pernicious effects of rent seeking, corruption, and repression of minorities, and they failed to anticipate the calamities associated with slavery. The essay asks about the role of government as a party machine, a business, a policy process, and a contractor and examines a variety of contemporary theories for explaining government performance.

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Lynn Jr. Laurence E.

Federalist No. 51: Is Liberty Guaranteed by Structures?

in *Public Administration Review*, Volume 71, Issue Supplement s1 , s83–s89

Federalist No. 51 can be read as a statement of the national government’s dual responsibility to serve the public interest and to preserve liberty. It is built on James Madison’s belief in checks and balances as a method for keeping government’s parts in their proper places. This essay asks whether this gridlock has gone too far in rendering the constitutional design obsolete. Drawing on previously unpublished fragments of Federalist No. 51, the author argues that Madison fully anticipated these problems, and he offers the unpublished text as a salutary appendix to this iconic defense of liberty

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Light Paul C.

Federalist No. 85: Has the National Government Become an “Awful Spectacle”?

in *Public Administration Review*, Volume 71, Issue Supplement s1 , s155–s159

Federalist No. 85 offers a synopsis of the overall case for the Constitution. Describing the dangers of a nation without a national government as an “awful spectacle,” the paper provides a rebuttal to the active opposition to ratification. Focusing entirely on the operations of government, this essay examines contemporary challenges to faithfully executing the laws and offers an analysis of comprehensive reforms for creating greater accountability, efficiency, and productivity.

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Gluck Abbe R.

Intrastatutory Federalism and Statutory Interpretation: State Implementation of Federal Law in Health Reform and Beyond

in *Yale Law Journal (The)*, Vol. 121, n. 3, December , 534-623

State implementation of federal law is commonplace, but has been largely ignored by the interpretive doctrines of legislation and administrative law. We have no Chevron, federalism canon, or anything else for state implementation, nor any doctrines that ask how Congress’s decisions to delegate implementation duties to states should affect how ambiguous statutes should be interpreted. For theories of federalism, state implementation raises a different question, namely, whether this “intrastatutory federalism”—an informal federalism that comes from the inside of federal statutes—is something that doctrine should protect. The prevailing functional and sovereignty accounts of federalism seem less relevant for a federalism that comes at the grace of Congress; this federalism belongs to the domain of statutory interpretation.

This Essay argues that state implementation of federal law plays many different roles, and that those differences should affect both how statutes are interpreted and how they are conceived from a federalism perspective. Sometimes state implementation effectuates traditional federalism values like experimentation, but at other times it seems to serve more nationalizing functions, like statutory entrenchment and even federal law encroachment. This variety poses challenges



for legislation doctrine, because the prevailing canons of interpretation are not designed to capture such differences, and it illustrates that the broad category of cooperative federalism is more nuanced than commonly acknowledged.

<http://www.yalelawjournal.org/images/pdfs/1032.pdf>

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

Subsection 1. The theory of federation

Holzinger Katharina, Schneider Andrea, Zimmermann Klaus W.

Minimizing the losers: regime satisfaction in multi-level systems

in Constitutional political economy, Volume 22, Number 4 / December 2011 , 303-324

The political blessings of federalism are the core of our discussion. These benefits can be operationalized as a decrease in the number of outvoted people in a federal system with majority voting which is an important source of regime satisfaction. The approach originates from the work of Roland Pennock who developed a similar methodology about 50 years ago. Measuring inverse regime satisfaction by the maximum of the outvoted, our results show that regime satisfaction decreases if total population rises. Additionally, the share of the maximum outvoted decreases if the top level cooperates with lower-level jurisdictions and if all jurisdictions of one level are included. However, while the inclusion of an additional lowest-level jurisdiction always reduces the relative number of the outvoted, the effect of including other levels depends on the structure of jurisdictions already intertwined.

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Jörg Broschek

Conceptualizing and Theorizing Constitutional Change in Federal Systems: Insights from Historical Institutionalism

in Regional and Federal Studies, Volume 21, Issue 4-5 , 539-559

The connection between past and present politics manifests itself most obviously in the constitution. Diverging trajectories of constitutional evolution usually depart from a 'constitutional moment' and, therefore, are causally tied to formative events that take place early in a historical sequence. And yet, while the historical nature of the constitution is often acknowledged, studies rigorously applying a historical-institutionalist framework to the study of constitutional change in federal systems have been few and far between. This article probes the value of historical institutionalism for investigating and explaining both the origins and patterns of constitutional change in federal systems. It taps into three strands within the historical-institutionalist literature and asks what each can contribute to the analysis of constitutional change in federal systems.

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De Siervo Ugo

Conclusioni

in Regioni (Le), n. 2-3 , 591-594



No abstract available

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

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Arthur Benz, César Colino

Constitutional Change in Federations—A Framework for Analysis

in *Regional and Federal Studies*, Volume 21, Issue 4-5 , 381-406

This article outlines a conceptual framework for analysing constitutional change in federal systems. It begins by explaining the dilemmas, tensions and dynamics inherent in federations that cause the need for adaptation and formal reform of constitutions. After reviewing some approaches and concepts from the literature, the article introduces a conceptual framework for understanding constitutional federal change. It tackles its complexity by determining its modes, mechanisms and outcomes. First, it proposes an analytical distinction among four types of constitutional federal change—reform, innovation, evolution and adjustment—and presents a distinction among four mechanisms of change, distinguishing change produced through constitutional policy making, ‘implicit’ change of intergovernmental rules and patterns of governance practices, intergovernmental competition and/or ‘paradigmatic’ shifts in constitutional ideas and values, or change in court decisions and legal interpretation and discourses. It also deals with several typical outcomes of federal change. Finally, some implications for further research are examined.

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Astrid Lorenz

Constitutional Negotiations in Federal Reforms: Interests, Interaction Orientation and the Prospect of Agreement

in *Regional and Federal Studies*, Volume 21, Issue 4-5 , 407-425

Constitutional amendments in federal political systems have to be negotiated between national and subnational actors. While theories of negotiation usually explain the outcome by looking at these actors, their preferences and bargaining powers, the theoretical model developed in this article also includes their interaction orientation. The article determines a typical sequence of bargaining and arguing and identifies favourable conditions for co-operation based on different interaction orientations. The article states that actors can reconcile the conflicting logics of intergovernmental or party competition and joint decision making in constitutional politics through a sequence of bargaining and arguing. However, constitutional amendments negotiated in this way run the risk of undermining the legitimacy and functionality of constitutions

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Falcon Giandomenico

Dieci anni dopo. Un bilancio della riforma del Titolo V

in *Regioni (Le)*, n. 2-3 , 241-250

No abstract available



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Immordino Dario

**L'autonomia finanziaria a dieci anni dalla riforma costituzionale
in Regioni (Le), n. 2-3 , 415-454**

No abstract available

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Angustias Hombrado

Learning to Catch the Wave? Regional Demands for Constitutional Change in Contexts of Asymmetrical Arrangements

in Regional and Federal Studies, Volume 21, Issue 4-5 , 479-501

Constitutional reforms affecting the asymmetrical allocation of powers between the constituent units of a federal or quasi-federal state have been generally studied as a bilateral relationship between the federal government and the region(s) asking for special treatment. In contrast, this paper examines the crucial role that non-specially empowered regions can play in these processes by raising anti-asymmetry reactions in the form of 'catching-up' and 'blocking' demands. A theoretical argument is developed concerning the causal mechanism linking several relevant conditions together (type of asymmetry, the distribution of national identities across regions, relative economic development and party politics) and lying between them and the alternative outcomes.

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Nathalie Behnke, Bettina Petersohn, Andrea Fischer-Hotzel, Dominic Heinz

Measuring Success of Constitutional Reforms: Evidence from Territorial Reforms in Eight Western Democracies

in Regional and Federal Studies, Volume 21, Issue 4-5 , 447-477

Studies of constitutional reforms so far have equated formal ratification with a successful reform. The paper goes beyond this narrow focus by adding substantive success as a second dimension based on two indicators: degree of agenda fulfilment and degree to which the reform contributes to solve the constitutional problem. Analysing territorial reforms in unitary or federal states, we distinguish two types of problems—group and efficiency problems. The comparative analysis of formal and substantive success demonstrates that first, reforms can be at least partly successful in terms of substance, although they may have failed formally; second, fulfilling the reform agenda seems to be a necessary but not a sufficient condition for solving the constitutional problem at stake; third, cases with group problems score higher on both indicators, thus being more successful than cases with efficiency problems. Furthermore, the characteristics of the two most successful cases suggest that opportunities for participation, open dialogue and consensus building play an important role in explaining the results.



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Jenna Bednar

Nudging Federalism towards Productive Experimentation

in **Regional and Federal Studies**, Volume 21, Issue 4-5 , 503-521

Formal constitutional amendment can be difficult to achieve and, without the confidence of experience, may introduce changes that too quickly and too rigidly alter the balance of authority between federal and state governments. Therefore, in federal systems it is preferable to experiment with alterations prior to formal adoption. In this article I address how federal systems encourage two types of policy experimentation that are either unlikely to be tried or unlikely to be accepted. To encourage costly state experimentation, the federal government can alter financial incentives, nudge states towards a new policy by shifting public attention, set a pre-emptive floor and offer party-based rewards. To smooth union acceptance of selfish experimentation, a set of safeguards encourages deliberation and experience with the policy that leads to public acceptance or rejection.

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Pastori Giorgio

Prima e dopo la riforma: bilancio e prospettive

in **Regioni (Le)**, n. 2-3 , 581-586

No abstract available

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Simon Toubeau

Regional Nationalist Parties and Constitutional Change in Parliamentary Democracies: A Framework for Analysis

in **Regional and Federal Studies**, Volume 21, Issue 4-5 , 427-446

While existing research on the 'nationalities question' has focused predominantly on the institutionalization of the territorial cleavage or the structural factors that drive the process of constitutional change, scant attention has been paid to evaluating the influence of regional nationalist parties that voice demands for recognition and self-rule. This article develops a two-stage framework for analysis that focuses on the different avenues through which regional nationalist parties set the agenda and on the process of political bargaining between partisan actors that produce constitutional change. The framework emphasizes the significance of the electoral conjuncture, a political system's institutional arrangements and the ideology of partisan actors in determining the power relationship between regional nationalist and mainstream parties in different arenas, as well as in conditioning the likelihood of constitutional change. While anecdotal evidence from West European states is produced to illustrate the argument, the framework can be exported fruitfully elsewhere.



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Vandelli Luciano

Riflessioni a dieci anni dalla riforma del titolo V: quali prospettive per il regionalismo italiano?
in **Regioni (Le)**, n. 2-3 , 587-590

No abstract available

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Jan Erk

The Sociology of Constitutional Politics: Demos, Legitimacy and Constitutional Courts in Canada and Germany
in **Regional and Federal Studies**, Volume 21, Issue 4-5 , 523-538

There are longue durée patterns that differentiate the behaviour of constitutional courts in multi-nation and mono-nation federations. While constitutional courts in multi-nation federations let politics take primacy over jurisprudence, constitutional courts in mono-nation federations play an important role in bringing about constitutional change. Instead of relying on institutional/constitutional factors to explain this variation, the article proposes a sociological explanation based on differences in democratic legitimacy between mono-nation federations based on a single demos and multi-nation ones where the federation represents a union between multiple demoi. The argument is applied to the paired comparison of the Canadian Supreme Court and the German Federal Constitutional Court.

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Mainardis Cesare

Chiamata in sussidiarietà e strumenti di raccordo nei rapporti Stato-Regioni
in **Regioni (Le)**, n. 2-3 , 455-498

No abstract available

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Ip Eric C., Law Michael K.H.

Decentralization, agency costs, and the new economic constitution of China
in **Constitutional political economy**, Volume 22, Number 4 / December 2011 , 355-372

This article examines the evolution of the rules that govern central-local government relations in the Chinese political economy. Although the federalism that accompanied China's market reforms has substantially facilitated economic growth, it has also created powerful incentives for local authorities to abuse their powers, significantly increasing the agency costs to the central government of maintaining political stability and creating a national market. This article



analyzes the institutional design of the nascent Anti-Monopoly Law (AML), known to officials and academics as China's new "Economic Constitution". It demonstrates that the major purpose of the AML is to break up the so-called "administrative monopolies", or bureaucratic fiefdoms over local economies. In contrast to existing academic treatment, it will study the AML in the framework of competition for influence over economic policy between rent-seeking central and local actors. It argues that the AML, despite its stated purposes, is indeed designed to reduce the policy-making powers of the regions to the comparative advantage of the central government. The AML can thus be modeled as a new constitutional contract that the center wishes to enter into with the localities in order to repeal the existing rules of decentralization. It will be further shown that the AML, reflecting the allocation of power in the Chinese state, prioritizes the political imperatives of recentralization over the facilitation of competitive markets.

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Zhang, Baohui

Democratizing Hong Kong: Functional Representation and Politics of Institutional Change

in *Pacific Affairs*, Volume 84, Number 4, December, 643-664

The system of functional representation constitutes the greatest challenge to political reform in Hong Kong. Utilizing recent developments in institutional and ideational theories in political science, this article explores how both power and ideas shape the politics of reforming functional representation. The impasse generated by the current balance of power has given rise to a plethora of ideas that seek to reform the system while preserving its place in the political process. However, recent direct negotiations between Beijing and moderate democrats in Hong Kong have triggered a significant political realignment. This shift in the political balance of power has generated new scenarios for the reform of functional representation.

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Strohmeier Gerd

Die schlechteste Wahlsystemreform – mit Ausnahme aller anderen

in *Zeitschrift für Politik*, Jahrgang 58, Heft 4, 2011

Abstract

The article compares four electoral reform models discussed in the German Parliament (Bundestag) to eliminate the so-called effect of »inverse value« ruled unconstitutional by the German constitutional court (Bundesverfassungsgericht). It focuses on the effect of the reform models on the unconstitutional part of the electoral law and their advantages and disadvantages compared to the existing electoral system. The article concludes that the reform model of the CDU/CSU and FDP is the worst – except all others.

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Caretti Paolo

Dieci anni dopo. Più o meno autonomia?

in *Regioni (Le)*, n. 2-3, 569-574



No abstract available

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López Bofill Hèctor

Distribución De Competencias Y Reformas Estatutarias. Un Estudio Comparado Del Sistema De Distribución De Competencias En Los Estatutos Reformados Y Los Efectos De La Stc 31/2010, De 28 De Junio

in *Revista d'Estudis Autonomics i Federals*, 14 , 152-232

This article draws a comparison between the different provisions that deal with the allocation of powers system definition of the amended statutes of Autonomy. From the analysis of the different regulations we appreciate that the statutes of Catalonia, Andalusia and Aragon contain norms regarding the functional definition of competences. Nevertheless, in the case of the Catalan Statute, this provisions defining the allocation of powers system must be modulated according to the restricted adjudication of the decision 31/2010, ruled by the Constitutional Court, from June 28th. This decision would eventually have an impact on the adjudication of the statutes of Autonomy's provisions of Andalusia and Aragon. Other amended statutes (such as the passed in Valencia, Balearic Islands, Castilla y Leon, Extremadura and Navarra) do not change the previous competence framework through a general definition, be it because of the logic of the previous system was kept or, as happened in the case of Navarra, because the statute's rules were not amended in this point. The study also analyzes a specific field in the powers allocated between the State and the Autonomous Community (such as the regulations on professional associations). This allows to conclude that the more ambitious amendment of the statutes of Autonomy concerning the principles of the competences framework do not have almost any remarkable effect in the state's legislative powers and the scope of decisions adopted by the Autonomous Community powers.

Full text available at:

http://www10.gencat.cat/drep/binaris/_reaf14_Montilla_tcm112-180565.pdf

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Newcomer Kathryn E., Kee James Edwin

Federalist No. 23: Can the Leviathan Be Managed?

in *Public Administration Review*, Volume 71, Issue Supplement s1 , s37-s46

Federalist No. 23 offers a strong case for national power and the need to grant "means proportional to the end" to the new government. This essay argues that the founders could not have anticipated the breadth of today's national agenda and offers a framework for designing a more strategic and effective public enterprise

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Bertelli Anthony M.

Federalist No. 41: Does Polarization Inhibit Coordination?



in **Public Administration Review**, Volume 71, Issue Supplement s1 , s62–s67

Federalist Nos. 41–43 provide a unified justification for the powers granted to the national government by posing a series of questions about the four classes of responsibilities, such as declaring war. This essay examines the role of polarization in limiting the coordination of powers needed for effective administration and uses ideology estimates for four states to illustrate the difficulties embedded in shared power between national and state governments.

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Agranoff Robert

Federalist No. 44: What Is the Role of Intergovernmental Relations in Federalism?

in **Public Administration Review**, Volume 71, Issue Supplement s1 , s68–s77

Federalist No. 44 examines the connective mechanisms underlying a federal system of government. Traditionally called “intergovernmental relations,” these systems were intended to facilitate the pursuit of effective implementation of national policies. This essay suggests that the national government's officers should not be impressed by collaboration unless it produces better performance or lower costs. Collaboration is a means to an end, not an absolute requirement.

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Blomgren Bingham Lisa , O'Leary Rosemary

Federalist No. 51: Is the Past Relevant to Today's Collaborative Public Management?

in **Public Administration Review**, Volume 71, Issue Supplement s1 , s78–s82

Federalist No. 51 is another of the most recognizable and important of the Federalist Papers, famously arguing that one first must enable government to control the governed, and then oblige it to control itself. The authors suggest that part of this obligation involves effective collaboration within a system of separate powers. They then ask how this “collaboration imperative” can be exercised in today's contentious political environment.

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Smith Daniel L.

Federalist No. 7: Is Disunion among the States a Hidden Source of Strength?

in **Public Administration Review**, Volume 71, Issue Supplement s1 , s15–s21

Federalist Nos. 6 and 7 address the problems of disunion that led the founders to imagine a stronger national government, arguing that the states were and would continue to be a source of unyielding conflict without national



supremacy. This essay asks how the states have adjusted to the Constitution under the Tenth Amendment and posits that the states are a hidden source of energy toward good government in their own right.

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Padula Carlo

Fonti secondarie statali e competenze regionali

in **Regioni (Le)**, n. 2-3 , 379-414

No abstract available

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Ruggiu Ilenia

Il sistema delle conferenze ed il ruolo istituzionale delle Regioni nelle decisioni statali

in **Regioni (Le)**, n. 2-3 , 529-556

No abstract available

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Bartole Sergio

Interesse nazionale, supremazia dello Stato e dottrina giuridica

in **Regioni (Le)**, n. 2-3 , 565-568

No abstract available

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

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Gluck Abbe R.

Intrastatutory Federalism and Statutory Interpretation: State Implementation of Federal Law in Health Reform and Beyond

in **Yale Law Journal (The)**, Vol. 121, issue 3 , 534-622

State implementation of federal law is commonplace, but has been largely ignored by the interpretive doctrines of legislation and administrative law. We have no Chevron, federalism canon, or anything else for state implementation, nor any doctrines that ask how Congress's decisions to delegate implementation duties to states should affect how ambiguous statutes should be interpreted. For theories of federalism, state implementation raises a different question, namely, whether this "intrastatutory federalism"—an informal federalism that comes from the inside of federal



statutes—is something that doctrine should protect. The prevailing functional and sovereignty accounts of federalism seem less relevant for a federalism that comes at the grace of Congress; this federalism belongs to the domain of statutory interpretation.

This Essay argues that state implementation of federal law plays many different roles, and that those differences should affect both how statutes are interpreted and how they are conceived from a federalism perspective. Sometimes state implementation effectuates traditional federalism values like experimentation, but at other times it seems to serve more nationalizing functions, like statutory entrenchment and even federal law encroachment. This variety poses challenges for legislation doctrine, because the prevailing canons of interpretation are not designed to capture such differences, and it illustrates that the broad category of cooperative federalism is more nuanced than commonly acknowledged.

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Parisi Stefania

La competenza residuale

in **Regioni (Le)**, n. 2-3 , 341-378

No abstract available

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Benelli Filippo

La costruzione delle materie e le materie esclusive statali

in **Regioni (Le)**, n. 2-3 , 251-286

No abstract available

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Barbera Augusto

La polverizzazione delle materie regionali e la (ormai necessaria) clausola di supremazia

in **Regioni (Le)**, n. 2-3 , 557-564

No abstract available

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Corvaja Fabio



La potestà concorrente, tra conferme e novità

in *Regioni (Le)*, n. 2-3 , 287-340 Dettagli

No abstract available

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Bassu Carla

La riforma sanitaria negli Stati Uniti d'America: un modello federale di tutela della salute?

in *Federalismi*, Anno IX- Nr. 22

No abstract available

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Ovalle Favela José

Las controversias constitucionales y los órganos autónomos

in *Cuestiones constitucionales. Revista mexicana de derecho constitucional*, n. 25 , 101-127

Full text available at:

<http://biblio.juridicas.unam.mx/revista/pdf/CuestionesConstitucionales/25/ard/ard4.pdf>

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Bonvecchi Alejandro, Zelaznik Javier

Measuring Legislative Input on Presidential Agendas (Argentina, 1999–2007)

in *Journal of Politics in Latin America* , Vol 3, No. 3 , 127-150

Presidential agenda success is usually accounted for through measures of interbranch cooperation, such as bill approval rates, participation rates, and roll-call data of support from presidential initiatives. These measures do not provide an accurate picture of presidential agenda success because they cannot capture the ability of presidents or Congress to shape the substance of legislation. To overcome this limitation, this paper proposes a combination of two measures of influence on legislative outcomes: the Legislative Input Score for partisan involvement in lawmaking, and the Barrett and Eshbaugh-Soha Scale for legislative substance. To illustrate the potential of these measures, it puts them to work in analyzing the ability of presidents to control the substance of their proposed legislation in Argentina between 1999 and 2007. Preliminary results show that when agenda success is measured with these scores, presidents can consistently shape legislative substance regardless of popularity, coalition size, and honeymoon periods.

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Onida Valerio

**Più o meno autonomia? Itinerari per una risposta articolata
in Regioni (Le), n. 2-3 , 575-580**

No abstract available

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Belletti Michele

**Poteri statali di garanzia e decisione ultima, commissariamenti e centralizzazione delle decisioni
in Regioni (Le), n. 2-3 , 499-528**

No abstract available

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Guazzarotti Andrea

**Potestà concorrente e principi innovativi regionali: il caso dell'urbanistica perequativa
in Regioni (Le), n. 4 , 659-702 Dettagli**

No abstract available

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Ewing Benjamin, Kysar Douglas A.

**Prods and Pleas: Limited Government in an Era of Unlimited Harm
in Yale Law Journal (The), Vol. 121, n. 2, November , 350-425**

Not just a system of checks and balances ideally tuned to constrain collective political action, the constitutional division of authority also may be seen as a system of “prods and pleas” in which distinct governmental branches and actors can push each other to entertain collective political action when necessary. Though prods and pleas are an inversion of the assumed direction of checks and balances, they are not a radical reconfiguration of the basic structure and principles of American government. Rather, they are limited government’s fail-safe: a latent capacity inherent to a system of divided authority that does and should activate when the external pressures of a changing world threaten the sustainability of disaggregated governance. By understanding and embracing their role in the shadow logic of prods and pleas, judges and other public officials can protect limited government by, when necessary, counteracting its potential to overprefer passivity.

Through the case study of climate change nuisance litigation, we examine how three potential obstacles to merits adjudication—the political question doctrine, standing, and implied preemption—should be evaluated in recognition of the significance of prods and pleas. We conclude that federal and state tort law provide an important defense mechanism that can help limited government sustain itself in the face of climate change and other dramatic twenty-first



century threats, where the nature of the threat is, in large part, a function of limited government itself. As a residual locus for the airing of grievances when no other government actor is responsive to societal need, the common law of tort is a—and perhaps the—paradigmatic vehicle for the expression of prods and pleas. Although climate change plaintiffs still face long odds on the actual merits of their claims, judges would sell short their institutional role if they dismissed such claims as categorically beyond the proper domain of the courts and the common law. They would duck and weave when they should prod and plead.

<http://www.yalelawjournal.org/images/pdfs/1021.pdf>

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

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

Jo Jinhee, Rothenberg Lawrence S.

Rational incompetence

in **Journal of Theoretical Politics**, Volume 24, n. 1, January , 3-18

When something goes awry in a governmental agency, a frequent claim is that appointed political heads are incompetent. If true, what explains this in a separation of powers system where the executive nominates and the legislature approves? Our analysis provides a rationale and conditions for rational incompetence. Specifically, we present a model in which a President nominates and the Senate confirms or rejects an appointee. Besides choosing a nominee's ideology, the President can determine competence, with less competence meaning more policy outcome variance. Interestingly, without assuming that political actors are inherently risk takers, we identify conditions generating what Goemans and Fey (2009) have labeled institutionally-induced risk taking, where both the President and the relevant filibuster pivot propose and approve an incompetent administrator in equilibrium. Reasons for incompetence go beyond pure loyalty or patronage, and our model corresponds to contemporary cases of seemingly incompetent administration.

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

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

Aroney Nicholas

Subsidiarity: European Lessons for Australia's Federal Balance

in **Federal Law Review**, Volume 39 Number 2

No abstract available

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

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

Borges André

The Political Consequences of Center-Led Redistribution in Brazilian Federalism. The Fall of Subnational Party Machines



in *Latin American Research Review*, Volume 46, Number 3, 2011 , 21-45

The article aims to identify the factors behind a series of center-left electoral victories in the 2002 and 2006 state elections, which indicate the decay of state political machines in Brazil's poorest regions. It is argued that vertical competition between the federal and state governments in the provision of public policies works as a constraint on state bosses' strategies of political control. The withering of state political machines may be understood as an indirect consequence of the national political shifts represented by the rise of Brazil's most important left-wing organization—the Workers' Party (Partido dos Trabalhadores)—to the presidency in 2002 and 2006. Social and economic policies implemented by the federal government under PT rule undermined subnational patron-client networks by improving the life conditions of the poorest sections of the electorate. The article explores the interlinking of national and subnational electoral dynamics by developing statistical models for state- and municipal-level data.

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Pancallo D'agostino Martín

Visión Del Federalismo De Concertación En Un País Desigual

in *Cuaderno de federalismo*, vol. XXIV , 132-145

No abstract available

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

Subsection 4. The legislative branch

Peres Paulo, Ricci Paolo, Rennó Lúcio R.

A variação da volatilidade eleitoral no Brasil: Um teste das explicações políticas, econômicas e sociais

in *Latin American Research Review*, Volume 46, Number 3, 2011 , 46-68

The index of electoral volatility has been used as the principal indicators of institutionalization of party systems in recently democratic countries. However, comparative studies usually analyze the index at a highly elevated level of aggregated data, evaluating the variation only in national terms. From this perspective, our goal is to analyze Brazilian electoral volatility by taking the twenty-seven federal units as units of aggregation of the electoral data for the Chamber of Deputies. In the first part of the article, we show that there is great variability in the index between the states and between the successive elections; in the second part, we run a statistical test of the explanatory impact of political, economic, and social variables in the variation of electoral volatility in two dimensions: temporal (between the elections) and spatial (between the states). The results demonstrate the importance of some political variables to explaining variation of Brazilian electoral volatility.

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Subsection 4. The legislative branch

Jean-François Godbout, Bjørn Høyland

Coalition voting and minority governments in Canada

in *Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*, Volume 49, Issue 4 , 457-485



Inter-party voting coalitions in three minority cabinets were analysed: the 38th (2004–05), 39th (2006–08) and 40th (2008–11) Federal Canadian Parliaments. The paper begins by developing a simple theory to explain the formation of voting coalitions. The theory predicts that electoral incentives and policy issues drive minority government support. The main contention is that voting coalitions are more likely to form along ideological lines, as proposed by Axelrod [(1970) *The Conflict of Interest* (Chicago: Markham)]. However, the analysis also demonstrates that voting coalitions form along a second dimension in the Canadian Parliament, mainly on issues related to federalism and the province of Quebec. Some evidence is also provided to show that expected electoral gains could explain why certain parties choose to support the government more, despite ideological incentives.

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Till Weber

Exit, Voice, and Cyclicity: A Micrologic of Midterm Effects in European Parliament Elections
in *American Journal of Political Science*, Volume 55, Issue 4 , 907–922

Very few theories of democratic elections can claim to overarch the field. One of them that has not been given due regard, I suggest, is Albert Hirschman's *Exit, Voice, and Loyalty*. I aim to exploit the integrative capacity of this general framework in a model of typical “midterm” effects occurring through the electoral cycle. The model unites such diverse phenomena as antigovernment swings, declining turnout, protest voting, conversion, and alienation. An empirical test with comparative survey data from elections to the European Parliament reveals that the role of strategic voting in the form of voice is limited. Instead, processes of de- and realignment in the form of exit dominate a picture of European Parliament elections beyond the widespread conception of “second-order” irrelevance. More generally, the “cyclical” view on voting behavior suggests systematic links between short-run midterm effects and long-run electoral change.

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Subsection 4. The legislative branch

Leone Stefania

Il potere di scioglimento anticipato delle Camere: teoria e prassi in un contesto istituzionale in trasformazione
in *Quaderni Regionali* , n. 1

No abstract available

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

Subsection 4. The legislative branch

Miscia Valentina , Lubello Valerio

Il “federalismo energetico”. Fonti rinnovabili e potestà regionali dopo il d.lgs. 28/2011
in *Quaderni Regionali* , n. 1

No abstract available

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



Subsection 4. The legislative branch

Danesi Silvina Lilian , Rheault Ludovic

Making Sense of an Unstable Legislature: Committee Assignments in the Argentine Chamber of Deputies, 1946–2001

in *Journal of Politics in Latin America* , Vol 3, No. 3 , 35-64

Latin American legislatures have gone largely unstudied, with the functioning of the Argentine Chamber of Deputies prior to the 1980s being an entirely unexplored subject. This paper fills that gap by examining the organization of the Chamber, with particular focus on its standing committee system from 1946 to 2001. We assess the portability of two U.S.-based theoretical approaches to legislative organization by applying them to committee assignments. An original data set of Argentine deputies was constructed and a way of measuring political power in committees was devised for this study. Despite weak democratic governments, military interventions, and changes to the electoral system, we find that ruling parties have consistently influenced the committee system, shaping its structure and securing an over-proportion of their deputies in key committee positions. These results support the applicability of the U.S. originated Cartel Theory of legislative organization to understanding and studying legislatures outside that country.

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McKay Amy

Negative Lobbying and Policy Outcomes

in *American Politics Research*, Vol. 40, n. 1, January , 116-146

What explains policy outcomes? Using a data set containing the actions and assessments of 776 lobbyists working closely on 77 policy proposals, combined with newly collected data on each proposal, I show that the intensity of lobbying against a proposal is a powerful predictor of the likelihood that the proposal is adopted in Congress or a federal agency. This negative lobbying is more effective than positive lobbying: it takes 3.5 lobbyists working for a new proposal to counteract the effect of just one lobbyist against it. Negative lobbying is a more important predictor of the policy outcome than the level of conflict, the preference of the majority of lobbyists, and differences in interest group resources. Several institutional factors—presidential support for the measure, congressional polarization, and whether the proposal was initiated by a federal agency—are found to affect policy outcomes, but only presidential support matters more than negative lobbying.

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Subsection 4. The legislative branch

Devins Neal

Party Polarization and Congressional Committee Consideration of Constitutional Questions

in *Northwestern University Law Review*, Vol. 105, issue 2 , 737–788

Full text available at:

<http://www.law.northwestern.edu/lawreview/v105/n2/737/LR105n2Devins.pdf>



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

Subsection 4. The legislative branch

Hummel Patrick

Pre-election polling and sequential elections

in **Journal of Theoretical Politics**, Volume 23, n. 4, October , 463-479

I consider a model in which the winner of a primary election faces a third candidate in a general election immediately thereafter. Prior to the primary election, there is a pre-election poll on how voters would vote in a hypothetical general election between one of the candidates in the primary election and the third candidate. I illustrate that voters have an incentive to misrepresent their voting intentions in the pre-election poll in order to influence voter beliefs about candidate electability in the general election and possibly cause voters to vote differently in the primary election.

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Subsection 4. The legislative branch

Kassow Benjamin J., Finocchiaro Charles J.

Responsiveness and Electoral Accountability in the U.S. Senate

in **American Politics Research**, Vol. 39, n. 6, November , 1019-1044

This article examines the link between elections and the representational behavior of senators by considering whether ideological congruence with state preferences impacts vote shares on Election Day. We advance the literature on electoral accountability by proposing a more refined theoretical and empirical assessment of congruence with constituent preferences. Additionally, our analysis focuses on the effect of divergence in the Senate, which has been subject to significantly less attention than the House, and examines all elections to the upper chamber involving incumbents from 1960-2004. We find that measures of ideological divergence that are conditioned on the underlying ideological preferences of state constituencies significantly improve on existing measures, and that senators who are out of step with their state do in fact suffer at the polls.

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Highton Benjamin

The influence of strategic retirement on the incumbency advantage in US House elections

in **Journal of Theoretical Politics**, Volume 23, n. 4, October , 431-447

Failure to take into account 'strategic retirement' leads to inflated estimates of the incumbent electoral advantage. The one attempt to address this issue in the context of US House elections implies that much of the supposed incumbency advantage and most of its presumed increase over time are illusory (Cox and Katz, 2002). This paper identifies possible problems with the Cox and Katz (2002) method and develops a new approach based on simulating the counterfactual



condition of incumbents standing for re-election rather than retiring. The results show that when the bias induced by strategic retirement is removed, much of the apparent incumbency advantage and its increase over time remain evident.

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Matthew Kerby

Combining the Hazards of Ministerial Appointment AND Ministerial Exit in the Canadian Federal Cabinet

in Canadian Journal of Political Science--Revue canadienne de science politique, Volume 44 - Issue 03 , 595-612

Abstract. The Canadian federal cabinet stands out among Westminster parliamentary democracies because of the large number of first-time ministers who are appointed to cabinet without any previous parliamentary or political experience. Several explanations have been put forward to account for this peculiarity but no attempt has been made to examine how Canadian prime ministers overcome the information deficit associated with appointing ministers with no experience. How can prime ministers be confident that they are making the right choice? This paper explores the subject by estimating the survival functions of ministerial turnover for potential, but not yet appointed, cabinet ministers were they to survive to a defined political benchmark; these survival rates are included in a logit model of Canadian ministerial appointment following four general elections (1957, 1979, 1984 and 2006) in which the prime minister was tasked with appointing a cabinet with ministerial neophytes.

Résumé. Le Conseil des ministres fédéral du Canada se démarque dans l'ensemble des démocraties parlementaires britanniques en raison du grand nombre de ministres novices qui sont nommés au Conseil alors qu'ils ne possèdent aucune expérience parlementaire ou politique antérieure. Plusieurs explications de cette anomalie ont été proposées, mais aucune démarche d'analyse ne s'est encore penchée sur la manière dont les premiers ministres du Canada arrivent à surmonter le manque d'information associé à la nomination de ministres sans expérience. Comment les premiers ministres peuvent-ils être certains d'avoir fait le bon choix? Cette étude scrute le sujet en évaluant le coefficient de survie, en cas de remaniement ministériel, pour les ministres du Conseil potentiels, mais pas encore mandatés, advenant que ces derniers survivent à certains jalons politiques précis. Ces taux de survie font partie intégrante d'un modèle de répartition des nominations ministérielles qui sont survenues à la suite de quatre élections générales (1957, 1979, 1984 et 2006) où le premier ministre a dû constituer un Conseil des ministres composé de néophytes.

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Clemens Clay

Explaining Merkel's Autonomy in the Grand Coalition: Personalisation or Party Organisation?

in German Politics, Volume 20, Issue 4, December , 469-485

Chancellor Angela Merkel's independence from her own Christian Democratic Union (CDU) during the second Grand Coalition (2005–09) can be seen as consistent with broader trends toward presidentialism and personalised politics. Both would suggest that any publicly popular chief executive who seems likely to win it vital voter support can expect broad latitude from a party's dominant coalition while in office. Yet there was also an important organisational dimension



to Merkel's chancellorship. Parties like her CDU – with a divided dominant coalition and ever more unstable relations among its factions – would be poorly positioned to constrain a leader to begin with. Thus, as chancellor, Merkel rarely had to fear unified dissent in her own ranks when shaping policy compromises with the Social Democrats (SPD).

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Rosenbloom David H.

Federalist No. 10: How Do Factions Affect the President as Administrator-in-Chief?
in *Public Administration Review*, Volume 71, Issue Supplement s1 , s22–s28

Federalist No. 10 arguably is the most frequently read of the Federalist Papers, in no small measure because it offers a distinct and often negative image of the polity as a source of conflict. It argues that factions cannot be tamed, but they can be controlled. This essay argues that factions have weakened effective public administration and offers a detailed discussion of the proliferation of interest groups and their role in undermining the system of checks and balances.

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s90–s97

Federalist No. 67: Can the Executive Sustain Both Republican and Energetic Government?
in *Public Administration Review*, Volume 71, Issue Supplement s1 , Kersh Rogan

Federalist No. 67 generally is read as a vigorous defense of the chief executive and contains intense language to alleviate fears of a dictatorial president. However, it also can be read as a much deeper explication of the blend of republican and energetic government. The author examines this defense within the larger stream of Federalist Papers and compares the Anti-Federalist attacks against a strong executive and Alexander Hamilton's aggressive justifications.

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Arnold Peri E.

Federalist No. 70: Can the Public Service Survive in the Contest Between Hamilton's Aspirations and Madison's Reality?
in *Public Administration Review*, Volume 71, Issue Supplement s1 , s105–s111

Federalist No. 70 is widely viewed as a sweeping description and defense of the need for energy in the executive. This essay begins this detailed examination of Federalist No. 70 by comparing Alexander Hamilton's ideals with James Madison's more cautionary exposition on separated powers. According to the author, Hamilton's notion of a public service driven by honor eventually was undermined by partisanship and congressional prerogatives expressed in the rise of a "businesslike" path away from corruption and waste. The essay concludes with a brief description of a "counterfactual" revision to Federalist No. 70 containing a conception of good public service with a capacity to resist the



incursions of expanding democratization and political parties.

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Pfiffner James P.

Federalist No. 70: Is the President Too Powerful?

in Public Administration Review, Volume 71, Issue Supplement s1 , s112–s117

Federalist No. 70 sets the stage for a powerful chief executive through its emphasis on energy in the executive. This essay reviews the challenges of holding this energy accountable in a republican form of government and concludes that recent presidents have stretched their authorities beyond even the most aggressive defense of the concept. Comparing presidents Abraham Lincoln and George W. Bush, the author concludes that the founders never intended to give any president authority to suspend the law during emergencies. His appendix to Federalist No. 70 is designed to both restate and reset the debate about just how far presidents may go in pursuit of national goals.

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Wedel Janine R.

Federalist No. 70: Where Does the Public Service Begin and End?

in Public Administration Review, Volume 71, Issue Supplement s1 , s118–s127

Federalist No. 70 argues that presidents will rise above factions through their power to assemble a government composed of highly motivated, accountable officers. The author confronts this assumption through a detailed examination of the heavy use of contractors in today's administrative state. She documents the challenges and dangers associated with the role of contractors to execute the laws through broad mandates. An appendix to Federalist No. 70 offers a series of tweets that would introduce needed reforms in the hidden workforce of contractors.

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Subsection 5. The executive branch

Radin Beryl A.

Federalist No. 71: Can the Federal Government Be Held Accountable for Performance

in Public Administration Review, Volume 71, Issue Supplement s1 , s128–s134

Federalist No. 71 and Federalist No. 76 focus on the level of authority in the executive. This essay reviews the recent history of efforts to measure government performance as a way to control executive performance and then proceeds to a discussion of the weakness inherent in past approaches. The author uses the Government Performance and Results Act and the George W. Bush administration's Program Assessment Rating Tool as examples in making the case.



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Subsection 5. The executive branch

Khademian Anne M.

Federalist No. 71: Does Duration in Office Provide Vigilant Autonomy in the Regulatory Process?
in Public Administration Review, Volume 71, Issue Supplement s1 , s135–s142

Federalist No. 71 contains a strong defense of duration in office as a source of “cool and sedate reflection” by the executive. According to Alexander Hamilton’s argument, duration in office is essential for the vigilant autonomy needed to faithfully execute the laws. The author examines this argument within the context of government regulation, using the recent financial crisis and consumer safety as examples of the limits of stability and autonomy for creating vigilant autonomy.

When occasions present themselves, in which the interests of the people are at variance with their inclinations, it is the duty of the persons whom they have appointed to be the guardians of those interests, to withstand the temporary delusion, in order to give them time and opportunity for more cool and sedate reflection.

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Perry James L.

Federalist No. 72: What Happened to the Public Service Ideal?
in Public Administration Review, Volume 71, Issue Supplement s1 , s143–s147

Federalist No. 72 is an oft-neglected defense of the president’s reeligibility for election. However, the paper goes well beyond this issue to basic models of human nature and motivation. James L. Perry’s essay confronts this broad issue as a guide to “a public service ethic.” Like other authors in this special issue, Perry reads broadly through the Federalist Papers in search of a deeper definition of public service motivation as a balance between the potency of passion and the limits of reason. Controlling passion was no doubt important to the founders, but it may have drowned out the greater good envisioned in public service commitments to acting on behalf of the people.

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Subsection 5. The executive branch

Mackenzie G. Calvin

Federalist No. 76: Does the Presidential Appointments Process Guarantee Control of Government?
in Public Administration Review, Volume 71, Issue Supplement s1 , s148–s154

Federalist No. 76 describes the process for appointing the top officers of government, which was seen as essential for recruiting the aptitude and tendency toward good administration. This essay examines the process as it has evolved into



a series of Herculean tests of political endurance. Having illuminated the founders' basic intent for expeditious and honorable appointments, the analysis provides a troubling indictment of the continuing difficulties recruiting, confirming, and retaining dedicated citizens as guarantors of liberty.

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Subsection 5. The executive branch

Bilmes Linda J.

Federalist Nos. 67–77 How Would Publius Envision the Civil Service Today?

in Public Administration Review, Volume 71, Issue Supplement s1 , s98–s104

Federalist Nos. 67–77 offer a strong defense of the “energetic executive” embedded in the new constitution, which is perhaps best captured in Alexander Hamilton’s famous conclusion that “the true test of a good government is its aptitude and tendency to produce a good administration.” This essay places this basic definition into historical context by reviewing the erosion of the national government’s emphasis on public duty as a prerequisite for effectiveness. Reading widely across the Federalist Papers, the author argues that the founders would be taken aback by the national government’s sheer scale and complexity and would strongly restate their basic principles of a government well executed.

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Jacques Bourgault

Minority government and senior government officials: the case of the Canadian federal government

in Commonwealth and Comparative Politics, Volume 49, Issue 4 , 510-527

Most studies of the relationship between deputy ministers (DMs) and ministers have focused on majority governments. This paper analyses the impact of minority government on that relationship in four areas (personnel in key positions, the role of central agencies, agendas and daily relationships) on the basis of an analysis of the history of DM appointments and departures under minority governments in Canada and interviews with current DMs. It is found that, under minority governments, relationships of trust are more difficult to develop, there is a stronger tendency to develop public policy on an urgent basis and with a view to short-term issues, greater importance is attached to public opinion, and control is more centralised.

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Munroe H.D.

Style within the centre: Pierre Trudeau, the War Measures Act, and the nature of prime ministerial power



in **Canadian Public Administration**, Vol. 54, issue 4 , 531–549

The notion that the prime minister of Canada wields autocratic power is common in popular and academic discourse. Donald Savoie's work on the subject implies that this is an inevitable result of centripetal forces in Canadian politics, combined with a process of centralization that began with Pierre Trudeau in the late 1960s. Peter Aucoin's analysis of the role of prime ministerial management styles, however, suggests that there may be more scope for individual agency than a narrow reading of Savoie implies. An investigation of the decision-making process in the Trudeau government that led to the invocation of the War Measures Act in October 1970 lends credence to the view that, despite centralizing pressures, the exercise of prime ministerial power is significantly shaped by personal style. This suggests that the putative “elected dictatorship” of the prime minister is not an inevitable consequence of the current institutional configuration of power, as is sometimes suggested.

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Kistler Cameron O.

The Anti-Federalists and Presidential War Powers

in **Yale Law Journal (The)**, Vol. 121, issue 2 , 459-468

Full text available at:

<http://yalelawjournal.org/images/pdfs/1023.pdf>

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Kistler Cameron O.

The Anti-Federalists and Presidential War Powers

in **Yale Law Journal (The)**, Vol. 121, n. 2, November , 459-469

<http://www.yalelawjournal.org/images/pdfs/1023.pdf>

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Anthony M. Bertelli, Christian R. Grose

The Lengthened Shadow of Another Institution? Ideal Point Estimates for the Executive Branch and Congress

in **American Journal of Political Science**, Volume 55, Issue 4 , 767–781

While the president's relationship to Congress has been carefully studied, the broader executive branch has received far less attention in that context. Scholars rely on assumptions about the relationship between the president and cabinet departments that remain untested. We construct the first statistical portrait of executive branch ideology by estimating ideal points for members of Congress, presidents, and the heads of cabinet-level departments between 1991 and 2004 in a Bayesian framework. We empirically assess claims about the composition of the president's administrative team and the influence of institutions on the ideology of principal executive decision makers. We also test an important claim regarding the trade-off between ideological congruence and budgetary authority to demonstrate the utility of our



estimates for other scholars. Our analysis reveals a new picture of the executive branch as ideologically diverse, casting into doubt some essential assumptions in a substantial body of work on the separation of powers.

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Padró i Miquel Gerard, Snowberg Erik

The lesser evil: Executive accountability with partisan supporters

in **Journal of Theoretical Politics**, Volume 24, n. 1, January , 19-45

We develop a model of electoral accountability with primaries. Prior to the general election, the supporters of each of two parties decide which candidates to nominate. We show that supporters suffer from a fundamental tension: while they want politicians who will faithfully implement the party's agenda in office, they need politicians who can win elections. Accountability to supporters fails when supporters fear that by punishing or rewarding their incumbent for her loyalty or lack thereof, they unintentionally increase the electoral prospects of the opposing party. Therefore, accountability decreases with the importance that supporters assign to the elections, and it breaks down in two cases. First, a popular incumbent safely defects as she knows she will be re-nominated. Second, an unpopular incumbent defects because she knows she will be dismissed even if she follows the party line. These behaviors are labeled impunity and damnation, respectively, and are illustrated with case studies.

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Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Scherer Nancy

Diversifying the Federal Bench: Is Universal Legitimacy for the U.S. Justice System Possible?

in **Northwestern University Law Review**, Vol. 105, issue 2 , 587-634

Full text available at:

<http://www.law.northwestern.edu/lawreview/v105/n2/587/LR105n2Scherer.pdf>

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

Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Murphy Ciara

Analysis and Reflections - An Effective Right to Cross-Border Healthcare? On Patients, Primacy and Procedural Autonomy: Comment on Elchinov

in **European Law Review**, Vol. 36, issue 4 , 542-558

No abstract available

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



Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Kim Pauline T.

Beyond Principal-Agent Theories: Law and the Judicial Hierarchy
in *Northwestern University Law Review*, Vol. 105, issue 2 , 535–576

Full text available at:

<http://www.law.northwestern.edu/lawreview/v105/n2/535/LR105n2Kim.pdf>

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

Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

FILIP GELEV

Checks and balances of risk management: precautionary logic and the judiciary
in *Review of International Studies (The)*, Volume 37 - Issue 05 , 2237-2252

After the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001 Ulrich Beck placed terrorism alongside other potentially catastrophic events such as global warming, nuclear disaster, and influenza as one of the 'dimensions' of risk society. In risk society, executive governments take 'precautionary measures' and parliaments pass 'preventative laws' allowing them to accumulate information, detain terrorism suspects, freeze funds and prohibit various groups, in order to stop catastrophic risks from eventuating. International Relations and legal scholars have used risk society theory or the ideas of Michel Foucault to criticise such excesses of the executive and parliamentary branches of government. Most studies either ignore the judiciary or argue that it stands in opposition to the other branches of governments, that it imposes checks and balances in order to uphold the rule of law and protect individual rights. The article argues that this view is naïve and does not acknowledge a long history of judicial deference to the will of the executive and parliament. Through an analysis of case law from Australia and Canada the article explores parallels between early 21st century judicial reasoning and previous periods of crisis, including the Cold War, while identifying some new 'precautionary approach' aspects. The judiciary defers to the executive, asserts that the executive is more accountable than it, and seeks to avoid responsibility for engaging in this 'precautionary justice'. Furthermore, seized by the same fear of terrorism as executive governments, the judiciary shows an ability to adapt existing legal concepts to the exigencies of risk society. The article concludes that as the memory of the 9/11 attacks fades some of the most draconian preventative measures may be scaled back but the judiciary cannot be relied on to keep the executive or parliament in check.

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Canivet Guy

Débat autour du livre de Stephen Breyer: La Cour suprême, l'Amérique et son histoire
in *Revue internationale de droit comparé*, vol. 63, n. 3 , 547-558

No abstract available

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Subsection 6. The judiciary branch



Hernández Antonio M.

El Incumplimiento De Sentencias De La Corte Suprema De Justicia Por La Provincia De Santa Cruz Y La Posibilidad De La Intervención Federal

in *Cuaderno de federalismo*, vol. XXIV , 111-131

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

Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Balaguer Callejón Francisco

El Tribunal Constitucional como “supremo intérprete” de la Ley de Aguas. Una reflexión sobre la posición de los Estatutos de Autonomía en nuestro ordenamiento constitucional y un comentario a la STC 30/2011

in *Revista d'Estudis Autònomic i Federals*, 14 , 114-151

In the STC 30/2011 nothing is as it should be, if viewed from a legal standpoint. The control of constitutionality over the Statute of Autonomy becomes a matter of plain legal control, twisting the line followed to date by the Constitutional Court to demarcate powers between State and autonomous communities. It also blurs the borders between material and formal control of constitutionality. Material control is not justified by itself but by formal control, which in turn refers ultimately to material control in a circular and tautologous argument lacking all real content. All this revolves around its alleged connection with the Court's earlier doctrine, especially with the STC 227/1988, which becomes absolutely twisted both methodologically and substantively.

The distortion results in a legal reasoning which, for all the continuous appeals of STC 227/1988 to the Statutes of Autonomy as reference standards for constitutional interpretation as regards the demarcation of powers, is based solely on State water law and which, compared to constitutionally acceptable range of criteria as in STC 227/1988, hinges only upon that of watershed as established by State water law. The result is that the constitutional status of the Autonomy Statute is downplayed, even further

down than the status of plain law, as derived from STC 31/2010, given that it is subjected to the determinations of the “State water lawmaker” and given that the Constitutional Court is downplayed as well as “supreme interpreter” of Water Law, all this to settle a constitutional issue which, whichever the court decision may have been, should have been taken on parameters different from the ones it was built on. The Court should have conducted its own opinion on the constitutionality of art. 51 of the Statute of Autonomy according to the material criteria in Water Law -not because they were contained therein but because they were constitutionally permissible- and any others drawn from the Constitution and based on the logic, the technology and the experience to which the STC 227/1988 appealed, with a teleological inspiration and taking into account the change in the block of constitutionality effected by the lawmaker of the statute of autonomy, which is also State lawmaker. These criteria may have allowed for a different opinion based on the assessment of the Constitutional Court itself and the analysis of all the elements constitutionally liable and because of that, due to proper consideration.

Full text available at:

http://www10.gencat.cat/drep/binaris/_reaf14_Balaguer_tcm112-180560.pdf



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

Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Montilla Martos José Antonio

Las competencias autonómicas en inmigración tras la STC 31/2010

in *Revista d'Estudis Autonomics i Federals*, 14 , 152-185

The paper analyzes the doctrine as in the STC 31/2010 as regards immigration autonomous powers as drawn from the Catalan Statute of Autonomy. It overly rejects the approach taken by the Constitutional Court in the matter as long as it maintains the exclusive jurisdiction of the State in immigration affaires while at the same time considering the statutory recognition of regional powers relative to immigration congruous with the Constitution. The Court considered that, despite the formal denomination, such public activities are not framed within immigration affaires but under other matters of competence. Against this position, the paper defends the availability of a statutory jurisdiction in immigration affairs as from the evolution of the State exclusive jurisdiction contained in the Constitution, parallel to that occurred in other areas such as the administration of justice or international affaires.

The paper highlights that, in any case, the Court has not limited the scope of statutory powers but rather emphasizes that this is a conflict deriving from opposing views as regards de denomination of the matter under discussion which, however minor, has brought about political upsetting.

Full text available at:

http://www10.gencat.cat/drep/binaris/_reaf14_Montilla_tcm112-180565.pdf

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

Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Ryan James E.

Laying Claim to the Constitution: The Promise of New Textualism

in *Virginia Law Review*, Vol. 97, issue 7 , 1523-1572

Full text available at:

<http://www.virginialawreview.org/content/pdfs/97/1523.pdf>

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

Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Bjorge Eirik

National supreme courts and the development of ECHR rights

in *International Journal of Constitutional Law*, Vol. 9, issue 1 , 5-31

The evolution of rights under the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) has in recent years engendered the question of how far national supreme courts ought to go in interpreting the Convention standards evolutively. Should national courts, in other words, play an active role in the development of the Convention, or must they defer this development to the Court? Examining the jurisprudence of national supreme courts in the U.K., France, and Germany, the present article examines this question both "normatively," by way of looking at the external exigencies of the



Strasbourg jurisprudence, and “descriptively,” by way of looking at what in point of fact the national courts have done in this regard. The three national judiciaries studied here have approached this in various ways. The common theme is that all three systems have gone very far in taking onboard a national concept of the ECHR precept of “evolutive interpretation.”

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

Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Dickerson Ken

Not Quite Supreme: The Courts and Coordinate Constitutional Interpretation

in *Review of Constitutional Studies/Revue d'études constitutionnelles*, Vol. 15, issue 2 , 281 ff.

No abstract available

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

Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Uribe Arzate Enrique, Montes de Oca Alfredo

Notas sobre un federalismo renovado en México y su vinculación con la justicia constitucional local para la garantía de los derechos funda- mentales

in *Cuestiones constitucionales. Revista mexicana de derecho constitucional*, n. 25 , 267-291

Full text available at:

<http://biblio.juridicas.unam.mx/revista/pdf/CuestionesConstitucionales/25/ard/ard8.pdf>

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

Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Posner Richard A.

Realism About Judges

in *Northwestern University Law Review*, Vol. 105, issue 2 , 577–586

Full text available at:

<http://www.law.northwestern.edu/lawreview/v105/n2/577/LR105n2Posner.pdf>

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

Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Lock Tobias

Taking National Courts More Seriously? Comment on Opinion 1/09

in *European Law Review*, Vol. 36, issue 4 , 576-589

No abstract available



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

Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Vining Jr. Richard L., Wilhelm Teena

The Causes and Consequences of Gubernatorial Endorsements - Evidence From State Supreme Court Elections

in *American Politics Research*, Vol. 39, n. 6, November , 1072-1096

Governors are generally the best-known figures in state politics. They have many roles, including service as political leaders in their states. One aspect of this role is the promotion of their favored policies and electoral candidates. We examine why governors endorse candidates for state-level office using data from partisan and nonpartisan state supreme court elections from 1999 to 2008. We examine both decisions to endorse and whether endorsements influence electoral results. Our findings indicate that a governor's decision to endorse a candidate is the product of pragmatic considerations and executive resources. We also conclude that governors' endorsements have a significant effect on electoral outcomes.

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

Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Gibbon Motz Diana

The Constitutionality and Advisability of Recess Appointments of Article III Judges

in *Virginia Law Review*, Vol. 97, issue 7 , 1665-1684

Full text available at:

<http://www.virginialawreview.org/content/pdfs/97/1665.pdf>

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

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689-736

The New Old Legal Realism

in *Northwestern University Law Review*, Vol. 105, issue 2 , George Tracey E, Gulati Mitu, McGinley Ann C.

Full text available at:

<http://www.law.northwestern.edu/lawreview/v105/n2/689/LR105n2George.pdf>

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

Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Black Ryan C., Boyd Christina L.

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

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



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

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

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L. Nottage; S. Green

Who Defends Japan?: Government Lawyers and Judicial System Reform in Japan
in Asia-Pacific Law and Policy Journal , Volume 13, Issue 1 , 129-173

The June 2001 Final Recommendations to the Japanese Prime Minister from the Justice System Reform Council ("JSRC") (shihōkaikaku iinkai) aimed to bring the legal system closer to the people. One aspect involved expanding opportunities for participation in the judicial process on the part of laypersons, experts in non-legal fields, and legal professionals other than the elite career judges, lawyers (bengoshi) and public prosecutors who qualified as such after passing the extremely difficult National Legal Examination (shihōshiken).¹ This was thought to offer both enhanced efficiencies (especially for layperson involvement – greater democratic legitimacy) – a related goal thought to offer even greater efficiencies, tied in to a broader program of economic deregulation that accelerated over Japan‟s "lost decade" of economic stagnation during the 1990s.

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

Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Zverev Alexei

Afterword: EBRD Support for CIS Model Laws
in Review of Central & East European Law, vol. 36, n. 3-4 , 501-504

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

Grishchenkovaeastern Julia

Afterword: GIZ: Developing Legal Systems and the 2010 CIS Model Company Law
in Review of Central & East European Law, vol. 36, n. 3-4 , 505-507

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

Krotov M.I.

Afterword: The Inter-Parliamentary Assembly of the Commonwealth of Independent States and the 2010 CIS Model Joint-Stock Companies Law

in *Review of Central & East European Law*, vol. 36, n. 3-4 , 497-499

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

Salerno Giulio M.

Che fine farà il federalismo fiscale?

in *Federalismi*, Anno IX - Nr. 25

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

Schramm Hans-Joachim, Gutbrod Max, Karagusssov Farkhad, Stepanov Dmitrii, Knieper Rolf

Commentary on the CIS 2010 Model Law "On Joint-Stock Companies" (As Amended)

in *Review of Central & East European Law*, vol. 36, n. 3-4 , 211-313

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

Aikins Michael

Common Control and the Delineation of the Taxable Entity

in *Yale Law Journal (The)*, Vol. 121, n. 3, December , 624-677

This Note proposes a solution to what has been one of the most vexing problems in state corporate taxation and in multijurisdictional taxation generally: the delineation of the scope of the entity that an individual jurisdiction is entitled to tax. Starting from the observation that the federal government already aggregates the income of commonly controlled groups of corporations to prevent them from taking advantage of the lowest tax brackets multiple times, this Note proposes that states "piggyback" on these efforts and allow the federal government thereby to shoulder the burden of delineating the taxable entity.

<http://www.yalelawjournal.org/images/pdfs/1033.pdf>



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

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Posner Paul L.

Federalist No. 30: What Is to Be Done About the Federal Budget?

in **Public Administration Review**, Volume 71, Issue Supplement s1 , s53–s61

Federalist Nos. 12 and 30–36 describe the benefits of a national fiscal system with independent revenues, arguing that a strong national government cannot exist for long without the means to raise revenues on its own. This essay examines the national fiscal policy process during this period of economic crisis and rising national debt. It provides a detailed assessment of needed reforms in the budget system that would meet the tests imposed by an increasingly uncertain global economy.

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Burdekin Richard C.K., Banaian King, Hallerberg Mark, Siklos Pierre L.

Fiscal and monetary institutions and policies: onward and upward?

in **Journal of Financial Economic Policy**, Volume 3 issue 4 , pp. 340 - 354

Purpose – The latest generation of research into macroeconomic policy has turned from more technical aspects of optimal control and expectations formation to consideration of the policymaking institutions themselves. More and more countries have moved towards greater degrees of central bank independence, including many developing economies as well the member countries of the European Central Bank. What still is not generally settled among economists is how to measure the stance of policy and the institutional features of the policymaking process. The purpose of this paper is to assess prevailing monetary and fiscal policies.

Design/methodology/approach – The paper takes the form of a review encompassing many different measurements of policy stance and policymaking processes. The authors begin with monetary policy followed by an analysis of central bank institutions. The next sections turn to fiscal policy and the need to adjust budget balance for the state of the business cycle. There is then a brief concluding section.

Findings – The authors show in this review that fiscal and monetary rules, and economists' understanding of them, have changed substantially over the years. While on one level there is greater consensus, there have been new questions raised in the process that leave plenty of room for further ongoing research in these key policy areas as well as the optimal design of the design of the monetary and fiscal institutions concerned.

Originality/value – The paper provides a review of the existing literature updated and applied with reference to recent events, including the global financial crisis.

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Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

David E. Wildasin

Fiscal competition for imperfectly-mobile labor and capital: A comparative dynamic analysis



in **Journal of Public Economics**, Volume 95, Issues 11–12 , 1312-1321

Interjurisdictional flows of imperfectly-mobile migrants, investment, and other productive resources result in the costly dynamic adjustment of resource stocks. This paper investigates the comparative dynamics of adjustment to changes in local fiscal policy with two imperfectly mobile productive resources. The intertemporal adjustments for both resources depend on complementarity/substitutability in production and the adjustment cost technologies for each, implying that the evaluation of the fiscal treatment of one resource must account for the simultaneous adjustment of both.

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Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Monica Escaleras, Charles A. Register

Fiscal decentralization and natural hazard risks

in **Public Choice**, Volume 151, Numbers 1-2 , 165-183

At least to some extent due to pressure from international donors, many countries have become more fiscally decentralized the underlying premise being that greater decentralization might improve the provision of local public goods and services. We test this proposition by determining whether relatively more decentralized countries fare better when natural disasters strike in terms of its effects on the population. Overall, we find evidence supporting our maintained hypothesis, though the effect appears much more robust in developing countries.

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Marko Koethenbueger

How do local governments decide on public policy in fiscal federalism? Tax vs. expenditure optimization

in **Journal of Public Economics**, Volume 95, Issues 11–12 , 1516–1522

Previous literature widely assumes that taxes are optimized in local public finance while expenditures adjust residually. This paper endogenizes the choice of the optimization variable. In particular, it analyzes how federal policy toward local governments' influences the way local governments decide on public policy. Unlike the usual presumption, the paper shows that local governments may choose to optimize over expenditures. The result holds when federal policy subsidizes local taxation. The results offer a new perspective of the efficiency implications of federal policy toward local governments and, thereby, enable a more precise characterization of local government behavior in fiscal federalism.

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Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Carboni Giuliana Giuseppina

Il coordinamento dinamico della finanza pubblica negli ordinamenti decentrati, tra limiti costituzionali e vincoli economici

in **Regioni (Le)**, n. 4 , 605-658

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

Matta Pietro Luigi

Il federalismo fiscale: realtà o utopia?

in *Rivista giuridica del mezzogiorno*, numero: 3, settembre , 723-736

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Massa Gallerano Greta

La financiación de los entes territoriales

in *Revista de Derecho Constitucional Europeo* , n. 16

En este estudio se analiza – mediante el método científico de la comparación jurídica – la financiación de los entes territoriales de los Estados miembros de la UE, para contribuir a la evolución del Derecho Constitucional Europeo. El nivel de autonomía financiera de los entes territoriales circunscribe, como es sabido, la posibilidad que tienen de determinar sus políticas y ejercer autónomamente sus competencias. Los veintisiete países serán analizados según un orden que respeta la “homogeneidad constitucional” en materia de financiación entre los diferentes niveles de gobierno y su autonomía financiera. El tema será examinado a partir del texto constitucional, para llegar luego al eventual marco normativo de implementación de la materia. La capacidad financiera será analizada desde el punto de vista de la potestad impositiva de los entes territoriales y de la participación de los mismos en los impuestos estatales, de la compensación de los recursos financieros (ejecución de la solidaridad) y finalmente de las transferencias estatales.

Full text available at: <http://www.ugr.es/~redce/REDCE16/articulos/05GMGallerano.htm#resumen>

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Parolari Sara, Valdesalici Alice

La riforma dell'ordinamento finanziario in Italia tra autonomia e solidarietà

in *Revista d'Estudis Autònomic i Federals*, 14 , 67-113

This paper focuses of the so-called “fiscal federalism” reform that was introduced in Italy with the “legge delega” No. 42 of 2009 in order to implement article 119 of the Italian Constitution. Currently, this reform is undergoing an intricate process of implementation mainly assigned to a series of legislative decrees issued by the Italian Government. The aim of this paper is to analyze the reform of the Italian financial system, approaching the subject matter both from the perspective of the sources of law, and from the substantial content of the legal provisions. Analysis will highlight problems arising from the implementation process, with a focus on the main differences between Regions with ordinary statute, on the one hand, and Regions with special status/autonomous Provinces, on the other hand. The outcome will be a highly asymmetrical fiscal structure rooted in an extremely differentiated legal system.



Full text available at:

http://www10.gencat.cat/drep/binaris/_reaf14_Parolari_Valdesalici_tcm112-180566.pdf

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Milke Mark

Lessons for Europe: how Canada dealt with its own fiscal crisis

in *European View* , vol. 10, n. 2, December , 231-239

Europe's debt crisis is by no means unique but quite the contrary: Canada had to face a similar challenge during the 1990s. The way this country dealt with the crisis is often presented as a success story. What are the lessons that Europe can learn from Canada's experience? This article examines the similarities between both crises, explains the main reforms Canada went through and finally analyses the key factors that influenced and enabled this country to overcome the crisis.

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Daniel Béland, André Lecours

Logiques institutionnelles et politiques publiques Le programme de péréquation d'hier à aujourd'hui

in *Politique et sociétés, revue de la Société québécoise de science politique*, Volume 29, numéro 3 , 3-20

L'objectif de cet article est d'offrir une perspective historique, politique et institutionnelle sur le programme fédéral de péréquation. L'article montre comment les institutions politiques et le développement même de ce programme structurent les débats qui l'entourent et les changements adoptés depuis sa création. Après avoir formulé un cadre théorique inspiré de l'institutionnalisme historique, l'article explique l'émergence de la péréquation et l'adoption du programme fédéral avant d'explorer les débats et les changements subséquents et, finalement, les controverses des années Martin et Harper. Dans la dernière partie de l'article, nous expliquons comment les structures de gouvernance de la péréquation ainsi que la nature compétitive du fédéralisme exécutif et certaines perceptions au sujet de ce programme font qu'il représente une source potentielle de conflits intergouvernementaux. Nous expliquons aussi que l'apparition de gouvernements minoritaires à partir de 2004 ainsi que la dynamique politique sous le gouvernement Martin ont favorisé la politisation du programme de péréquation, qui est alors devenu l'objet de controverses et de conflits majeurs entre les gouvernements fédéral et provinciaux.

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Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Eckhard Janeba, John Douglas Wilson

Optimal fiscal federalism in the presence of tax competition

in *Journal of Public Economics*, Volume 95, Issues 11–12 , 1302–1311



This paper models the optimal division of public good provision between central and regional governments. The optimal division involves a tradeoff between the inefficiencies from tax competition at the regional level and the inefficiencies from inefficient legislative behaviour at the central level, where public good provision is controlled by a minimum winning coalition. In our main model, complete centralization is never optimal: regional governments should always supply some public goods. It is possible for complete decentralization to be optimal. If the model is extended to allow regions to top off centrally-provided public good supplies, complete centralization may be optimal, but only if the inefficiencies in centralized provision are sufficiently small.

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Clévenot Mickaël, Duwicquet Vincent

Partage du risque interrégional. Une étude des canaux budgétaires et financiers aux États-Unis et en Europe
in *Revue de l'OFCE*, 2011/4 (n°119) , 5-33

Risk-sharing shall allow asymmetric shocks smoothing into a monetary union. Three adjustment channels could play: public transfers, credits, financial incomes between regions/countries. The literature underlines the actual weakness of this mechanism in Europe whereas it tends generally to suggest that it plays a major role in United-States. In this work, we show for the United-States that financial channel is overestimated. The lack of appropriate data conduces to attribute a too big smoothing part to the risk-sharing instead of Optimum Currency Area effects. Finally, we produce the estimations on euro area where data are much precise and showing that financial channel is more small as predict. These results induce a reappraisal of federal budget.

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Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Zanardi Alberto

Per un federalismo fiscale “amico” della crescita economica
in *ItalianiEuropei*, n. 10

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

Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Gómez Reino Juan Luis , Alcalde Ana Herrero

Political determinants of regional financing: the case of Spain

in *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, Volume 29, Issue 5, October , 802-820

We contribute to the literature on the political determinants of regional financing by analyzing the case of Spain, a largely decentralized country. Using a dynamic panel data model, we argue that the rise in relative bargaining power of regional parties in Spain can partly explain the increase in budgetary allocations to regions observed during the period 1986 – 2006. In particular, our results show that the rise in parliamentary representation of the nationalist Catalanian party, measured by the Banzhaf voting power index, has been a significant factor in ensuring increasing financial resources to



regional governments. In addition, the traditional hypotheses of the political economy literature on legislative apportionment are tested for the case of Spain, with no significant results observed. The overall distribution of regional financing in Spain seems to be in general well aligned with the basic economic principles of efficiency and equity recommended for such a system.

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Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Liutang Gong Heng-Fu Zou

Public Expenditures, Taxes, Federal Transfers, And Endogenous Growth

in *Journal of Public Economic Theory*, Volume 13, Issue 6 , 973–991

This paper extends the Barro (1990) model with single aggregate government spending and one flat income tax to include public expenditures and taxes by multiple levels of government. It derives the rate of endogenous growth and, with both simulations and special examples, examines how that rate changes with respect to federal income tax, local taxes, and federal transfers. It also discusses the growth and welfare-maximizing choices of taxes and federal transfers.

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

Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

McAllister James A.

Redistributive federalism: Redistributing wealth and income in the Canadian federation

in *Canadian Public Administration*, Vol. 54, issue 4 , 487–507

The Government of Canada has been engaged in a massive redistribution of wealth and income from some provinces – usually British Columbia, Alberta and Ontario – to the other provinces and territories. This redistribution has been accomplished through a number of federal government programs that may have been presented to the public as having nation-wide applicability and not necessarily designed to meet the needs of any particular province or territory. These federal programs are part of a coherent redistributive whole, but each demonstrates how redistribution has been accomplished. They include transfer programs, such as Equalization and Territorial Formula Financing, that have explicitly addressed the horizontal fiscal imbalance. They also include transfer programs like the Canada Health Transfer, the Canada Social Transfer, labour market training and development, and infrastructure that have implicitly moved federal fiscal resources to various regions of the country. And they include direct federal spending programs like Employment Insurance, immigrant settlement and regional economic development. The extent of this redistribution is discussed, as are the reasons for this redistributive focus and the impact of such large-scale federal transfers on provincial budgets. Finally, an assessment is made of why the degree of redistribution appears to have been reduced in recent years.

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

Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Hillesheim Inga

Relative consumption and majority voting: supplementing Oates' "Decentralization Theorem"

in *Journal of Economics - Zeitschrift fur Nationalokonomie*, Volume 105, Number 1 / January 2012 , 29-43



This paper reconsiders the question of whether centralized or decentralized provision of local public goods is preferable, taking into account two new elements: the appearance of relative consumption effects and the possibility of an inefficient election outcome due to a right-skewed income distribution. Surprisingly, our results indicate that (1) decentralization may lead to a strictly higher welfare level than centralization, even if regions are homogeneous, and (2) under certain circumstances centralization may be welfare superior, even though traditional public good spillovers are not considered in our framework. Whether centralization or decentralization is preferable crucially depends on the extent to which social interaction takes place between regions.

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Contino Massimo Pellingra

Sussidiarietà e federalismo tra questione fiscale, democrazia sostanziale e politiche sociali

in *Rivista giuridica del mezzogiorno*, numero: 3, settembre , 737-746

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

The CIS 2010 Model Law "on Joint-stock Companies" for CIS Member States (as Amended)

in *Review of Central & East European Law*, vol. 36, n. 3-4 , 315-496

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

Ishiyama John

The Politics of Appeasement? Politics and Federal Financial Disbursements: The Case of Ethiopia

in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, vol. 42, n. 1, Winter , 1-24

This article tests three different hypotheses regarding the political motivations for federal financial disbursements (the “swing” hypothesis, the “reward” hypothesis, and the “appeasement” hypothesis) using the case of Ethiopia following the 2005 parliamentary elections. Using an original data set on financial disbursements, election results, and social, economic, and demographic data from the level of the administrative districts and the election constituencies in Ethiopia, it is found that the appeasement hypothesis best explains federal disbursements. Further, it is suggested that these disbursement patterns directly affected the outcome of the subsequent 2010 parliamentary election.

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Stefan Voigt, Lorenz Blume



The economic effects of federalism and decentralization—a cross-country assessment

in **Public Choice**, Volume 151, Numbers 1-2 , 229-254

This paper explores the idea that institutional details matter and that attempts to estimate the economic effects of federalism by employing a simple dummy variable neglect potentially important institutional details. Based on a principal component analysis, seven aspects of both federalism and decentralization are used as variables for explaining differences in (1) fiscal policy, (2) government effectiveness, (3) economic productivity, and (4) happiness. The results show that institutional details do, indeed, matter. Different aspects of federalism impact on the outcome variables to different degrees. This study adds to our knowledge on the transmission mechanisms of federalism and decentralization.

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

Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Antoni Zabalza and Julio López-Laborda

The new Spanish system of intergovernmental transfers

in **International Tax and Public Finance**, Volume 18, Number 6 , 750-786

This article analyses the workings of the new Spanish system of intergovernmental transfers, which has been in operation since 2009, and compares its expected effects with those of the model that was in force until 2008. The paper considers the effects of the new model at the base year of application and the growth over time of these effects. On the positive side, the reform has significantly reduced the dispersion of the distribution of regional resources per capita. On the negative side, the system has become very complex and obscure regarding the distribution criteria it uses; also, of the five (1987, 1992, 1997, 2002, 2009) major revisions of the system, this is the most expensive.

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

Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Louis Chih-hung Liu

The typology of fiscal decentralisation system: a cluster analysis approach

in **Public Administration and Development**, Volume 31, Issue 5

The article suggests a novel theoretical framework for empirical measurement of fiscal decentralisation by taking the viewpoint that fiscal decentralisation should be regarded as a system. Then, we review in detail several institutional arrangements regarding fiscally decentralised systems including the following: federal versus unitary state, numbers of tiers of governments, taxing power, borrowing power and independence of local officials. After identifying these institutional arrangements, we can group different countries with similar institutionally fiscal decentralisation systems together in broad categories by using cluster analysis. This analysis reveals a typology of fiscally decentralised systems (FDS): high expenditure/revenue assignment FDS, low expenditure/revenue assignment FDS, revenue transfer FDS, most complete FDS, politically centralised FDS and unitary state FDS. We then employ regression analysis to examine the performance for each type of fiscal decentralisation system. Our empirical findings suggest that most complete FDS is positively associated with selective economic performance as well as various public governance indicators.

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



Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Vertical tax competition and consumption externalities in a federation with lobbying
in *Journal of Public Economics*, Volume 96, Issues 3-4, , 295–305

Tax-base sharing by two layers of government can be an efficient tax regime. Tax policy swayed by lobbying can be Pareto superior to lobby-free tax policy. Tax-base sharing is efficient if the externality linked to the taxed good is large. The dispersion of taxing powers may reduce the influence of pressure groups. Leviathan politicians are better off when facing lobby groups with opposed interests.

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

Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)

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

Do central banks affect Tobin's q?

in *International Review of Economics and Finance*, Volume 22, Issue 1, , 1-10

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

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

Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)

V. Shih

“Goldilocks” Liberalization: The Uneven Path Toward Interest Rate Reform in China

in *Journal of East Asian Studies*, Volume 11, Issue 3, September-December, , 437-465

Nearly two decades after central bankers began to call for interest rate liberalization, the central bank continues to impose stringent rules on the fluctuation of deposit interest rates. This seems an unlikely outcome given widespread endorsement of liberalization by technocrats and experts both in and out of the government, China's accession to the World Trade Organization, and the technocrats' insulation from popular pressure. To be sure, local interests and central bank lobbying have driven gradual liberalization of interest rates. However, senior Chinese technocrats held on to control over interest rates because of their need to maintain state banks' dominance and to mobilize bank funds in times of economic downturns. As such, progress toward interest rate liberalization only took place during “Goldilocks” phases when the economy enjoyed healthy growth without high inflation.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Gardels Nathan

A Voice for the Long-Term Public Interest

in *New Perspectives Quarterly*, Vol. 29, Issue 1, Winter, , 70-73

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1540-5842.2012.01301.x/abstract>



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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Camarda L.

Autonomia organizzativa del Comune e obbligatorietà ope legis dell'esercizio delle sue funzioni a mezzo di Unione di comuni

in *Nuova rassegna di legislazione, dottrina e giurisprudenza*, N. 21

No abstract available

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Gelpern Anna

Bankruptcy, Backwards: The Problem of Quasi-Sovereign Debt

in *Yale Law Journal (The)*, Vol. 121, n. 4, January , 888-943

This Feature considers the debts of quasi-sovereign states in light of proposals to let them file for bankruptcy protection. States that have ceded some but not all sovereign prerogatives to a central government face distinct challenges as debtors. It is unhelpful to analyze these challenges mainly through the bankruptcy lens. State bankruptcy posits an institutional fix for a problem that remains theoretically undefined and empirically contested. I suggest a way of mapping the problem that does not work back from a solution. I highlight the implications of sovereign immunity, immortality, concurrent authority, macroeconomic policy, and democratic accountability for quasi-sovereign debt management. Along with default, fiscal transfers, and ad-hoc renegotiation, bankruptcy is one of several paths to reduce public debt overhang, but not necessarily the best path to state rehabilitation. Bankruptcy centers on coordination failures and contractual liabilities, when neither is especially salient in quasi-sovereign debt. It holds no special advantage against moral hazard from fiscal federalism and sovereign immunity. Even so, recent bankruptcy proposals have started a useful conversation joining previously disparate scholarship about credit market institutions, sovereign debt, fiscal federalism, and local government. The conversation should refocus on the problem of quasi-sovereign debt.

<http://www.yalelawjournal.org/images/pdfs/1046.pdf>

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Reilly Thom, Reed Mark B.

Budget Shortfalls, Employee Compensation, and Collective Bargaining in Local Governments

in *State and Local Government Review*, Vol. 43, n. 3, December , 215-223

The purpose of this study was to examine how local governments are responding to budget shortfalls and to explore how compensation practices across the United States are correlated to changes in service delivery. One hundred thirty-four of the largest cities and counties responded to a mail survey, for a response rate of 45 percent. A large percentage (95 percent) of local governments reported experiencing budget shortfalls. In response, local governments are reducing their workforces, laying employees off and/or utilizing reserves rather than raising taxes and/or scaling



back wages and benefits. Type of government (county or city) and collective bargaining were associated with budget shortfalls. Despite the fiscal distress of governments, average cost of living increases were between 2 and 3 percent for each of the two years surveyed and nearly half of respondents reported increases in employee benefits (fewer than 10 percent reported any decreases). Collective bargaining was significantly associated with higher increases in benefits, increased cost-of-living adjustments, and responses to budget shortfalls.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Cortese Caterina

Dalle politiche alle istituzioni e ritorno: percorsi locali nella costruzione di capacità di governo

in *Rassegna italiana di sociologia*, numero 3, luglio-settembre 2011 , 417-444

No abstract available

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Schragger Richard C.

Democracy and Debt

in *Yale Law Journal (The)*, Vol. 121, n. 4, January , 860-887

Recent state and municipal budget crises have generated a great deal of consternation among market participants and policymakers; they have also led scholars to debate the merits of bailouts or other forms of debt relief. This Essay considers why the mechanisms that were supposed to control state and local fiscal behavior ex ante have not worked. In the aftermath of the state and municipal debt crises of the nineteenth century, states adopted a series of constitutional reforms intended to constrain state and local fiscal behavior. In addition, the debt markets and the Tieboutian market in jurisdictions should theoretically prevent states and municipalities from overspending. Neither the fiscal constitution in the states nor the markets have prevented state and local fiscal difficulties, however; indeed, they have arguably contributed to those difficulties. Nevertheless, much of the current debate over bailouts and state bankruptcy reprises the longstanding skepticism of ordinary state and local political processes. This Essay argues that this distrust of local democratic decisionmaking is unwarranted, that efforts to constrain fiscal politics are destined to fail, and that the solution to state and local fiscal crises is largely a matter of politics and not a matter of institutional design.

<http://www.yalelawjournal.org/images/pdfs/1045.pdf>

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Andrés J Picazo-Tadeo, Francisco González-Gómez, Jorge Guardiola Wanden-Berghe, Alberto Ruiz-Villaverde

Do ideological and political motives really matter in the public choice of local services management? Evidence



from urban water services in Spain

in **Public Choice**, Volume 151, Numbers 1-2 , 215-228

This paper studies the influence of ideology and political motives on the choice of management for urban water services. Our contribution is two-fold. Firstly, we use a considerably more detailed set of variables to represent ideological and political motives than previous research. Secondly, the variables that explain local politicians' decisions are observed at the time decision-making occurs, rather than at a later date. Beyond pragmatic reasons, we find that ideological and political motives also matter when explaining decisions regarding the management of water services. Furthermore, considering the time dimension of decision-making noticeably improves the explanatory power of our model.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Funk Patricia, Gathmann Christina

Does Direct Democracy Reduce the Size of Government? New Evidence from Historical Data, 1890–2000

in **Economic Journal**, Volume 121, Issue 557, December 2011 , 1252–1280

Using new historical data from Swiss cantons, we estimate the effect of direct democracy on government spending. We use fixed effects to control for unobserved heterogeneity and new instruments to address potential endogeneity concerns. We find that direct democracy constrains canton spending but its effect is more modest than previously suggested. The instrumental variable estimates show that a mandatory budget referendum reduces canton expenditures by 12%. Lowering signature requirements for the voter initiative by 1% reduces canton spending by 0.6%. We find little evidence that direct democracy at the canton level results in higher local spending or decentralisation.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Dimi Jottier, Bruno Heyndels

Does social capital increase political accountability? An empirical test for Flemish municipalities

in **Public Choice**, Volume 151, Numbers 1-2 , 731-744

Social capital has been shown to positively influence government performance. Boix and Posner (Br. J. Polit. Sci. 28:686–693, 1998) suggest a possible explanation: social capital makes citizens monitor the government more closely. Such monitoring will be more explicit to the extent that instrumental voting motivations outweigh expressive considerations. We identify social capital as a source that facilitates instrumental voting and thus political accountability. We present an empirical test of the Boix and Posner hypothesis and find a positive link between perceived quality of government and election results of the incumbent parties. Crucially, we find this link to be stronger in municipalities high in social capital.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

King David A.

Formalizing Local Constitutional Standards of Review and the Implications for Federalism

in **Virginia Law Review**, Vol. 97, issue 7 , 1685-1726



Full text available at:

<http://www.virginialawreview.org/content/pdfs/97/1685.pdf>

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Onwuzuruigbo Ifeanyi

Horizontal Inequalities and Communal Conflicts: The Case of Aguleri and Umuleri Communities of South-Eastern Nigeria

in *Africa: The Journal of the International African Institute*, Volume 81, Issue 4, November , 567-587

Intra-state conflicts in Africa have been attributed to various factors such as the end of the Cold War, globalization, sustained population growth, environmental scarcity and violent youth culture. Extracts from these dominant global perspectives, collocated and mixed with the economic crisis thesis at the national level, constitute the mainstream analytical scheme for understanding the proliferation of communal conflicts in Nigeria. However, the relevance of horizontal inequality in accounting for the multitude of communal conflicts in Nigeria has been glossed over by scholars. This article highlights local narratives of inequalities and how they provide impetus for communal conflicts in Aguleri and Umuleri communities of south-eastern Nigeria.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Italia V.

Imprecisioni ed inesattezze nell'Unione di comuni

in *Nuova rassegna di legislazione, dottrina e giurisprudenza*, N. 21

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Zaijun Yuan

Independent Candidates in China's Local People's Congress Elections

in *Journal of Chinese Political Science*, Volume 16, Number 4, December , 389-405

In the Chinese political system, according to the constitution, the people's congresses at the primary level are the only institution which the voters can directly elect. However, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) tightly controls the "direct elections" and takes every measure in the elections to prevent grassroots power from entering even the primary-level people's congresses. In recent years, grassroots power has kept struggling for its legal rights in the "direct elections" held in a few localities. The conflicts between the grassroots power and the authoritarian party in the "direct elections" have become an interesting political phenomenon, a subject deserves close observation and research. This paper studies the background of the independent candidates, their motivations and behaviour in elections. The paper also examines the party's control in the elections and thus exposes the true nature of China's people's congress "direct"



elections. The paper argues that independent candidates can have little impacts on China's political structure at the current stage because of the party's tight control, but their political participation has the most democratic value, compared with the "reforms" instigated and carried out by the CCP.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Civitarese Matteucci Stefano

La garanzia costituzionale della Provincia in Italia e le prospettive della sua trasformazione
in *Istituzioni del federalismo*, n. 3 , 467-500

No abstract available

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

De Giorgi Marta

La semplificazione amministrativa tra esigenze di uniformità ed effettività delle politiche. Alla ricerca di un coordinamento stabile tra Stato e Regioni
in *Istituzioni del federalismo*, n. 3 , 501-530

No abstract available

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Crosetti Alessandro

La semplificazione procedimentale nel governo del territorio: conferenze e accordi di copianificazione
in *Quaderni Regionali* , n. 1

No abstract available

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Italia V. , Camarda L.

Le unioni di comuni, la Regione e la legge dello Stato: al capezzale dell'autonomia organizzativa dei piccoli comuni - nota introduttiva
in *Nuova rassegna di legislazione, dottrina e giurisprudenza*, N. 21

No abstract available

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)



Lowndes Vivien, Pratchett Lawrence

Local Governance under the Coalition Government: Austerity, Localism and the 'Big Society'
in *Local Government Studies*, Vol. 38, Issue 1 , 21-40

The Coalition between the Conservatives and Liberal Democrats, formally created on 11th May 2010, has introduced a range of initiatives which affect local governance, from the announcement of a new Localism Bill through to the abolition of the Audit Commission and the arrival of the 'Big Society' agenda. This article reviews the key policy announcements of the Coalition's first year and analyses the underlying themes and trends which are emerging. It argues that the Coalition's reforms do show traces of an ideological commitment to localism and a new understanding of local self-government; there is an ideological agenda which has the potential to deliver a radically different form of local governance. However, the reform process is far from coherent and the potential for radical change is heavily constrained by: conflicts in Conservative thinking and the failure of the Liberal Democrats to assert their own ideology; the political expediency of budget cuts during an era of austerity and; the problems of implementing an apparently radical agenda after 13 years of New Labour.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Wollmann Hellmut

Local Government Reforms in (Seven) European Countries: Between Convergent and Divergent, Conflicting and Complementary Development

in *Local Government Studies*, Vol. 38, Issue 1 , 41-70

In selecting the United Kingdom/England, Germany, Sweden, France, Italy, Spain and Hungary as comparative cases, and in focusing on three institutional tracks (local leadership, internal administration and external operation), this article first discusses, on the one hand, whether local government has been institutionally strengthened, and on the other, whether governance-type actor networks have expanded in the countries under consideration and whether, across-countries, this developments has shown convergence or divergence. Secondly, it addresses the question of whether the two currents (strengthening of traditional local government and expansion of local governance networks) are conflicting or complementary.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Parvin Phil

Modernism's Legacy: Dialogue, Objectivity, and Justice in Mark Bevir's Democratic Governance

in *Local Government Studies*, Vol. 38, Issue 1 , 5-20

This article looks at Mark Bevir's ideas on the changing nature of the modern state, as expressed in his book, 'Democratic Governance'. In the book, the author argues that recent developments in the theory and practice of politics have their intellectual roots in wider trends in the academic study of society and politics. In particular, he argues, the rise



in what he and others have called 'the new governance' – that is, the shift in Britain and elsewhere away from centralised policy making and implementation by state institutions toward policy networks in which the state is merely one actor among many – has emerged as a direct consequence of the rise of ahistorical, universalist social science methodologies.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Faust Jörg, Harbers Imke

On the Local Politics of Administrative Decentralization: Applying for Policy Responsibilities in Ecuador
in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, vol. 42, n. 1, Winter , 52-77

Variation in the behavior and preferences of subnational governments is one of the areas that remain poorly understood by students of comparative decentralization and federalism. Yet, evidence suggests that this variation plays an important role in shaping intergovernmental relations. Ecuador provides an especially interesting case for systematically exploring variation in the behavior of municipalities. Rather than establishing a uniform division of competences between levels of government, the 1998 constitution called on subnational governments to apply for policy responsibilities. Using an original data set, our analysis demonstrates that, in addition to national-level incentives, municipal-level political variables—such as the government's support base and linkages to civil society—have a strong and significant impact on the behavior of local governments.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Italia Vittorio

Ordinanze d'urgenza dei sindaci e leggi regionali
in *Quaderni Regionali* , n. 1

No abstract available

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Blom-Hansen Jens, Christiansen Peter Munk, Fimreite Anne Lise, Selle Per

Reform Strategies Matter: Explaining the Perplexing Results of Regional Government Reforms in Norway and Denmark

in *Local Government Studies*, Vol. 38, Issue 1 , 71-90

Reforming the public sector often means imposing immediate costs on well-organised interests in return for longer-term, diffuse benefits to voters and taxpayers. Nonetheless, reforms sometimes are carried through. Investigations of this puzzle have followed two approaches: The first is structural and explains reforms as a consequence of the institutional setting in which policymakers operate. The second focuses on human agency. It investigates how reformers search for ways to overcome structural obstacles. This approach has lived a quiet life in recent decades. In this paper, we



investigate recent attempts to reform the regional government level in Norway and Denmark. Despite very similar structural settings and political preferences, the reforms failed in Norway, but were successful in Denmark; failure and success being defined by the two governments' intentions. We argue that the explanation lies in the different reform strategies pursued by the central governments in the two countries.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Nelles Jen, Alcantara Cristopher

Strengthening the ties that bind? An analysis of aboriginal–municipal inter-governmental agreements in British Columbia

in *Canadian Public Administration*, Vol. 54, issue 3 , 315–334

Despite a rich and well-developed literature on Canadian federalism, multilevel governance, and aboriginal–settler relations, scholars have tended to ignore the variety of inter-governmental agreements that have emerged between aboriginal and municipal governments in Canada. This article examines ninety-three such agreements to construct a typology of aboriginal–municipal inter-governmental partnerships in British Columbia. It finds that over time there has been a shift from mundane, service-provision agreements towards more collaborative, cooperative and sometimes decolonizing, horizontal and multilevel governance partnerships. As a result, the authors suggest that scholars study these agreements to further explain and understand the evolution of aboriginal–settler relations and multilevel governance in Canada.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Happaerts Sander, Van den Brande Karoline, Bruyninckx Hans

Subnational governments in transnational networks for sustainable development

in *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics*, Volume 11, Number 4, November , 321-339

Since the 1970s, subnational entities such as provinces, states or regions have joined together in transnational associations based upon common interests, especially in Europe. Such transnational networks of subnational governments have also been created in the sphere of sustainable development, a policy domain that is largely shaped in multilateral decision-making settings and that is characterized by complexity and uncertainty, urging policy-makers to learn from other governments. Those networks have both external and internal objectives. On the one hand, they want to represent their members at international organizations and influence multilateral decision-making. On the other hand, they are aimed at fostering cooperation between subnational governments and at stimulating policy learning. After presenting a typology of existing networks in the sphere of sustainable development, the article presents a comparative analysis of the participation of the Belgian entities Flanders and Wallonia in ENCORE (Environmental Conference of the European Regions) and nrg4SD (Network of Regional Governments for Sustainable Development). The research shows that Flanders and Wallonia use networks mostly for formal and informal cooperation but not for influencing multilateral decision-making for sustainable development. The external dimension of the networks, however, is applied for identity politics. The analysis also demonstrates that little political capital is invested in the networks.



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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Perlman Bruce J.

The Great Recession and Compensation Practices - New Rules for Compensation?

in State and Local Government Review, Vol. 43, n. 3, December , 205-207

This article introduces the Governance Matters essays for this issue. It discusses the Great Recession and its effects on Labor Relations and Collective Bargaining and the effects of these on compensation practices in State and Local Governments. The Great Recession is an enduring event in American government and politics. It has had marked impact on the structure and operations of State and Local government especially on budgets. Given, the large proportion of state and local government budgets devoted to compensation the Great Recession's economic and political effects may be greatest there. This article asks of the essays, whether changes in labor relations and collective bargaining due to the Great Recession are changing the rules for government compensation practices at the state and local level in the U.S. It concludes that they are, but the durability of these rule changes and the political impact is yet to be determined.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Levine Helisse, Scorsone Eric

The Great Recession's Institutional Change in the Public Employment Relationship - Implications for State and Local Governments

in State and Local Government Review, Vol. 43, n. 3, December , 208-214

Interest in public sector employee benefits and compensation has resurfaced due to the economic downturn spurring a wave of actions that may threaten a once secure future of millions of public workers. The purpose of this article is to explore the ramifications of compensation and benefit changes on the fiscal health of state and local governments. This article reviews the evolution of labor relations in the public sector, recent institutional changes in employment and compensation, and implications on the fiscal health of state and local governments and their employees. The authors argue that these changes or threat of such changes, including restructuring collective rights, unionization, union dues collection, and the issues that can be bargained, are shifting the playing field for public sector employees and employers. Not since the passage of the right to unionization and collective bargaining in the 1960s have such major changes been on the horizon. These institutional changes will have longstanding effects including cost of government, types of workers attracted to government and even type and quality of services provided. Given also that employee compensation typically represents a major portion of the overall cost of state and local governments, it is not unexpected that political officials will continue to seek to rethink the employment relationship in order to ensure the fiscal health of their governments and those who serve in the public sector.

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



Subsection 9. Local government(s)

L. Smith

The Limits to Public Participation in Strengthening Public Accountability: A Reflection on the 'Citizens' Voice' Initiative in South Africa

in *Journal of Asian and African Studies* , Volume 46, No. 5, October

This paper unpacks the tension between social movement claims to basic services and local authority efforts to deliver within a progressive legislative context. It does this by exploring the challenges of public accountability in urban water service delivery through drawing on the lessons learnt from the implementation of the 'Raising Citizens' Voice in the Regulation of Water Services' methodology in two South African cities over a four-year period. This paper argues that citizens' ability to access the state is restricted by internal fragmentation across spheres of government and between politicians and officials. Compounded by a lack of recourse in the service delivery landscape, fragmentation significantly restrains the ability of citizens to access the state.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Paul, Mark

The Lords of Think Long

in *New Perspectives Quarterly*, Vol. 29, Issue 1, Winter , 74-78

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1540-5842.2012.01302.x/abstract>

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Zeemering Eric S.

The Problem of Democratic Anchorage for Interlocal Agreements

in *American Review of Public Administration (The)*, January 2012; 42 (1) , 87-103

More attention must be given to the performance of interlocal agreements (ILAs) as they continue to grow in popularity as a mode of service provision in U.S. cities. This study scrutinizes the democratic performance of ILAs, drawing theoretical insights from the literature on network governance. Because ILAs shift service responsibility from individual cities to multijurisdictional arrangements, these tools may lead to complaints about the responsiveness of the service to the public in the individual units served by the multijurisdictional arrangement. Thus, democratic anchorage is central to assessments of ILA performance. This study evaluates democratic anchorage by identifying concerns with ILAs in interviews with a sample of local elected officials in Michigan. The concerns then are discussed in the context of the institutional collective action framework, a theoretical foundation that has become popular for explaining the emergence of ILAs and regional cooperation.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Felix Alison

What Is the Outlook for Local Government Revenues in the Tenth District?



in *Economic Review*, Third Quarter 2011

Local governments, which rely heavily on property taxes and fund transfers from state governments, continue to struggle with slowing revenues - a situation that is likely to persist over the next few years. As new property tax assessments reflect declines in house prices, local property tax revenues may fall in some areas unless tax rates are increased. In addition, decreases in state revenues have led to a slowdown in state transfers to local governments.

Felix finds that for this downturn, local government revenues from property taxes and state transfers combined were likely slowest in fiscal year 2011. That weakness may continue for several years, especially if home prices decline further. Despite declines in home prices and state government revenues, projections based on historical experience suggest local governments may avoid outright declines in revenues, in part, because of their ability to raise tax rates to offset declines in property values. However, recent local property tax collections have been lower than projected, hinting that the severity of the recent recession may have led local governments to deviate somewhat from historical trends. The outlook for most Tenth District states, however, is somewhat brighter than the rest of the nation. House prices generally have held up better in the district, and after sharp declines in state revenues in fiscal years 2009 and 2010, many Tenth District states are experiencing positive growth. Still, local revenue growth in the region is likely to remain somewhat subdued in the near term.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Zainab Bawa

Where is the State? How is the State? Accessing Water and the State in Mumbai and Johannesburg

in *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, Volume 46, No. 5, October, 491-503

This article examines the water distribution systems in Johannesburg and Mumbai to argue that the political and institutional contexts of service delivery shape people's access to the state and its resources, and also mediation between citizens and government institutions by councillors. Through ethnographies of water supply and distribution systems in Mumbai and Johannesburg, I explain how the organizational structure of the water utility, institutional arrangements of service delivery, regulatory systems, councillors' proximity to decision makers and their relationship with municipal officials, civil servants and party members variously influence councillors' mediation capacities and their ability to fulfil the claims of their constituencies for piped water supply and connections.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

C. Buire

'Bringing Government Closer to the People'? The Daily Experience of Sub-councils in Cape Town

in *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, Volume 46, No. 5, October, 465-478

This article considers the ways in which sub-councils 'bring government closer to the people' by creating an intermediary level between local wards and the metropolitan council in Cape Town. Daily encounters between administrative staff, elected representatives and local communities within an impoverished formerly 'black' area demonstrate the intricacy of interactions and relationships between governing strategies from above and the tactics of the governed from below. Beyond conflicting objectives and rationalities, I argue that citizenship may be defined as a constant negotiation of



legitimacy between stakeholders, never definitely trapped 'below' or 'above' the actual challenges of the city.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

C. Bénit-Gbaffou

'Up Close and Personal' – How does Local Democracy Help the Poor Access the State? Stories of Accountability and Clientelism in Johannesburg

in *Journal of Asian and African Studies* , Volume 46, No. 5, October , 453-464

The paper revisits participation and decentralization in relation to local clientelism, arguing that they share the personalization of links between residents and the state and the local possibility to adapt state policies. The line between decentralization-participation on the one hand, and clientelism on the other, is therefore easily blurred. The paper then argues that clientelism is not per se anti-democratic, some forms allow for local and immediate accountability of politicians. However, in most cases, it contributes to fragment or sedate local organizations or social movements and it prevents contestation of existing policies and dominant power structures. The paper thus challenges the idea that the promotion of decentralization and participatory institutions intrinsically leads to more democratic forms of government.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Rosenzweig Luc

Belgique: la crise finale?

in *Politique internationale*, n. 132 - Ete, 2011

Without a federal government since April 2010, Belgium is experiencing seemingly insurmountable rifts. It is not impossible that a compromise may eventually be found, allowing for the formation of a government led by Elio Di Rupo, President of the Francophone Socialist Party. However, whatever the outcome of this crisis, there are certain centrifugal forces, fuelled by the intransigence of the Flemish separatists and their charismatic leader Bart De Wever, that will continue to undermine the foundations of the Kingdom. A partition of the country would lead to great uncertainty: Should Flanders, having become independent beside a "preserved" Belgium in Wallonia and Brussels, be subjected to a membership process, like any new country wishing to join the European Union? Can Brussels maintain its status of Triple Capital - of Belgium, Flanders and the EU? The scenario is completely new, in any case, and is likely to subject the institutions of our Old Continent to a sort of trial by fire.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

T. B. Pepinsky , M. M. Wihardja

Decentralization and Economic Performance in Indonesia

in *Journal of East Asian Studies* , Volume 11, Issue 3, September-December , 337-371

Indonesia's 1999 decentralization law gave local governments in Indonesia an unprecedented opportunity to adopt prodevelopment policies. In this article, we study whether decentralization has in fact generated improved economic performance in Indonesia. Using a synthetic case control methodology, we argue that Indonesian decentralization has



had no discernable effect on the country's national-level economic performance. To explain why not, we use subnational data to probe two political economy mechanisms—interjurisdictional competition and democratic accountability—that underlie all theories linking decentralization to better economic outcomes. Our findings suggest that extreme heterogeneity in endowments, factor immobility, and the endogenous deterioration of local governance institutions can each undermine the supposed development-enhancing promises of decentralized government in emerging economies such as Indonesia.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Green Elliott

Decentralization and political opposition in contemporary Africa: evidence from Sudan and Ethiopia

in Democratization, vol. 18, n. 5, September, Special Issue: Political Opposition and Democracy in Sub-Saharan Africa , 1087-1105

A growing literature in political science has examined the impact of democratization on decentralization without much attention, however, to how decentralization influences political opposition movements. In order to help fill this gap, in this contribution I examine two case studies of decentralization in Africa, namely Sudan's experiment with decentralization in the 1970s and Ethiopia's more recent experience with decentralization since the 1990s. In the former case political opposition pressured the government to abandon decentralization in the South, leading to a renewed civil war and a successful coup d'état, while in the latter case the political opposition has both remained fragmented and failed to gain a foothold in a series of national elections. I argue that the key reason for these divergent outcomes was the differing equality of decentralization. More specifically, inasmuch as Sudanese decentralization initially only applied to the South, political opposition in the North remained united and instead focused its attentions on Khartoum. In Ethiopia, however, President Zenawi's regime introduced an equitable form of ethnic federalism across 11 regions, which quickly became a site for political party competition and fragmentation. This contribution thus suggests that equitable decentralization can promote opposition political party fragmentation.

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Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Rodrigues-Silveira Rodrigo

Descentralización y focalización del gasto social en los municipios brasileños

in Latin American Research Review, Volume 46, Number 3, 2011 , 69-92

The intense process of decentralization of some social policies observed in Brazil since the 1980s has not given rise to the diminution of the regional inequalities in terms of those policies' attention to local necessities. On the other hand, in the past years, the success of the Bolsa Família conditional cash-transfer program—with centralized management and focused attention on the most impoverished—has fostered the interest on evaluating what provision strategy is able to offer the most efficient results in terms of the cost-necessity relationship. The examination of the social policies based on two central dimensions (centralization-decentralization and universalized-focused) has revealed that centralization and focused coverage present better results than decentralization and universalized coverage.

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



Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Jordi Canal

El Estado autonómico: reflexiones históricas sobre Cataluña y el nacionalismo catalán

in *Cuadernos de pensamiento político*, Nr 32, Octubre-Diciembre

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

William Cross and Lisa Young

Explaining Local Campaign Intensity: The Canadian General Election of 2008

in *Canadian Journal of Political Science--Revue canadienne de science politique*, Volume 44 - Issue 03 , 553-571

Abstract. There is considerable evidence that local campaign activity is positively related both to a party's constituency level vote share and to voter participation rates. In this article we consider the degree of variance of local campaign intensity at the constituency level in the Liberal and New Democratic parties in the 2008 Canadian federal election and consider the variables that may explain this variance. Utilizing data collected through a post-election mail-back survey of candidates, we find significant variance in local campaign activity and identify six factors that influence it. These are an objective measure of the local candidate's chance for victory in the constituency, the candidate's subjective view of their chances, whether the candidate was challenged for the local nomination, how involved the candidate is in his/her local community, whether the candidate contested the prior election and whether party notables from outside the constituency campaigned in the riding.

Résumé. Les preuves sont considérables au fait que l'activité dans les campagnes locales correspond à la part des votes dans la circonscription électorale ainsi qu'à la participation électorale. Dans cet article nous considérons le degré de variance de l'intensité des campagnes locales des partis Libéral et Nouveau Démocratique durant l'élection fédérale Canadienne 2008 et examinons les données qui expliquent la variation. En utilisant les données recueillies par des questionnaires postélectoraux des candidats retournés par la poste, nous trouvons une variance significative dans l'activité des campagnes locales et nous identifions six facteurs qui l'influencent. Ils sont: une mesure objective des chances de victoire du candidat, l'impression subjective du candidat de ses chances de gagner, si le candidat était mis au défi dans la nomination locale, la participation du candidat dans sa communauté locale, si le candidat avait contesté l'élection précédente, et si les notables du parti en dehors de la circonscription faisaient campagne pour le candidat dans sa circonscription.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Martinico Giuseppe

How "European" is the Italian Regional State now? A study on the Europeanization of the Italian Regional System

in *Revista d'Estudis Autonomics i Federals*, 14 , 36-66

To what extent do Italian courts adapt the national legal instruments (principles, rules, techniques, legal concepts) regarding state structure to the requirements of EU law? This paper aims to give an answer to this question by providing



an overview of the most emblematic cases of “re-adaptations” operated by the Italian courts in order to ensure the respect of the structural principles of EU law. This contribution is structured as follows: first, I will explain the reasons why research like this is “difficult”, while secondly I will move to the analysis of the of some legal instruments (principle of competence, substitutive power, “cedevolezza”). Some final remarks will be presented at the end of the paper. Generally speaking, my main idea is

that EU law has had a certain impact on the relationship between State and Regions in Italy, especially looking at the seasons of the principle of competence, that has been conceived more and more as referring to the idea of “legislative preference” rather than as to the existence of a “legislative reserved domain”

Full text available at:

http://www10.gencat.cat/drep/binaris/_reaf14_Martinico_tcm112-180564.pdf

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Fiona MacDonald

Indigenous Peoples and Neoliberal “Privatization” in Canada: Opportunities, Cautions and Constraints

in Canadian Journal of Political Science--Revue canadienne de science politique, Volume 44 - Issue 02 , 257-273

Abstract. This article addresses the impact of the current neoliberal political context for Indigenous governance in Canada. While some observers have argued correctly that the neoliberal context provides new opportunities or points of entry in the political opportunity structure for “self-government” initiatives (Helvin, 2006; Scott, 2006; Slowey, 2008), I examine to what extent recent decentralizing initiatives, generally viewed as “concessions” made by the state to meet the demands of Indigenous peoples, must be evaluated as part of a broader governmental strategy of neoliberalism. This strategy is not simply about meeting the demands of Indigenous peoples but also about meeting the requirements of the contemporary governmental shift towards “privatization” within liberal democratic states. As such, I argue that certain manifestations of Indigenous self-government are vulnerable to criticisms launched against practices of privatization, practices which include a variety of policies designed to promote a shifting of contentious issues out of the public sphere and thereby limiting public debate and collective—that is, state—responsibility.

Résumé. Le présent article analyse d'un oeil critique l'impact du contexte politique néolibéral actuel sur la gouvernance autochtone au Canada. Certains auteurs ont avancé avec raison que le contexte néolibéral donnait aux peuples autochtones de nouveaux points d'entrée pour leurs initiatives d'autogouvernance (Helvin, 2006; Scott, 2006; Slowey, 2008). Toutefois, j'examine ici dans quelle mesure les tentatives récentes de décentralisation, souvent comprises comme des « concessions » faites par l'État pour répondre aux revendications des peuples autochtones, doivent être évaluées dans le cadre plus vaste d'une stratégie de néolibéralisme du gouvernement. Cette stratégie ne vise pas uniquement à répondre aux besoins des peuples autochtones, mais aussi à permettre au gouvernement de s'orienter vers la « privatisation » qui distingue l'État libéral démocratique contemporain. À ce titre, je soutiens que certaines manifestations d'autogouvernance des Autochtones peuvent se prêter aux mêmes critiques que les pratiques de privatisation, qui comprennent diverses politiques visant à retirer de la place publique certains sujets controversés afin de limiter le débat public et la responsabilité collective, c'est-à-dire celle de l'État.

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



Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

León Sandra, Ferrín Pereira Mónica

Intergovernmental Cooperation in a Decentralised System: the Sectoral Conferences in Spain
in *South European Society & Politics*, Volume 16, Issue 4, December , 513-532

One of the challenges of decentralised systems is ensuring intergovernmental cooperation. This paper attempts to shed some light on the conditions that bring about cooperation between central and sub-national governments. Drawing on extensive data based on the Spanish case, empirical findings show that factors that have a bearing on cooperation are associated with non-tangible assets of intergovernmental relations (such as informal contacts among representatives) or more general and long-term political dynamics. Public practitioners have little room to modify these conditions, which highlight the limitations of administrative reforms to promote intergovernmental relations.

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Buxant Martin

La voie flamande

in *Politique internationale*, n. 132 - Ete, 2011

Entretien avec Bart DE WEVER conduit par Martin BUXANT

For many years, Belgium's political elite has dismissed Bart De Wever as a crank. Indeed, the exuberant personality of the leader of the New Flemish Alliance (N-VA) has caused many to doubt his seriousness at times. But since his Flemish nationalist party triumphed in the legislative elections in Flanders on June 13, 2010, he has acquired a new status. This conservative is a staunch defender of Flemish interests, which he has placed above all other considerations. In this exclusive interview, Mr. De Wever is very clear that in voting for his party, the Flemish people expressed their political and economic demands, and he has no intention of compromising in this area. His will be taking an inflexible position during negotiations on Belgium's future: there should be fundamental state reforms to allow each community to live the way they want. Mr. De Wever has been engaged in a fierce standoff with Belgium's French-speaking community for a year now and he shows no sign of giving in.

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Rosenzweig Luc

Le credo des wallons

in *Politique internationale*, n. 132 - Ete, 2011

Entretien avec Elio DI RUPO Président du Parti socialiste belge depuis 1999, conduit par LUC ROSENZWEIG

With no federal government for over a year now, the Belgian state is crumbling more and more with each passing day. King Albert II has therefore appointed Elio Di Rupo, leader of the francophone Socialist party, as "formateur" - making him, in effect, a virtual prime minister charged with resolving the country's institutional crisis. Is Mr. Di Rupo Belgium's last chance for survival? One thing is certain: the "formateur" will have to square the circle of reconciling the interests of his Walloon compatriots, the majority of whom wish to maintain a united Belgium, with the aspirations of the Flemish, who demand ever greater autonomy, even if this endangers state unity. In this exclusive interview, the Walloon leader



does not shy from the magnitude of the task ahead and reveals some of the strategies he will deploy to meet the challenge. Mr. Di Rupo believes in maintaining Belgian unity, but not at any cost, and warns that if Flanders decides to declare independence, the Walloons and residents of Brussels should not be afraid to take their own destiny in hand.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Payan Guillaume

L'unification de la procédure civile suisse

in *Revue internationale de droit comparé*, n. 4

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

Rodríguez-Teruel, Juan

Ministerial and Parliamentary Elites in Multilevel Spain 1977-2009

in *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, Vol. 10, n°6, 887-907

In decentralized European parliamentary democracies future governing elites often acquire political experience and attain top positions by passing through sub-national political institutions. In doing so, elites circumvent and reduce the importance of national parliaments. Previous research has advanced several explanations for this pattern: Europe's tradition of bureaucratic government; parties with open methods for selecting parliamentary candidates; the "presidentialization" and Europeanization of national political systems. Since its transition to democracy in 1977, Spain has had an exceptionally small proportion of former MPs in its national cabinets. I employ data for Spanish ministers between 1977-2009 demonstrating the passage of a large proportion of cabinet ministers through local and regional government levels rather than the national parliament, the Cortes Generales. I show that multilevel rather than parliamentary political careers characterize ministerial elite recruitment, and I discuss the consequences for Spain's parliamentary democracy.

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Vipiana Perpetua Piera Maria

Osservazioni sul cosiddetto federalismo amministrativo nella sua evoluzione e nei suoi sviluppi

in *Istituzioni del federalismo*, n. 2, 395 - 421

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Enrico Sacco

Politica di coesione e regioni meridionali: tra centralizzazione e autonomia



in *Stato e mercato*, 2, agosto , 245-282

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

Gómez Eduardo Jesus

Pursuing Centralization amidst Decentralization: The Politics of Brazil's Innovative Response to HIV/AIDS in *Journal of Politics in Latin America* , Vol 3, No. 3 , 95-126

In recent years, Brazil has been highly revered for its response to HIV/AIDS. Despite the government's delayed response, why and how did the national AIDS program eventually become so successful? This is even further puzzling when one considers the challenges associated with Brazil's decentralized response to healthcare needs, lack of subnational resources and political will to effectively implement AIDS policy. This article maintains that Brazil's successful response eventually required the strategic centralization of national AIDS bureaucratic and policy authority, entailing policies designed to aid local governments while creating fiscal policies incentivizing sub-national compliance with the national bureaucracy and more effective policy implementation. Taking advantage of renewed political support, kindled by international pressures and the president's reputation-building pursuits, the sources of AIDS officials' success, however, resided not in their technical and financial prowess, but in their ability to forge historically-based partnerships with civic AIDS NGOs and social movements sharing like-minded ideational beliefs in policy centralization. This article also discusses how these findings contribute new insights into theories addressing the reasons for centralization, as well as the ideational sources of gradual institutional change.

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Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Paul Chaney

Quasi-Federalism and the Administration of Equality and Human Rights: Recent Developments and Future Prospects – A Preliminary Analysis from the UK's Devolution Programme in *Public Policy and Administration*, 27 (1) , 69-88

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



dependency' towards more effective equalities practice are, as yet, unfounded and significant challenges remain.

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Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Murias Ragnhild Louise

The ANC and power concentration in South Africa: does local democracy allow for power-sharing?

in Democratization, vol. 18, n. 5, September, Special Issue: Political Opposition and Democracy in Sub-Saharan Africa , 1067-1086

Concentration of power in the hands of the executive is one of the key challenges to democratic consolidation in Africa. Since the early 1990s, the African National Congress (ANC) has won each national election with up to two-thirds of the votes in South Africa. At the same time, the governing ANC has introduced a process of democratic decentralization. This contribution focuses on the question: to what extent does this process allow for increased power-sharing in South Africa? By analysing the results of two local elections this contribution shows that in seven out of nine provinces the opposition parties are ineffective in challenging the hegemony of the ANC. The analysis then goes on to examine three institutional mechanisms which are likely to have an effect on inter-party relations in-between elections, i.e. floor crossing, ward committees and the electoral system. This in-depth examination shows how these three institutional mechanisms, while not directly restricting opposition parties' opportunity to compete, favour the governing party. Yet, as opposition parties are free to govern small pockets of power, the leadership of the ANC restricts itself and abides by the existing democratic rules. At the same time it needs to be kept in mind that it is the ANC who makes those rules and like any other party in power, they want to retain it.

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Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Malagodi Mara

The End of a National Monarchy: Nepal's Recent Constitutional Transition from Hindu Kingdom to Secular Federal Republic

in Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism , vol. 11, n. 2, October , 234-251

The article analyses Nepal's transition in 2007 from the constitutional definition of the state as a 'Hindu monarchical kingdom' to a 'secular federal republic', followed by the abolition of the Shah monarchy in 2008. Nepal's institutional change in 2007–2008 invites reflection on the role of Hindu kingship in informing Nepali nationalism in its constitutional formulation. The developments of the Shah monarchy are interpreted as the product of both the institution and the various historical figures that have occupied that institutional place. However, it is argued that the more or less charismatic qualities of individual Shah kings were 'contained' within and minimised by the prevailing institutional dimension of the monarchy in defining the Nepali nation. The nationalist legitimacy of the Shah monarchy as Nepal's core political institution rested upon the notion of Hindu kingship, which transcended the single historical personalities of the Shah kings and proved so pervasive that it has shaped the constitutional definition of the nation even in republican Nepal.

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Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization



Grygiel Jakub

To Survive, Decentralize!: The Barbarian Threat and State Decentralization

in *Orbis: a Journal of World Affairs*, vol. 55, n. 4, fall , 663-684

ABSTRACT: What happens when states or empires face multiple and geographically dispersed assaults along their frontiers from non-state, tribal actors? It is plausible to argue that the result may be state decentralization, both military and administrative. In some cases, this may be a conscious strategy pursued by the central authorities, but in others, it may be the result of centrifugal tendencies pursued by disaffected local leaders. This article illustrates this argument by describing the end of the Roman empire, caused by multiple assaults of barbarian groups. The lesson is that in such an environment a centralized state that arrogates to itself all the functions of security provision may undermine its own safety.

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Vergara Alberto

United by Discord, Divided by Consensus: National and Sub-national Articulation in Bolivia and Peru, 2000–2010

in *Journal of Politics in Latin America* , Vol 3, No. 3 , 65-93

From 2000 to 2010, Bolivia and Peru underwent similar processes of political decentralization toward the meso level of the government. Three elections later in Peru and two in Bolivia, the ability of national political parties to articulate interests differs markedly between the two countries. Peru tends toward fragmentation with national parties incapable of participating or successfully competing in subnational elections, while in Bolivia, the Movimiento al Socialismo (MAS) – and other parties to a lesser extent – are increasingly capable of participating and winning subnational offices. This paper argues that, despite having undergone very similar institutional reforms, the difference between the cases can largely be explained by two “society-side” variables: the caliber of the political ideas in debate and political social density. The substantive quality of ideas in debate and a greater political social density have been crucial to the Bolivian trend, while their absence has lessened the possibility of anything similar occurring in Peru. In general terms, the article sheds light on the social conditions that favor party-building in a context of decentralization reform.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Sheeran Scott P.

A Constitutional Moment?: United Nations Peacekeeping in the Democratic Republic of Congo

in *International Organizations Law Review*, vol. 8, n. 1 , 55-135

ABSTRACT: The United Nations (UN) is the world's most prominent international organization, and a key issue is its responsibility under international law. The contemporary growth in UN powers and activities has not been matched by parallel developments in accountability and checks and balances within the UN legal order. This was recently brought to the fore in the instance of UN peacekeepers providing support to Congolese army forces responsible for serious violations of international humanitarian and human rights law. It became a significant public issue and the



Secretary-General eventually withdrew UN support from a unit of the Congolese army. This article demonstrates that this withdrawal of support by the Secretary-General represents a constitutional moment for the United Nations. It confirmed a key premise that the Secretary-General is normatively constrained under the Charter, including by the Organization's obligations, when implementing the decisions of the Security Council. This is a legal development which engages a number of emerging and uncertain areas of international law relating to the United Nations, including the UN's constitutional law, the responsibility of international organizations, the substantive obligations of the Organization, and the role of international law in peace and security. Recognizing this important development not only confirms the Secretary-General's legal responsibility under the Charter, it reinforces the view of the Charter as a living instrument and provides an effective and important means for incorporating the law of responsibility into the UN constitutional order and a check upon the expansive application of the Security Council's implied powers doctrine.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Simon Joan Marc

A EU Seat in the Security Council as a First Step towards a Democratic Organisation of World Security in Federalist Debate (The), Year XXIV, n. 3, November , 37-41

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Powell C.H.

A Fullerian Analysis of security Council Legislation in International Organizations Law Review, vol. 8, n. 1 , 205-224

ABSTRACT: This article uses the term 'international legislation' to refer to the creation, by the Security Council, of norms by which the Council intends to bind all states, irrespective of their consent. The norms produced by the Council must in turn purport to modify some element of existing law, or to create new law, and they must be general in nature. Two resolutions of the Security Council emerge as 'legislative' under this definition: SCR 1373 of 2001 and SCR 1540 of 2004. Relying on the legal philosophy of Lon Fuller, this article will argue that these resolutions do not, in fact, produce law. Under Fuller's approach, the formal source of a norm is insufficient to determine that norm's legal status, as law is instead constituted by characteristics internal to the normative system. This article sets out these characteristics, analyses them and suggests how they might apply to the international setting. It argues that a practice of legality, in Fuller's terms, arises from three basic elements: reciprocity between the law-giver and those affected by the law; congruence between stated norms and exercises of public authority; and a respect for, and reliance on, the agency of those affected by the norms of the legal system. The article demonstrates that even formally valid activity has failed to attain the status of law because it has not followed these basic elements. It then argues that the Security Council is generally prevented by its very institutional structure from creating norms around which a practice of legality could emerge.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Bastagli F.

Can Law make a Difference? Lessons Learned From a U.N. Experience

in *Revue belge de droit international*, Vol. 43, n. 1

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Natarajan U.

Creating and Recreating Iraq: Legacies of the Mandate System in Contemporary Understandings of Third World Sovereignty

in *Leiden Journal of International Law*, Volume 24 - Issue 04 , 799 - 822

This article explores the League of Nations' role in state formation in Third World or peripheral states and its legacy for contemporary understandings of Third World sovereignty. It examines Iraq under British Mandate, and UN and Coalition of the Willing interventions. This research was prompted by the international-law community's outrage when the Coalition invaded Iraq in March 2003. While the invasion was seen by many as an affront to international law, there was also something faintly familiar about the Coalition's reasoning for the invasion. This feeling of déjà vu escalated once regime change was followed by lengthy nation-building. The idea of recreating Iraq was not a new one. The British were tasked with something similar under the League of Nations Mandate System. UN interventions into failed states also attempt comparable transformations. Indeed, the more one contemplates international law's interventions in Iraq, the less shocking the Coalition's invasion becomes. It starts seeming foreseeable and even inevitable.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

McCausland Julieta Solano, Rojo Enrique Carnero

Developments at the International Criminal Court

in *Law and Practice of International Courts and Tribunals (The)*, vol. 10, n. 3 , 429-506

ABSTRACT: This column covers the activity of the International Criminal Court during the second third of 2010. The Court has continued investigating situations in five countries (the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Uganda, Sudan, the Central African Republic and Kenya) and has started one new case. The judicial activity of the Court has remained stable, with three accused persons undergoing trial and one more waiting for his trial to start. Several Chambers have continued to develop the rules applicable to pre-trial and trial proceedings, confirming their previous decisions, including on the issue of victim participation during the trial. Moreover, the Court has adopted its first decision charging a suspect with allegations of genocide and has ruled on the admissibility of the third of its cases to proceed to trial. All in all, during the period of time covered in this column, the Court has continued the conduct of its investigations and trials.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Espósito Carlos

El discreto ejercicio de la función consultiva de la Corte Internacional de Justicia en el asunto Kosovo
in *Revista Espanola de Derecho Internacional*, vol. 63, n.1 , 125-147

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Welch Claude E. Jr, Watkins Ashley F.

Extending Enforcement: The Coalition for the International Criminal Court
in *Human Rights Quarterly*, vol. 33, number 4, november , 927-1031

ABSTRACT: With judges chosen, cases underway, and judgments rendered, the International Criminal Court has officially begun operations. As the Court has proceeded with its activities, its potential has become enhanced. The creation of the Court through the 1998 Rome Statute came through cooperation of an exceptionally broad coalition of NGOs with like-minded states. This article examines the historical background to the Court's establishment, exploring why seemingly favorable conditions after the World Wars failed to result in a permanent judicial institution. Even post-1948 genocides in Southeast Asia, Central Africa, and elsewhere did not lead to international steps. Unexpected events, including the end of the Cold War and special tribunals for the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda, reopened the possibility for action. Despite opposition from most Permanent Members of the Security Council, the Coalition for the International Criminal Court—the major focus of this study—coordinated a network of citizen groups to exert pressure successfully. The 2010 Review Conference for the International Criminal Court reaffirmed the Court's basic directions, and broadened the areas over which it exercises powers of judgment. The 1998 miracle on the Tiber and subsequent steps strengthening the Court thus call into question long-standing assumptions about the relative significance of states and civil society.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Gowan Richard

Floating Down the River of History: Ban Ki-moon and Peacekeeping, 2007–2011
in *Global Governance*, vol. 17, n. 4, october-december , 399-416

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Fausto Pocar

Humanitarian Intervention and Responsibility to Protect: a Necessary Connection?



in *Quaderni di Relazioni Internazionali* , n. 15, novembre 2011 , 4-12

As per recent international practice of the use of force, international organizations or individual States have engaged in various forms of military intervention.

This has occurred within the territory of States where there have been internal armed conflicts or serious disturbances, provided that evidence was given of grave violations of human rights committed by governmental authorities or non State actors against the civilian population. Such interventions are justified by the necessity to protect the victims or potential victims of these violations and to prevent their perpetration in the future.

Irrespective of the real reasons underlying the decision to intervene in each individual case and of its conformity to the legitimate objectives of the foreign policy of the State or international organization concerned, these incidents show an increasing tension between the fundamental principle of State sovereignty, the respect for which is an essential basis of peaceful international relations, and the supreme values of humanity, which should be observed by all States, as enshrined in the United Nations Charter and identified and proclaimed by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. How can it be maintained that fundamental human rights are «universal» – that they belong to «all members of the human family» and are «the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world» – and accept at the same time that they are daily violated with impunity by any individual State? How may it be accepted that a State can invoke its sovereignty over the people living on its territory to exempt itself from responsibility for the violation of such rights?

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Valerio Bosco

Il CdS e le nuove minacce alla pace e alla sicurezza internazionale in *CeMiSS - Osservatorio Strategico e Quarterly*, XIII, n. 11 , 86-90

Il 23 novembre, su iniziativa della presidenza portoghese, il CdS si è riunito per discutere in un dibattito pubblico le nuove minacce alla pace e alla sicurezza internazionale, dedicando particolare attenzione ai temi del crimine internazionale, dei cambiamenti climatici – con particolare riferimento agli effetti delle siccità e delle carestie sui movimenti di popolazione - e delle pandemie. Organizzato sulla base di un concept paper preparato dalla delegazione portoghese all'ONU, il dibattito è conciso con il riaffiorare delle consuete divergenze sulle



prerogative del CdS e sulla opportunità o meno di estenderne la competenza su questioni apparentemente non legate alla responsabilità attribuetegli dalla Carta in materia di mantenimento della pace e della sicurezza internazionale. Le discussioni del 23 novembre sono sembrate del resto rivelare l'emergere di posizioni più articolate e meno omogenee all'interno di quello è che generalmente indicato da molti analisti come il blocco "compatto" dei Paesi emergenti, Brasile, Russia, India, Cina e Sud Africa, BRICS. Nondimeno, aldilà delle suddette divergenze, appare assai probabile che il CdS continuerà ad esaminare le nuove tipologie di sfide alla pace e alla sicurezza internazionale, riflettendo altresì sulle possibilità di migliorare la qualità del proprio processo decisionale in materia.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Aresi Barbara, Bigi Giulia

Il genocidio nella recente giurisprudenza della Corte Penale Internazionale nel caso Al Bashir tra diritto consuetudinario e nuovi sviluppi

in **Comunità Internazionale (La)**, vol. LXVI, n. 3, terzo trimestre , 407-432

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Coleman Katharina P.

Innovations in 'African solutions to African problems': the evolving practice of regional peacekeeping in sub-Saharan Africa

in **Journal of Modern African Studies** , Volume 49, Issue 04, December , 517-545

Three critical trends in the evolving practice of regional peacekeeping in sub-Saharan Africa have undermined the usefulness of the common conceptual dichotomy between regional peacekeeping and UN/global peacekeeping. First, sub-Saharan African states have distanced themselves from long-term autonomous regional peacekeeping, and currently favour explicitly interim missions that are a prelude rather than an alternative to UN peacekeeping. Second, the analytically clear line between regional peacekeeping and the separate sub-Saharan African tradition of solidarity deployments (i.e. military support of embattled governments) has in practice become blurred, and the regional vs global



peacekeeping dichotomy not only fails to acknowledge this trend but helps to obscure it. Finally, sub-Saharan African states are increasingly addressing regional conflicts by participating in UN operations deployed in the region. UN peacekeeping has thus emerged as a preferred form of regional peacekeeping in sub-Saharan Africa.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Valerio Bosco

L'ONU e la diplomazia preventiva

in *CeMiSS - Osservatorio Strategico e Quarterly*, XIII, n. 9 , 82-87

Pur dominata dai lavori di apertura dell'Assemblea Generale, dal dibattito generale alla presenza di molti capi di Stato e di governo e dall'annunciato showdown dell'Autorità Nazionale Palestinese sul riconoscimento della Palestina come nuovo membro delle Nazioni Unite, l'agenda dell'ONU nel mese di settembre è stata segnata dalla riunione di alto livello del Consiglio di Sicurezza sulla diplomazia preventiva. Il meeting, guidato dal presidente libanese Michel Suleiman, svoltosi ai margini del dibattito in corso nell'Assemblea Generale – “The role of mediation in the settlement of disputes” - ha fatto il punto sull'attività di mediazione e diplomazia preventiva condotta dalle Nazioni Unite ed ha discusso il rapporto “Preventive Diplomacy: Delivering Results” presentato dal Segretario Generale Ban Ki- Moon lo scorso 9 settembre.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Flakowska M.

L'interaction entre la Cour pénale internationale et le Conseil de sécurité en matière d'agression à l'issue de la Conférence de révision du Statut de Rome

in *Revue belge de droit international*, Vol. 43, n. 2

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations



Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Valerio Bosco

La crisi siriana e i veti di Cina e Russia: fine della RTP?

in *CeMiSS - Osservatorio Strategico e Quarterly*, XIII, n. 10 , 84-89

Solo nella scorsa primavera, il Segretario Generale dell'ONU Ban Ki-Moon e molti sostenitori del principio della responsabilità di proteggere le popolazioni civili da genocidio, crimini di guerra e crimini contro l'umanità (Responsibility to Protect, RTP), avevano salutato le risoluzioni adottate dal CdS su Libia e Costa d'Avorio – 1973 e 1975 – come le prime storiche realizzazioni della RTP, il principio adottato dagli Stati Membri delle Nazioni Unite nel corso del World Summit 2005. Come già ricostruito su queste pagine, le controversie emerse in seno al Consiglio circa l'interpretazione data dalla NATO all'implementazione della no-fly zone prescritta dalla risoluzione 1975 sembravano indicare l'emergere di una rottura del consenso internazionale sulla RTP. Il veto cinese e russo sulla risoluzione di condanna dei fatti in Siria presentata da Stati Uniti, Francia, Gran Bretagna, Portogallo sembra aver confermato, assieme alle astensioni di Brasile, India e Sud Africa, la creazione di un fronte internazionale tendenzialmente ostile a futuri nuovi pronunciamenti e interventi del Consiglio di Sicurezza in favore dell'applicazione della RTP. Nonostante ciò, appare assai prematuro, se non del tutto infondato, vedere nello showdown del 4 ottobre l'avvio della crisi terminale della RTP.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Cardona Llorens Jorge

La relevancia (o no) de la administración internacional de Kosovo en la Opinión consultiva de la Corte Internacional de Justicia de 22 de julio de 2010: perplejidades de un lector

in *Revista Espanola de Derecho Internacional*, vol. 63, n.1 , 79-100



No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Telman D. A. Jeremy

Law or Politics? Hans Kelsen and the Post-War International Order

in *Constellations*, Vol. 18, Issue 4, December , 513-528

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1467-8675.2011.00656.x/abstract>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Chapaux V.

Le Sahara occidental, 35 ans après l'avis de la Cour internationale de Justice

in *Revue belge de droit international*, Vol. 43, n. 1

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Devin Guillaume, Placidi-Frot Delphine

Les évolutions de l'ONU : concurrences et intégration

in *Critique Internationale*, N°53 - Octobre/Décembre

Les changements vécus par l'ONU sont nombreux, complexes et multiformes, à l'instar de l'approfondissement erratique de la coopération internationale. La croissance, la diversification et la compétition des multiples acteurs, étatiques et non étatiques, impliqués dans ses activités suscitent la mise en place de nouveaux dispositifs et l'émergence de nouvelles pratiques. Ces changements variés se révèlent toutefois plus progressifs et itératifs que susceptibles de bouleverser les rapports de force internationaux. Si elle constitue un cadre d'action politique à l'efficacité variable, l'ONU fonctionne surtout comme un forum d'échanges et de débats en raison des divergences et des tensions inhérentes à une institution universelle, décentralisée et multifonctionnelle. Elle n'en contribue pas moins à un lent processus d'intégration des États et des sociétés à l'échelle internationale.

The Evolution of the UN: Competition and Integration

In pace with the erratic growth of international cooperation, the United Nations has experienced complex change in many areas. The growth, diversification and competition of the numerous state and non-state actors involved in its activities have led to the establishment of new mechanisms and the emergence of new practices. These varied changes have nevertheless proven to be more gradual and iterated than likely to overturn the international balance of power. Given the divergences and tensions inherent to a universal, decentralized and multi-functional institution, the UN's effectiveness as a framework for political action varies considerably and it mainly operates as a forum for exchange and debate. It nevertheless contributes to the slow integration of states and societies at the international level.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Chloé Maurel

L'Unesco : une plate-forme pour les circulations transnationales de savoirs et d'idées (1945-1980)

in *Histoire@Politique. Politique, culture, société*, n°15 , 42-59

De 1945 à 1980, l'Unesco a joué un rôle important dans les relations culturelles internationales et transnationales. L'action de l'Unesco en faveur de la production, de la diffusion, de la circulation des idées et des savoirs a été intense et multiforme. Cette action s'est faite par plusieurs moyens : création d'institutions, organisation de conférences et de manifestations culturelles, publications d'ouvrages, réalisation de projets opérationnels sur le terrain. Pourtant, les réalisations n'ont en réalité pas toujours correspondu aux ambitions affichées : elles se sont souvent caractérisées par l'occidentocentrisme, et, comme le montre l'exemple du NOMIC (Nouvel ordre mondial de l'information et de la communication), ces circulations d'idées et de savoirs n'ont souvent fait que refléter les rapports de domination à l'œuvre dans le monde. En outre, la réception de ces actions dans le public s'est avérée souvent décevante. Le projet majeur Orient-Occident, comme l'Histoire de l'Humanité, n'ont pas obtenu tout l'impact espéré dans l'opinion mondiale. Au total, malgré ces nuances, l'Unesco a œuvré de manière importante et souvent efficace (notamment par ses réseaux d'experts) aux circulations internationales d'idées et de savoirs dans le monde.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Daxner Michael, Schrade Urs

Menschenrechtsrabatt durch UN-Peacekeeping?

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, Dezember, 2011 , 34-37

Nachdem sich die letzten Hefte mit der zweifelhaften Rechtsgrundlage der UN-Libyen-Interventionen für die Beseitigung des Diktators Muammar al-Gaddafi beschäftigten (vgl. Reinhard Mutz 6/2011, Daniela Dahn 7/2011, Dieter Senghaas 8/2011 und Jürgen Zimmerer 9/2011), rückt der folgende Artikel einen anderen, bisher kaum beachteten Aspekt der Instrumentalisierung der Menschenrechte in den Mittelpunkt...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Weitz Richard

Nuclear Safety, Nuclear Security: Whither the IAEA?

in *World Affairs*, Vol. 15, n. 6, November / December

The International Atomic Energy Agency has been caught flat-footed so many times in the last decade that its future effectiveness is in doubt.

<http://www.worldaffairsjournal.org/article/nuclear-safety-nuclear-security-whither-iaea>



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Valerio Bosco

Preventive diplomacy: delivering results

in *CeMiSS - Osservatorio Strategico e Quarterly*, A. IX, Summer , 81-87

A few months ago, at the beginning of his second term, Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon (UNSG) indicated his intention to confirm and further increase his engagement on consolidating his reform efforts aimed at improving UN preventive diplomacy tools and strengthen the cooperation between the United Nations and regional organizations in conflict prevention. The report issued by the UNSG on 28 August provided the UN system and Member States with an additional opportunity to discuss gaps, challenges and achievement of UN most recent prevention activities as well as ways to strengthen international capacities in preventive diplomacy over the next five years. The report was reviewed by the United Nations Security Council on 23 September. Despite having issued a presidential statement welcoming Ban Ki-Moon's findings and proposals, the Security Council did not carry out a comprehensive review of the different preventive efforts and initiatives undertaken by the UN. It is now likely that an in-depth analysis of the results achieved so far by the UN preventive diplomacy would be carried out by the General Assembly in the upcoming months.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Procedural Developments at the International Court of Justice

in *Law and Practice of International Courts and Tribunals (The)*, vol. 10, n. 3 , 507-596

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Morijn John

Reforming United Nations Human Rights Treaty Monitoring Reform

in *Netherlands International Law Review*, Vol. 58, issue 3 , 295 - 333

Discussions on the necessity to reform UN human rights treaty monitoring have witnessed a new dynamism over the last five years. After extensive consultation about ways to strengthen human rights treaty monitoring the UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights is expected to propose a new set of reform measures in 2012. This article aims to structure and analyse the different implemented and tabled streamlining and enhancement measures. It argues that a further reform of UN human rights treaty monitoring should take account of two fundamental considerations. Firstly, next to treaty monitoring other international human rights protection methods have gained significance over the last few decades. Today, judicial enforcement and political peer-to-peer protection through the UPR mechanism effectively condition the room for added value for treaty monitoring. Secondly, given that a case for such added value can still be made, it is significant that human rights monitoring mechanisms have not so far sufficiently been equipped, or equipped



themselves to achieve structural domestic impact of their recommendations and views. This not only inherently hampers their impact, but also threatens support for their activities. In particular, prior requesting of specific input, clear indicators for what is compliant behaviour and what is not, and targeted follow-up to recommendations, all crucial aspects of 'constructive dialogue', have not been consistently institutionalised by treaty bodies. In this light the article outlines some concrete ways forward for a reformed reform agenda that could lay the groundwork for measures to sustainably strengthen UN human rights treaty monitoring.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Morijn John

**Reforming United Nations human rights Treaty monitoring reform
in Netherlands International Law Review**, Volume 58, Issue 3 , 295-333

Discussions on the necessity to reform UN human rights treaty monitoring have witnessed a new dynamism over the last five years. After extensive consultation about ways to strengthen human rights treaty monitoring the UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights is expected to propose a new set of reform measures in 2012. This article aims to structure and analyse the different implemented and tabled streamlining and enhancement measures. It argues that a further reform of UN human rights treaty monitoring should take account of two fundamental considerations. Firstly, next to treaty monitoring other international human rights protection methods have gained significance over the last few decades. Today, judicial enforcement and political peer-to-peer protection through the UPR mechanism effectively condition the room for added value for treaty monitoring. Secondly, given that a case for such added value can still be made, it is significant that human rights monitoring mechanisms have not so far sufficiently been equipped, or equipped themselves to achieve structural domestic impact of their recommendations and views. This not only inherently hampers their impact, but also threatens support for their activities. In particular, prior requesting of specific input, clear indicators for what is compliant behaviour and what is not, and targeted follow-up to recommendations, all crucial aspects of 'constructive dialogue', have not been consistently institutionalised by treaty bodies. In this light the article outlines some concrete ways forward for a reformed reform agenda that could lay the groundwork for measures to sustainably strengthen UN human rights treaty monitoring.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Tharoor Shashi

**Security Council Reform: Past, Present, and Future
in Ethics and International Affairs**, vol. 25, n. 4, winter , 397-406

ABSTRACT: Even though it has been more than a year since I left the service of the United Nations, the one question people have not stopped asking me here in India is when our country, with 1.2 billion people and a booming economy, is going to become a permanent member of the Security Council. The short answer is "not this year, and probably not the next." But there are so many misconceptions about this issue that a longer answer is clearly necessary.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations



Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Alie M.

Spécificité de la procédure devant la Cour pénale internationale : Analyses et réflexions relatives à la place préliminaire du procès verbal

in *Revue belge de droit international*, Vol. 43, n. 2

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Johns Fleur, SkouterisThomas , Werner Wouter

The League of Nations and the Construction of the Periphery Introduction

in *Leiden Journal of International Law*, Volume 24 - Issue 04 , 797 - 798

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Otis Louise, Reiter Eric H.

The Reform of the United Nations Administration of Justice System: The United Nations Appeals Tribunal after One Year

in *Law and Practice of International Courts and Tribunals (The)*, vol. 10, n. 3 , 405-428

ABSTRACT: This article surveys some emerging issues in the jurisprudence of the new United Nations Appeals Tribunal. Through an analysis of both procedural and substantive questions that the tribunal has faced in its first year (for example specific performance, production of documents, and whistleblower protection), the article offers an assessment of the implementation of the reform of the formal justice system of the United Nations. The developing jurisprudence of the tribunal will be an important indicator of the success or failure of the implementation of an independent system of justice within the United Nations.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Stephen Macekura

The limits of the global community: The Nixon administration and global environmental politics

in *Cold War History*, Vol. 11, n°4 , 489-518

This article presents the rise and decline of the Nixon administration's commitment to international environmental policies. It argues that administration officials pursued environmental issues to garner domestic political support and to revive interest in institutions in the wake of 1968. Though common interests among Western industrialised nations helped to promote cooperation on new environmental programmes, serious divisions arose between the industrialised North and the developing South. These divisions were most evident at the 1972 United Nations Conference on the



Human Environment, where issues of wealth distribution, power in the international system, and ideology suffused environmental politics. In the end, Nixon and Kissinger's waning commitment to environmental protection coupled with their repudiation of the global South's concern for increasing developmental aid ultimately limited the breadth and scope of the United States' role in attempting to reconcile the tensions between desires for continued economic growth and the imperatives of environmental protection.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Peters Anne

The security Council's Responsibility to Protect

in International Organizations Law Review, vol. 8, n. 1 , 15-54

ABSTRACT: The objective of this paper is to spell out the legal consequences of the concept "responsibility to protect" (R2P), postulated as a binding legal principle of international law, for the Security Council and its members. The paper is a thought experiment, because the binding legal force of R2P is not settled. My argument is that, once R2P is accepted as a full-fledged legal principle, the Security Council (and its members) would be under a legal obligation to authorize or to take sufficiently robust action in R2P situations. The paper then discusses the problems engendered by the acceptance of such a material obligation and suggests a procedural obligation to justify inaction instead.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Sáenz de Santa María Paz Andrés

Tu quoque, Corte?. La banalización de los poderes del Consejo de Seguridad en la Opinión consultiva sobre la conformidad con el Derecho internacional de la declaración unilateral de independencia relativa a Kosovo

in Revista Espanola de Derecho Internacional, vol. 63, n.1 , 55-78

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Ilan Cooper, Eric Patterson

UN Authority and the Morality of Force

in Survival, Volume 53, Issue 6 , 141-158

The role of the UN as the sole source of legitimacy for issues of war and peace in the early twenty-first century is highly problematic from a Just War perspective.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Vezzosi Elisabetta



Una donna nera alla fondazione dell'ONU. Mary McLeod Bethune tra genere e «black global community»
in *Contemporanea - Rivista di storia dell'800 e del '900* , n. 4, ottobre , 681-700

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Jean Pierre Ferrier

Une Resolution « historique » du Conseil de Sécurité

in *Relaciones internacionales : revista publ. por el Instituto de Relaciones Internacionales* , n°40

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Slaughter Anne-Marie

War and law in the 21st century: Adapting to the changing face of conflict

in *Europe's World*, Issue 19, Autumn

International laws governing conflicts and crimes against humanity have developed slowly and unevenly since the first Hague Convention of 1899. Anne-Marie Slaughter, until recently a top Obama Administration official, sets out the three main trends re-shaping international criminal law.

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21912/language/en-US/Default.aspx

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Immaculate Dadiso Motsi-Omojjade

Accountability and the Second Line of Defence: A guide to Practical Policy-ing for Ethical Global Credit Rating

in *Finance & Bien Commun Revue d'éthique financière*, n°39 , 102-117

Credit Rating Agencies are essential to the smooth running of the global financial system due to their informational, transactional and regulatory value. Their recent failure in holding the "second line of defence" against financial crisis brought to the fore key accountability issues. These include the lack of competition, conflict of interest and perverse incentives. This paper proposes a practical "policy package" of regulatory policy options in the spirit of promoting ethical global finance. This policy ensemble involves the establishment of a public sector rating agency and detailed specifications on the separation Credit Rating Agencies' rating and consultancy and structured finance services. It also includes the 'freezing' of ratings for up to six months from the introduction of new products for which no precedent is available. This is in light of the identification of the core problem in recent times of dealing with innovation and the valuation of new and complex instruments.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Bénassy-Quéré Agnès, Capelle Damien

Can the Renminbi Make the SDR More Attractive?

in *Lettre du CEPII*, n. 314, September 2011 , 1-4

As part of discussions on reforming the international monetary system, there has been renewed interest in the Special Drawing Right (SDR). In April 2011, the finance ministers and central bankers of the G20 decided to work on a "criteria-based path to broaden the composition of the SDR".¹ In practice, this would lead to the inclusion of the Chinese currency in the SDR, alongside the dollar, the euro, the yen and the British pound. This project is motivated by two main objectives: first, to make the SDR more attractive as a store of value and unit of account; second, to strengthen international monetary cooperation. The main obstacle is that the Chinese currency is not "freely usable", in the terminology of the International Monetary Fund. Given the ongoing process of internationalization of the currency and flexibilization of the exchange-rate regime, relatively rapid inclusion of the renminbi in the SDR could bring substantial benefits in terms of representativeness, efficiency and stability.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Chemain Régis, Ghérari Habib

Chronique UE-OMC 2010

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 553, décembre , 680-687

The year 2010 covered by this chronicle was an average year for the Dispute Settlement Body (ORD) of the WTO. In spite of 17 requests for consultation being received, only six special groups were set up; in terms of reports handed out by the panels, there was a total number of nine. This conflicts with the activity of the Appeal Body, which was particularly quiet, with only one report handed in. However it is a fact that due to the calendar, out of the nine above-mentioned panel reports, three had their appeal deadlines expire in 2011 also, and three will lead to appeals whose outcomes will be in 2011 also, and three will in the end be passed, failing an appeal. As a result the EU deploys a certain activity and remains one of the most prominent protagonists of the system: it is second only to the United States. Both retain, this year again, a substantial lead on other users of the respective dispute system. Among new cases, some cover interesting legal issues, which in some cases, involve significant economic stakes that the next chronicle will analyse with great interest. Case judged also deserve attention: thus, the Airbus case, which is as legally complex as it is significant in terms of stakes for the future of the European aeronautic industry. Among old cases, that are in the phase of ORD decision and recommendation implementation, some have had an outcome (amicable settlement, in these cases) and others are still waiting on it, with, in the meantime, the usual proceedings event.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Saunier Philippe

Considérations sur les effets de la crise bancaire sur les États et les institutions financières multilatérales

in *Europe en formation (L')*, n. 361, 2011/3 , 23-32



Il n'est pas difficile de faire l'expérience personnelle qu'il y a dans l'existence une part qui ne peut faire l'objet d'aucune transaction, d'aucune compensation, d'aucun échange et d'aucun partage. C'est dans cette disjonction, béance où il est impossible d'établir des contrats, que se joue la dignité des personnes et des sociétés humaines. Ce vide qui nous enveloppe fonde la possibilité de toute relation avec l'autre et d'un mouvement inverse, nous fait résister à tout ce qui rapproche, à tout ce qui rassemble et à tout ce qui embrigade. [...]

PLAN DE L'ARTICLE

- I - Le déclassement des États, conséquence de la relance de la finance internationale
 - ◦A - La notation de la dette des États
 - ◦B - Les assainissements budgétaires imposés aux États
- II - Le déclin du multilatéralisme, conséquence de la réforme des institutions internationales
 - ◦A - L'affaiblissement des institutions financières multilatérales
 - ◦B - L'émiettement des politiques d'intégration européenne

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Chavagneux Christian

De réels changements

in Economie politique (L'), n° 52, 2011/4 , 53-62

L'Economie politique : Après deux ans de fonctionnement, quel premier bilan tirez-vous du travail du Forum mondial ?
Pascal Saint-Amans : Notre bilan se lit d'abord sur le plan des procédures mises en place. Elles sont à la fois innovantes et efficaces. Innovantes, car bien qu'il soit situé au sein de l'Organisation de coopération et de développement économiques (OCDE), le...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Andrews Matt

Developing Countries Will Follow Post-crisis OECD Reforms but Not Passively This Time

in Governance, Vol. 25, n. 1, January , 103-127

Will reforms emerging from the 2008 crisis have a global impact and influence developing countries? Evidence suggests that this happened before, after meltdowns in the 1970s. This article deconstructs how reforms diffused in this period and why countries followed different reform timelines. Institutional theory and a descriptive analysis of post-1970s experience suggest that countries followed different reform paths. Developing countries copied reforms seen as legitimate in various OECD countries, supported by entities upon which developing countries were dependent. The article argues that developing countries may not follow the same path now. Endogenous discussions about reform options are more common in developing countries now. More external reform alternatives have also emerged from new development partners such as China, and it is unclear that countries such as the USA will chart postcrisis reform paths developing countries perceive as worthy of following.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Klein P.

Dossier spécial : Le panel d'inspection de la banque mondiale à l'âge de la maturité. Quelques éléments d'évaluation. Introduction

in *Revue belge de droit international*, Vol. 43, n. 2

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Hatton A.C., Ouellet R., Letourneau L.

Du rôle de la genèse dans l'exégèse : pour une interprétation historiquement éclairée de l'exception de moralité publique du GATT

in *Revue belge de droit international*, Vol. 43, n. 2

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Trinh Bui, Kobayashi Kiyoshi, Dien Vu Trung

Economic integration and trade deficit: A case of Vietnam

in *Journal of Economics and International Finance*, 7 November, 2011; 3(13) , 669-675

This paper attempts to present a quantitative analysis in order to figure out the reasons of continuous increase of trade deficit in the last decade in Vietnam. After a long period of unceasing economic growth and macroeconomic stability, Vietnam has become one of the attractive investment destinations for many foreigner investors. However, the country starts to worry about its overall economic situation after overexciting the first half of 2007 when Vietnam officially joined the World Trade Organization (WTO) in January the same year. The study explains output multiplier and power of dispersion on import, based on structure of the economy through input - output tables published by General Statistical Office and the Leontief and Keynes' theories, aiming at helping policy-makers and planners to prioritize the key sectors and appropriate structure for the Vietnam's economy. The study also introduces a comparison between the power of dispersion on import and the effective rate of protection in order to have the most appropriate economic policy with respect to the WTO's commitments.

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Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

de Ville Ferdi

Explaining the Genesis of a Trade Dispute: the European Union's Seal Trade Ban

in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 34, Issue 1 , 37-53



Why has the European Union (EU) enacted a trade ban on seal products provoking a trade dispute with Canada, while it is the most ardent supporter of the multilateral trade regime and was about to start free trade negotiations with Canada? Rational functionalist explanations of compliance with international trade rules suggest that trade officials in the EU concerned with reputation costs and exporters concerned with the risk of retaliation should have prevented the ban. This article shows from an institutionalist perspective that if the European Parliament and the Council are little concerned with reputation costs and exporters do not mobilize against regulation under uncertainty that their exports will be affected by retaliation, the agenda-setting power of the Commission is insufficient to ensure World Trade Organization (WTO) consistency. Compliance with WTO rules is contingent on domestic political processes, and in the EU, it is dependent on inter- and intra-institutional tradeoffs of WTO consistency and non-trade objectives.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Loriaux Sylvie

**Fairness in international economic cooperation: moving beyond Rawls's duty of assistance
in Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy, Vol. 15, Issue 1 , 19-39**

In this paper, I will argue that Rawls's duty of assistance offers an incomplete picture of our international social and economic responsibilities. I will start by presenting the two main interpretations of the 'Rawlsian circumstances of egalitarian distributive justice' – the first requiring the existence of a 'certain kind' of cooperation, the second the existence of a 'certain kind' of interaction with the will – and then show that none of them rules out the applicability of international principles of egalitarian distributive justice. My argument will draw on societies' participation in the World Trade Organisation (WTO). So, in the second section I will show that even though this organization is not endowed with a centralized coercive authority, its participants are asked to accept significant constraints on their behaviour and are therefore owed a special justification for these constraints. I will also suggest that the alleged voluntariness of this organization may not only be contested (especially when developing societies are involved), but may also not be sufficient to rule out requirements of distributive equality. In the third section, I will show that, as any system of cooperation, the WTO gives rise to requirements of fairness and that, given the purpose it claims to serve, not all inequalities that can be traced back to so-called 'domestic' factors can be considered justified. More specifically, I will argue that the fairness of the WTO requires that all its participants be given a fair chance of benefiting from global market competitions, and that this is likely to entail significant egalitarian distributive duties among societies.

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Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Sapir Jacques

**Forget Doha, it's the WTO that must change or die
in Europe's World, Issue 19, Autumn**

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21920/language/en-US/Default.aspx



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Wright Christopher

Global Banks, the Environment, and Human Rights: The Impact of the Equator Principles on Lending Policies and Practices

in **Global Environmental Politics**, Volume 12, Issue 1, February , 56-77

The Equator Principles are a set of operational principles and standards adopted by more than 70 public and private financial institutions to manage environmental and social risks in project financing. This article assesses the impact of the voluntary framework on lending policies and practices, and the environmental and social accountability of financial institutions. It finds that the direct link between the Equator Principles and the International Finance Corporation (IFC), the World Bank Group's private sector financing division, enhances the legitimacy and potential impact of the framework. However, development of lending policies across financial institutions is greatly uneven, and the framework has not stopped lending to projects with significant environmental and social costs. Although the framework has improved relations between financial institutions and stakeholders, a lack of transparency undermines external accountability. The conclusion considers the scope for increased harmonization of environmental and social lending policies in international banking.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

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Daly Herman

Growth, debt, and the World Bank

in **Ecological Economics**, Volume 72, 15 December , 5-8

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Fontanelli Filippo

ISO And Codex Standards And International Trade Law: What Gets Said Is Not What's Heard

in **International and Comparative Law Quarterly**, Vol. 60, issue 4 , 895-932

This article challenges the rhetoric of hardening, according to which international standards become binding through WTO endorsement. The analysis of the system of presumptions set up in the Technical Barriers to Trade Agreement and Sanitary and Phyto-Sanitary Agreement reveals that international standards are actually used as a 'ceiling' rather than a 'floor' benchmark of protection, contrary to their original spirit. They represent a codified and agreed yardstick for least trade-restrictive measures, a minimum compromise between the regulatory regime and the trade litigation machinery. It follows that their nature—at least within the WTO system—is irreversibly distorted; they are treated as facts rather than as safety or quality devices.



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Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Howarth David, Sadeh Tal

In the vanguard of globalization: The OECD and international capital liberalization

in *Review of International Political Economy*, Volume 18, Issue 5, 2011, pages 622-645

A survey of the literature on the political economy of global financial liberalization shows how little has been written on the role of the OECD, and how the Principal-Agent (PA) theory, complemented by Constructivist tools, can be applied helpfully to analyse this process. We show that the OECD's Committee on Capital Movements and Invisible Transactions (CMIT) played an entrepreneurial role in encouraging the liberalization of capital flows. In particular, we argue that the CMIT slipped by acting beyond its core delegation roles and against the preferences of the OECD member states' governments. This was done by discussing and seeking to expand the list of issue areas on which controls should be lifted to include short-term capital movements and the right of establishment, to adopt an extended understanding of reciprocity, and to eliminate a range of additional discriminatory measures on capital flows. Acting as institutional entrepreneurs, the CMIT members took advantage of the overlap among the networks in which they were engaged to spread their ideas to the member states. The CMIT's work affected the member states' willingness to make irrevocable, multilateral commitments through a combination of peer pressure and vertical institutional interconnectedness. Through the work of the CMIT, the OECD was an important actor in capital liberalization, in addition to the role played by other international organizations.

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Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Gallert R.

L'accountability, un concept adapté aux organisations internationales ?

in *Revue belge de droit international*, Vol. 43, n. 2

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Spanoudis J.

L'accès des individus au panel d'inspection : faux semblant ou réalité ?

in *Revue belge de droit international*, Vol. 43, n. 2

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

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Cling Jean-Pierre, Razafindrakoto Mireille, Roubaud François

La Banque mondiale, entre transformations et résilience

in *Critique Internationale*, N°53 - Octobre/Décembre



Depuis sa création, la Banque mondiale a connu un élargissement progressif de son rôle et de ses missions, qui lui a permis d'acquérir son leadership actuel dans les politiques de développement. Face à sa crise de légitimité des années 1990, cette institution a mis en œuvre des changements profonds et continus. La promotion de nouvelles stratégies de réduction de la pauvreté, insistant sur le principe d'appropriation des politiques par les acteurs nationaux, et plus largement, la prise en compte de l'économie politique et des institutions constituent des tournants majeurs. Les limites de l'application de ces changements stratégiques sont cependant réelles. En effet, les difficultés éprouvées par la Banque mondiale pour entreprendre de véritables réformes résultent de contraintes structurelles : le poids dominant des États-Unis et des grands pays industrialisés qui entrave l'évolution de la gouvernance interne ; les objectifs contradictoires des trois principales missions de cette institution (finance, aide au développement et recherche sur le développement). En outre, l'hégémonie que la Banque mondiale s'est construite ainsi que son enfermement dans une vision economiciste et orthodoxe font que les nouvelles thématiques et approches dont elle s'empare sont systématiquement refaçonnées suivant le paradigme prégnant du marché. Ainsi, bien que cette institution fasse preuve d'une formidable capacité à impulser des orientations novatrices, ces dernières peinent à se traduire dans la réalité.

The World Bank, between Transformation and Resilience

Since its creation, the role and mission of the World Bank have gradually expanded, allowing it to acquire its present leadership role in development policy. Faced with the crisis of legitimacy of the 1990s, this institution implemented profound, continuous changes. The promotion of new poverty reduction strategies that insist on the principle of policy appropriation by national actors and, more generally, take political economy and institutions into account constitutes a major turning point. There are nevertheless real limits to the application of these strategic changes. Indeed, the difficulty had by the World Bank in carrying out genuine reform is the result of structural constraints: the institution's dominance by the United States and other large industrialized countries hinders the development of internal government and the objectives of its three principal missions (finance, development aid and development research) contradict one another. Moreover, the hegemonic position the World Bank has created for itself as well as its exclusively economic and orthodox vision ensure that the new themes and approaches it adopts are systematically refashioned in keeping with the dominant paradigm of the market. While this institution has shown a formidable capacity to stimulate innovative orientations, it thus struggles to realize them in practice

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Frédéric Clavert

La fondation de la Banque des règlements internationaux

in Histoire Economie et Société, n. 4, Décembre , 11-17

Cet article s'attache à décrire et à analyser la création de la Banque des Règlements internationaux en 1930. Se fondant essentiellement sur des archives allemandes et françaises, il tente d'expliquer pourquoi les banquiers centraux membres du Comité Young puis du Comité d'organisation de la banque des règlements internationaux ont fini, malgré une attitude ambivalente de la Reichsbank et de Hjalmar Schacht, par se mettre d'accord sur les fonctions et la fondation de la BRI. Dans ce processus, l'accord des banquiers centraux sur l'idée d'indépendance des banques centrales est fondamental.

This article aims to describe and analyse the creation of the Bank for International Settlements (BIS) in 1930. Based essentially on German and French archives, it will attempt to explain why the central bankers that were members of the



Young Committee and subsequently the Organisation Committee for the Bank for International Settlements (COBRI) eventually reached agreement on the role and founding of the BIS, despite the ambivalent attitude of the Reichsbank and Hjalmar Schacht. In this process, the agreement of the central bankers on the idea of independence of the central banks was fundamental.

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Dusepulchre G.

Le panel d'inspection jouit-il de l'indépendance nécessaire pour contrôler les agissements de la Banque mondiale?

in *Revue belge de droit international*, Vol. 43, n. 2

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

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Muzaka Valbona

Linkages, contests and overlaps in the global intellectual property rights regime

in *European Journal of International Relations*, vol. 17, n. 4, december, 755-776

ABSTRACT: Intellectual property rights (IPRs) ultimately delineate the way in which knowledge is created, owned, controlled and diffused, domestically and now globally. They have always been contested because knowledge is both a form of capital and a public good, but these contests have become more acute since the WTO TRIPs Agreement came into force in 1995. As a result of new frames and linkages propelled by various actors between IPRs and other issue-areas, the current intellectual property regime has become complex and somewhat inconsistent. This article contributes to a better understanding of the concrete mechanisms and processes through which various global regimes come to overlap with each other in the area of IPRs, of the actors that are involved in these processes, as well as of the consequences of such developments for the governance of IPRs and global governance more generally.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Gabel Ilene

Not your grandfather's IMF: global crisis, 'productive incoherence' and developmental policy space

in *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, Volume 35 Issue 5 September 2011, 805-830

The response by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) (and developing country national governments) to the current global financial crisis represents a moment of what I term 'productive incoherence', which has displaced the constraining 'neoliberal coherence' of the past several decades. Productive incoherence refers to the proliferation of inconsistent and even contradictory strategies and statements by the IMF that to date have not congealed into any sort of new, organised regime. Those who see continuity at the IMF emphasise the reassertion of the IMF's authority, the reiteration of pro-cyclical policy adjustment and the maintenance of existing governance patterns within the institution. In contrast, evidence of discontinuity includes a world now populated by increasingly autonomous states in the South, the



normalisation of capital controls and Fund conditionality programmes that are inconsistent in key respects. In the face of this evidence, it is best to understand the current conjuncture as an 'interregnum' that is pregnant with new development possibilities.

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Hanegraaf Marcel, Beyers Jan, Braun Caelesta

Open the door to more of the same? The development of interest group representation at the WTO
in *World Trade Review*, Volume 10 - Issue 04 - ottobre 2011 , 447-472

The openness of the World Trade Organization (WTO) towards non-state actors has led to much debate among scholars and practitioners. The objective of this paper is to add empirical knowledge to this ongoing debate. In particular, we examine the effects of allowing interest groups to participate at WTO Ministerial Conferences (MCs) during 1996–2009 by analyzing a novel dataset of 1992 interest organizations that attended seven MCs. The data we present demonstrate that, in contrast to what many expected, the WTO did not attract a more diverse population of interest groups since these organizations were allowed to participate at MCs. Moreover, we observe an increasing overrepresentation of some specific issue-related interests, especially agriculture, and a strong presence of Northern American and European interest organizations attending MCs. Another important observation is that MCs are not particularly dominated by business interests at the expense of NGOs (non-governmental organization), who are also consistently well represented at the WTO meetings. Yet, the high levels of volatility observed at the level of individual organizations suggests that, although it is rather easy to start lobbying at WTO MCs, only a relatively small number of interest organizations keep a long lobbying presence at this level.

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Dupré Mathilde

Paradis fiscaux : le G20 démissionnaire ?
in *Economie politique (L')*, n° 52, 2011/4 , 40-52

Northern Rock, Bear Stearns, Lehman Brothers ou Fortis, ce n'est pas un hasard si les récits des récentes faillites bancaires nous ont tous fait voyager par les paradis fiscaux, révélant des failles profondes dans les dispositifs existants de régulation internationale. Ces trous noirs de la finance avaient en effet permis aux dites institutions financières de localiser via...

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Backer Larry Catá

Private Actors and Public Governance Beyond the State: The Multinational Corporation, the Financial Stability Board, and the Global Governance Order
in *Indiana Journal for Global Legal Studies*, vol. 18, issue 2, summer , 751-802

ABSTRACT: Transnational corporations are at the center of extraordinary and complex governance systems that are



developing outside the state and international public organizations and beyond the conventionally legitimating framework of the forms of domestic or international hard law. Though these systems are sometimes recognized as autonomous and authoritative among its members, they are neither isolated from each other nor from the states with which they come into contact. Together these systems may begin to suggest a new template for networked governance beyond the state, but one in which public and private actors are integrated stakeholders. This provides the source of the questions explored in this article: Is it possible to detect this new template for transnational governance of economic activity (in general) and corporations (in particular) developing through principles of transnational private governance? Is public governance in the twenty-first century taking on the characteristics of transnational corporate governance? The questions suggest three objectives. The first is to examine the organization of communities of states through the normative lens of private transnational governance. A secondary objective is to suggest the importance of communication—structural coupling—between developing private governance systems and emerging transnational public governance systems. That communication suggests the development of the institutional intermeshing of both autonomous systems of governing communities of private actors and communities of states. The third objective is to consider whether emerging governance frameworks, public and private, might be arranged together in a way that credibly suggests a system of coordinated metagovernance. After an introduction, Section I of this article examines the governance constitutions of multinational economic actors. Section II then turns to a consideration of corporate constitutionalism within a metagovernance framework. The focus is the governance framework of the G-20's Financial Stability Board (FSB). The G-20-FSB framework points to the future of governance systems in which the state participates in a collaborative governance structure, but in which states share rulemaking power with public and private nonstate actors. The FSB template points to the organization of governance as a collegial enterprise in which states and traditional law-based systems interact with nonstate actors and their norm-based systems to develop integrated governance with global reach. Thus reconstituted, a new set of arrangements might well arise, one in which amalgamations of the most powerful states and private regulatory bodies assert authority once reserved to states alone.

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Teubner Gunther

Self-Constitutionalizing TNCs?: On the Linkage of "Private" and "Public" Corporate Codes of Conduct in Indiana Journal for Global Legal Studies, vol. 18, issue 2, summer , 617-638

ABSTRACT: What is special about the intertwining of private and public corporate codes? It is not only tendencies of juridification but also of constitutionalization that materialize in this interplay. Both types of corporate codes taken together represent the beginnings of specific transnational corporate constitutions conceived as constitutions in the strict sense. This point is based on a concept of constitutionalization that is not limited to the nation-state and implies that also nonstate societal orders develop autonomous constitutions under particular historical circumstances.

The following arguments highlight how corporate codes feature functions, structures, and institutions of genuine constitutions:

1.1.

To the extent that "public" and "private" corporate codes juridify fundamental principles of a social order and establish rules for its self-restraint at the same time, they fulfill central constitutional functions.

2.2.



With their characteristics of double reflexivity and binary metacoding, both codes develop genuine constitutional structures.

3.3.

As constitutional institutions, the two codes do not form a hierarchy of public and private constitutions but an ultracyclical linkage of qualitatively different networks of constitutional norms.

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Shingal Anirudh

Services procurement under the WTO's Agreement on Government Procurement: whither market access?
in World Trade Review, Volume 10 - Issue 04 - ottobre 2011 , 527-549

This paper studies the government procurement of services from foreign suppliers by conducting a statistical analysis of data submitted by Japan and Switzerland to the WTO's Committee on Government Procurement. Using several metrics, the paper examines whether the WTO's Agreement on Government Procurement (GPA) has led to greater market access for foreign suppliers in services procurement. Our results indicate that despite the GPA, the proportions of services contracts awarded to foreigners have declined over time for both countries and that in the absence of this decline, the value of services contracts awarded to foreign firms would have been more than 15 times higher in the case of Japan and nearly 68 times more in the case of Switzerland. We also find that for the same services categories, the Japanese government is not purchasing as much from abroad as its private sector is importing from the rest of the world, a finding that further points to the home-bias in that government's public purchase decisions.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Diebold Nicolas F

Standards Of Non-Discrimination In International Economic Law
in International and Comparative Law Quarterly, Vol. 60, issue 4 , 831 - 865

The principle of non-discrimination constitutes a corner-stone in different fields of international economic law, notably international trade in goods and services as well as intellectual property and investment protection. While its basic rationale appears to be straightforward, the application of the different legal elements which constitute a non-discrimination obligation has proven to be most challenging. Adjudicating bodies have been applying different interpretations and standards with regard to the legal elements of 'less favourable treatment', 'likeness' and 'regulatory purpose', which leads to a high fragmentation of the non-discrimination principle in international economic law. This article maps out the different theories for each of these elements on the examples of WTO law, NAFTA, bilateral investment treaties (BIT) and EU law and analyses how these theories affect the scope and liberalizing effect of the non-discrimination obligation. The article then attempts to develop a coherent factor-based application of non-discrimination rules suitable for all fields of international economic law. The article submits the theory that the elements of non-discrimination should not be applied as strict legal conditions which must be proven by a complainant, but as a range of factors which are weighed and balanced by the adjudicating bodies



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Sharman J.C.

Testing the Global Financial Transparency Regime

in *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 55, issue 4, december , 981-1001

ABSTRACT: How can we tell whether rules that apply in theory actually do so in practice? Realists argue that the gap between what formal rules proscribe and their effectiveness may be particularly wide at the international level. Furthermore, dominant states may impose costly standards on others that they themselves choose not to implement. To test these propositions, the article assesses the effectiveness of international soft law standards prohibiting anonymous participation in the global financial system by seeking to break these standards. The findings indicate that the prohibition on anonymous corporations is relatively ineffective and is flouted much more in G7 countries than in tax havens. The article contributes to and extends the work of realist scholars in international political economy, both in their skepticism of formal rules and focus on the effects of power. Evidence is drawn from the author's solicitations and purchases of anonymous shell companies from 45 corporate service providers in 22 countries.

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Drysdale Peter

The BRICS, the G-7 and deploying new global economic power

in *European View* , vol. 10, n. 2, December , 159-164

The economies of the so-called BRICS countries (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa) are exceeding all expectations. Their current and future influence on the global economy is beyond doubt. However, it is still unclear which specific role these countries will play in relation to more industrialised countries (the G-7) and how they will cooperate among themselves. Can they help to solve the European mess? We argue that investment in emerging economies, such as the BRICS, is the main chance the EU and the US have to create growth. It is time for G-20 leaders to grab this opportunity as a powerful driver for global growth.

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Abbott Roderick

The Doha Round: Where we go from here

in *Europe's World*, Issue 19, Autumn

The Doha Development Round is gripped by a profound sense of inertia, and the EU no longer seems able to push it forward. Roderick Abbott examines the factors behind the impasse and argues that the WTO must now adjust to changed circumstances if it is to save Doha.

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21914/language/en-US/Default.aspx



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Orioli Alberto

**The Dream of a World Currency - Interview to Tommaso Padoa-Schioppa
in Federalist Debate (The)**, Year XXIV, n. 3, November , 60-63

To commemorate the first anniversary of Tommaso Padoa-Schioppa's death, we publish here an interview he delivered to the Italian newspaper Il Sole-24 Ore in 2009 (10th June), which illustrates the most ambitious project he pursued during the last years of his life.(1)

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

(1) See Alfonso Iozzo, "In Memory of Tommaso Padoa-Schioppa", The Federalist Debate, Year XXIV, Number 1, March 2011

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Gonzales Felipe, Zedillo Ernesto

**The G-20 Must Get Serious About Its Commitments
in New Perspectives Quarterly**, Vol. 28, Issue 4, Fall , 20-22

The sovereign debt problem in Europe, ignited by Greece, has morphed into an economic crisis challenging the solvency of major banks and countries as well as a generalized crisis of governance. Lacking the legitimacy of public support, the leaders of the European Union's fledgling institutions have been indecisive and unable to contain the looming danger of financial contagion. Along with the economic slowdown in the United States, instability and volatility in Europe threaten to derail the fragile global recovery.

In this section, several former European leaders as well as political figures from the emerging economies offer their ideas on how to fix Europe and stem the global threat.

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Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Paul Cammack

**The G20, the Crisis, and the Rise of Global Developmental Liberalism
in Third World Quarterly**, Volume 33, Issue 1 , 1-16

The emergence of the G20 leaders' meeting during the recent global financial crisis as the 'premier forum for international economic cooperation' reflects a significant shift of hegemony over global governance towards the



emerging economies but does not challenge the authority or objectives of the international financial institutions. On the contrary, successive G20 initiatives, culminating in the adoption of the Seoul Development Consensus for Shared Growth in November 2010, reveal both a further strengthening of the already close institutional relationship between the G20 and the Bretton Woods institutions and a strong shared commitment to a developmental form of global liberalism. This article charts the ascendancy of emerging economy perspectives through the lens of the G20, maps their ties to the IMF and other international organisations, sets out the content of the new global developmental liberalism, and assesses the implications of emerging economy hegemony for the advanced and the emerging economies, respectively.

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Clifton Judith, Díaz-Fuentes Daniel

The OECD and phases in the international political economy, 1961–2011

in Review of International Political Economy, Volume 18, Issue 5, 2011 , pages 552-569

In 2011, the OECD turned fifty. To provide a broad foundation for further thinking on this organization, we analyse its evolution over half a century from two perspectives: phases in the international political economy and the literature on IPE. By so doing, we uncover two paradoxes. Firstly, we find that the organization's evolution closely mirrored major phases in the post-war international political economy until recently. However, the OECD's long-term dependence on the West has now become an obstacle to its efforts to adapt to the latest phase, characterised by the rise of non-Western powers. Secondly, we show that, during the OECD's "golden age", scholars paid relatively little attention to the organization but, from the 2000s, as the organization faced an unprecedented challenge of its potential economic decline, IPE literature on the organization blossomed.

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Marcussen Martin, Trondal Jarle

The OECD civil servant: Caught between Scylla and Charybdis

in Review of International Political Economy, Volume 18, Issue 5, 2011 , pages 592-621

Civil servants in international secretariats are exposed to numerous, cross-cutting and, at times, conflicting pressures and expectations. The secretariat of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) is no different. This study reveals a fundamental 'misfit' between external demands and internal dynamics in the OECD Secretariat. On one hand, the OECD analysts are employed on the basis of merit. Compared to the employees in the central administrations in many OECD member states, the OECD personnel are very competitive in terms of experience and academic skills. Thus, the OECD Secretariat can be seen as a veritable powerhouse of idea generation, data collection and analysis. On the other hand, the OECD member states seem to be reluctant to let the OECD do what it does best: produce bright, challenging and provocative ideas. In many regards, the OECD personnel are, in practice, being reduced to undertaking basic secretariat functions such as organizing meetings, writing summaries and arbitrating between conflicting national interests. Despite having a vast repertoire of roles at their disposal, this article reveals the paradox when OECD officials play out only two roles: the epistemic role, in which creative thinking and innovation are rewarded, and the bureaucratic role, in which rule following and regularity are rewarded. This paradox is characterized as a role dilemma that is compatible with the idea of the OECD as an international compound bureaucracy. The article concludes by suggesting three scenarios of how the observed dissonance between the internal



and external dimensions of the OECD identity can be accommodated.

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Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Hervé Alan

The Participation of the European Union in Global Economic Governance Fora

in *European law journal*, Vol 18 Issue 1 - January , 143–161

Despite its economic importance and successive Treaty reforms, the EU does not always succeed in asserting itself as a leading actor on the international stage. Both internal and external factors influence the EU's participation in international economic governance institutions. They constitute a definite handicap concerning the EU's potential role as a real normative power. At the same time, as indispensable reforms of global economic governance are in the offing, the EU seems to be giving up any claims for better representation within competent organisations and forums, such as the International Monetary Fund.

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Aagaard Peter

The global institutionalization of microcredit

in *Regulation & Governance*, Volume 5, Issue 4, December , 465-479

This article explains how microcredit as a policy idea has been institutionalized at the transnational level, and what role strategic actors play in the institutional change and governance of microcredit. Special attention is given to three dominant actors, the Grameen Bank, the World Bank, and SKS Microfinance. To explain the emergence of microcredit as a transnational policy idea this article explores the relations between theories of institutional change and Rosenau's concept of spheres of authority.

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Rommetvedt Hilmar

The institutionalization of a parliamentary dimension of an intergovernmental organization: the WTO

in *World Trade Review*, Volume 10 - Issue 04 - ottobre 2011 , 423-446

The article analyses the development of a parliamentary dimension of the WTO from the first informal meetings of parliamentarians in 1996, via the adoption of Rules of Procedure for yearly Parliamentary Conferences on the WTO in 2004, to March 2011 when for the first time the Parliamentary Conference took place on the premises of the WTO. The author presents theoretical contributions that may explain why national parliamentarians engage in an intergovernmental organization such as the WTO. The development of the parliamentary dimension is related to the crumbling borderline between domestic and international affairs. Finally, the article raises a number of questions for further research, and for consideration among parliamentarians as well as in the WTO.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Nowrot Karsten

Transnational Corporations as Steering Subjects in International Economic Law: Two Competing Visions of the Future?

in *International Affairs* , issue 1, vol. 82, january , 803-842

ABSTRACT: Transnational corporations (TNCs) not only occupy an important status as economic actors on the international scene, but they are also political actors who are increasingly involved in the progressive development and enforcement of the regulatory structures of the international economic system. Against this background, this article focuses on the current status and potential future development of TNCs as steering subjects in international economic law (IEL). It evaluates the role played by this category of nonstate actors in two of the central public international law fields of IEL, namely the legal order of the World Trade Organization (WTO) and the international regime on the protection of foreign investments. Based on this evaluation, this article argues that the multilateral framework of world trade law, on the one side, and international investment law, on the other side, serve as notable "reference fields" for two competing approaches to the incorporation of TNCs in the regulatory practice of the global economic system and thus to their position as steering subjects in the framework of IEL as a whole. In light of these findings, this article provides some broader conceptual thoughts on the normative guiding vision of an emerging transnational economic community as an analytical framework for assessing the future development of TNCs as steering subjects in the international economic realm.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Graf-Peter Calliess, Mertens Jens

Transnational Corporations, Global Competition Policy, and the Shortcomings of Private International Law

in *Indiana Journal for Global Legal Studies*, vol. 18, issue 2, summer , 843-872

ABSTRACT: In this article we criticize the so-called more economic approach to European competition law for disregarding the importance of a functional system of private law. Based on the availability of market governance as an alternative mode for organizing transactions, it is presumed that vertical integration, which is the central organizational structure of transnational corporations, is economically efficient. Since the enforcement of cross-border contracts by state-organized systems of private law, however, is insufficient, "make-or-buy" decisions in international commerce are prejudiced against arms' length transactions in markets. Consequently, international transactions are integrated vertically into firms' structures to a higher degree than comparable domestic transactions organized in the shadow of domestic private law. The resulting overintegration of world markets leads to reduced competitive incentives and high bureaucratic costs. Contrary to the fundamental assumptions of the more economic approach, vertical integration does not, therefore, foster consumer welfare in the global economy per se. However, as this overintegration is a reasonable reaction to the deficits in state protection of cross-border contracts, a strict world antitrust law cannot counter it without suppressing cross-border exchange. Thus, international private law policy establishing legal certainty in the enforcement of cross-border contracts currently seems to be the instrument of choice in promoting competition in the global economy.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Kim Jong Bum

WTO legality of discriminatory liberalization of internal regulations: role of RTA national treatment
in *World Trade Review*, Volume 10 - Issue 04 - ottobre 2011 , 473-495

In this paper, we study the interaction between regionalism and multilateralism by examining the role of national treatment clauses in regional trade agreements (RTAs). We ask whether discriminatory liberalization of internal regulations under RTAs can fulfill the requirements of the GATT Article XXIV defense. In the presence of pre-existing RTAs with RTA national treatment clauses, the GATT Article XXIV defenses for violations of GATT Article I and GATT Article III resulting from preferential liberalization of internal regulations may not succeed because the 'necessity' requirement under the Turkey–Textiles Appellate Body test is not likely to be met. The necessity requirement would fail because the RTA party may adopt 'a reasonable alternative' of applying the measure non-discriminatorily to all WTO members. RTA national treatment clauses in the pre-existing RTAs may have the effect of binding the RTA parties to liberalize trade-restrictive internal regulations on a non-discriminatory basis.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Pelc Krzysztof J.

Why Do Some Countries Get Better WTO Accession Terms Than Others?
in *International Organization*, vol. 65, issue 4 , 639-672

ABSTRACT: The process by which countries accede to the World Trade Organization (WTO) has become the subject of considerable debate. This article takes a closer look at what determines the concessions the institution requires of an entrant. In other words, who gets a good deal, and who does not? I argue that given the institutional design of accession proceedings and the resulting suspension of reciprocity, accession terms are driven by the domestic export interests of existing members. As a result, relatively greater liberalization will be imposed on those entrants that have more valuable market access to offer upon accession, something that appears to be in opposition to expectations during multilateral trade rounds, where market access functions as a bargaining chip. The empirical evidence supports these assertions. Looking at eighteen recent entrants at the six-digit product level, I find that controlling for a host of country-specific variables, as well as the applied protection rates on a given product prior to accession, the more a country has to offer, the more it is required to give. Moreover, I show how more democratic countries, in spite of their greater overall depth of integration, exhibit greater resistance to adjustment in key industries than do nondemocracies. Finally, I demonstrate that wealth exhibits a curvilinear effect. On the one hand, institutionalized norms lead members to exercise observable restraint vis-à-vis the poorest countries. On the other hand, the richest countries have the greatest bargaining expertise, and thus obtain better terms. The outcome, as I show using a semi-parametric analysis, is that middle-income countries end up with the most stringent terms, and have to make the greatest relative adjustments to their trade regimes.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Ignazio Angeloni



‘Se busca’: un G-20 efectivo para la economía global

in *Política Exterior*, 144 - Noviembre/Diciembre

Renacido en 2008 para gestionar la crisis financiera, el G-20 apenas ha completado las tareas de regulación y coordinación macroeconómica capaces de contener los desequilibrios globales.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Richard Gowan

¿Está acelerando el G-20 el declive de Europa?

in *Política Exterior*, 144 - Noviembre/Diciembre

La época en que los europeos podían dar forma al multilateralismo ha terminado. El G-20 ha mostrado ser una organización díscola con la UE, que se ha visto presionada para sustituir al eurocéntrico G-8 y revisar su posición en el Fondo Monetario Internacional.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Charlotte Wagnsson

A security community in the making? Sweden and NATO post-Libya

in *European Security*, Volume 20, Issue 4 , 585-603

The article asks what the evolution of NATO–Swedish relations signifies for the understanding of the evolution of security communities. Given the astonishing evolution of NATO and Sweden as a community of practise, it is logical to imagine the two as forming part of the same security community. It could then be argued that common practise can bring about new security communities rather hastily. Analysing NATO's and Sweden's recent discourses on security, the author identifies a significant gap between a principally realist and a predominantly idealist discourse that indicates that the two parties do not share key characteristics of a security community – identities, values and meanings. However, if Libya is the case of the future, the discursive differences may fade and Sweden could more easily pursue its journey towards inclusion in NATO, not as a member of an Alliance, but as a member of NATO as a security community.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Rabkin Jeremy

Can We Win a War If We Have to Fight by Cosmopolitan Rules?

in *Orbis: a Journal of World Affairs*, vol. 55, n. 4, fall , 700-716

ABSTRACT: After months of bombing, NATO achieved only a stalemate in Libya. That disappointing result may reflect NATO's commitment to respect “international humanitarian law,” now understood to impose severe limits on military operations that might harm civilians. This body of rules is a departure from traditional understandings of the law of war. The embrace of these inhibiting rules raises serious questions about whether western nations are now prepared to fight and win actual wars.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Morin David

Consolider la dimension civile. Le maillon clé des opérations de paix

in *Etudes Internationales*, Vol. 42, n° 3 , 289-312

In the last two decades, the civilian dimension has become an essential aspect of peace operations. In 2010, the un had deployed 20 000 civilians in peace operations, while the eu and the osce had sent 2 000 and 3 000 civilians. This dimension also is one of the bases of the African Standby Force of the African Union. This article gives a preliminary overview of the reinforcement of civilian capacities in peace operations, a topic that hasn't been broadly covered by the literature, except through the broad scope of peacebuilding. This article addresses the concept of the civilian dimension though the evolution of peacekeeping, then analyses its slow and laborious emergence. Finally, it identifies some of the main operational challenges of its development.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Lasserre Isabelle

Defense: une passion française

in *Politique internationale*, n. 132 - Ete, 2011

Entretien avec Gérard LONGUET conduit par Isabelle Lasserre

In this interview with Isabelle Lasserre, French Defense Minister Gérard Longuet offers a general overview of the latest threats to world peace, as well as new defensive measures deployed by the French army and its allies. France is currently engaged in three theaters of operation: Afghanistan, Libya and Côte d'Ivoire - the latter intervention having brought president-elect Alassane Ouattara to power in Abidjan. As ambitious as they may be, these engagements are perfectly compatible with the reorganization of the French armed forces that started several years ago. They are part of France's overall diplomatic strategy, based on consolidating international rule of law under the auspices of the United Nations. The French defense minister covers all the burning issues of our time, including the Arab Spring, potential destabilization in the Euro-Mediterranean region, Iran's nuclear program, China's growing military clout and pan-European defense.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Walk Heike

Energiepolitik als Friedenspolitik

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, Januar, 2012 , 105-108

Seitdem die Internationale Atomenergieorganisation (IAEO) im November 2011 ihren jüngsten Bericht zum Stand des iranischen Nuklearwaffen-Programms veröffentlicht hat, spitzt sich die militärische Lage um den Iran immer mehr zu. In



dem Bericht dokumentiert die IAEO angeblich deutliche Hinweise auf ein geheimes Kernwaffenprogramm Teherans. Demzufolge habe Iran unter anderem Sprengkapseln getestet, die auch für eine Atombombe geeignet seien. Außerdem seien Raketen für Atomsprengsätze vorbereitet worden. In Israel wurde daraufhin öffentlich über einen Angriff auf die iranischen Nuklearanlagen diskutiert...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Mascia Marco

Human Security between Conceptualisation and Practical Enactment: The United Nations and European Union Vision

in *Pace Diritti Umani*, anno 8, n. 2, maggio-agosto , 7-26

ABSTRACT: L'assunto di partenza del presente saggio è che la sostenibilità scientifica del tradizionale (stato-centrico) concetto di sicurezza è messo in discussione dallo sviluppo di irreversibili processi di mutamento strutturale nel sistema delle relazioni internazionali. L'interdipendenza complessa è la condizione umana del nostro tempo, caratterizzata dal fatto che le realtà sociali, politiche, economiche, culturali, interne ai vari Stati sono immediatamente sensibili l'una nei confronti delle altre e, più in generale, rispetto a variabili che pertengono al sistema internazionale in quanto tale. La tendenza nelle istituzioni internazionali è ad estendere la dimensione umana del concetto di sicurezza internazionale ai temi della stabilità politica, della democrazia, dello sviluppo umano e dei diritti umani. L'autore ritiene che la sicurezza umana è oggi impensabile senza il riferimento ai diritti umani e allo sviluppo umano. Nel saggio si argomenta come questa nuova dimensione del concetto di sicurezza si vada affermando nella visione e nell'azione di due istituzioni internazionali multilaterali: le Nazioni Unite e l'Unione Europea.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Stefano Angeloni

I presupposti storici della Nato

in *Rivista Militare*, n. 3, luglio-agosto-settembre , 20-

L'Alleanza atlantica è stata un grosso successo della connessione fra diplomazia e militari, creando una mentalità comune nel campo della difesa e della sicurezza. Ha permesso agli europei di sentirsi sicuri e agli Stati Uniti di avere appoggi in Europa. Ma, soprattutto, ha consentito di creare una comunità di difesa che altrimenti non sarebbe stata possibile.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Salleo Ferdinando

La scelta atlantica dell'Italia

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLIII, numero speciale, n. 165 , 27-38

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Atkinson Carol , Chiozza Giacomo

Leadership and Commitment: The United States of America and the Future of the Northeast Asian Order

in *Pacific Focus* , Volume 26, Issue 3, December , 287-315

Since the end of World War II, peace, prosperity, and democracy have flourished in Northeast Asia in large part due to the USA's willingness to devote extraordinary resources and exert leadership through a series of bilateral commitments to the nations of the region. In the past two decades, crises in other parts of the world have captured US attention and resources: in Eastern Europe after the fall of the Soviet Union and now in the Middle East. What are the consequences of these demands on how the USA envisions its future role in Northeast Asia? We assess these consequences by evaluating the strategies that the USA has elaborated for the region and how those strategies resonate with people in the USA and in the region. Our analysis focuses on two questions: How does the USA envision its role in Northeast Asia? Does the USA have the political will to bear the costs to fulfill this role? We argue that despite increased demands on its attention and resources, the USA remains firmly committed to its leadership role in the region and the US-centric security architecture of bilateral institutions. Multilateral institutions will remain relatively ineffective and inefficient in addressing the most pressing regional issues.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Kammel Arnold, Zyla Benjamin

Looking for a 'Berlin-Plus in Reverse'? NATO in Search of a New Strategic Concept

in *Orbis: a Journal of World Affairs*, vol. 55, n. 4, fall , 648-662

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Irondelle Bastien, Lachmann Niels

L'OTAN est-elle encore l'OTAN ?

in *Critique Internationale*, N°53 - Octobre/Décembre



La pérennité de l'OTAN après la fin de la guerre froide contredit le postulat des réalistes qui veut que les alliances militaires soient vouées à ne pas survivre à la disparition de la menace qu'elles étaient censées contrer. L'Organisation a même fait de sa capacité de transformation l'une de ses valeurs fondamentales, et cette capacité apparaît démontrée à la fois par ses opérations militaires et humanitaires inédites et par son élargissement à de nouveaux membres. La dynamique centrale est la mutation d'une alliance défendant l'Europe et l'Amérique du Nord en une organisation de gestion de crise intervenant avant tout en dehors de son territoire. Cependant, ce qui a permis à l'OTAN de durer, c'est l'institutionnalisation de certains éléments de stabilité : une bureaucratie et une structure de commandement permanentes, la relative homogénéité de ses membres, qui sont tous désormais des démocraties, ainsi qu'une prise de décision marquée par la prééminence des États-Unis et le respect de la souveraineté par le principe d'unanimité. La transformation de l'Organisation est toutefois limitée par les dissensions entre des membres toujours plus nombreux et divers et par l'inertie de l'appareil organisationnel. L'étude du changement au sein de l'OTAN montre que les divers types de changement qui peuvent toucher une organisation internationale – dans sa structure, dans l'appartenance et dans la dimension normative et cognitive – ne vont pas forcément de pair.

[Is NATO Still NATO?]

NATO's survival following the end of the Cold War contradicts the postulate of realists, according to whom military alliances are destined to collapse with the disappearance of the threat they are intended to counter. The Organization has even made a fundamental value out of its ability to transform itself, an ability that seems to have been demonstrated by its unprecedented humanitarian and military operations and its enlargement to include new members. The central dynamic at work here is the transformation of an alliance defending Europe and North America into a crisis management organization that above all intervenes outside of its territory. Yet what permits NATO to survive is the institutionalization of certain arrangements favoring stability: a permanent bureaucracy and command structure, the relative homogeneity of its members (which are now all democracies) and a decision-making process marked by the preeminence of the United States and respect for sovereignty by the principle of unanimity. The Organization's transformation is nevertheless limited by divergences within its ever-growing and more diverse membership and by the inertia of the organizational apparatus. Studying change within NATO shows that the various types of change that can affect an international organization – its structure, membership and normative and cognitive dimensions – do not necessarily go without saying.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Tierney Dominic

Multilateralism: America's insurance policy against loss

in *European Journal of International Relations* , vol. 17, n. 4, december , 655-678

ABSTRACT: When the United States faces loss or defeat in war, it is often loath to negotiate, make concessions to its adversary, and cut its losses. But the presence of allies and international organizations in the US coalition can help to correct this bias against compromise through a combination of simple bargaining, complex bargaining, and political cover. The costs of multilateralism can be considered a premium that is paid when operations are successful, so that the United States has an insurance policy to minimize loss in times of failure. The article contributes to a number of major debates over the costs and benefits of multilateralism and the impact of less powerful allies and international organizations on US foreign policy.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Enzo Liguori, Claudio Zanotto

**NATO Maintenance and Supply Agency (NAMSA): una opportunità per il Supporto Sanitario
in Informazioni della Difesa, n. 4, 2011 , 48-53**

La NATO Maintenance and Supply Agency (NAMSA) - l'Agenzia di Manutenzione e Approvvigionamento della NATO creata nel 1958 – rappresenta la principale organizzazione di gestione del supporto logistico dell'Alleanza Atlantica. Uno dei compiti fondamentali consiste nella assistenza alle Nazioni NATO nell'acquisizione e la fornitura di pezzi di ricambio e nell'allestire i servizi di mantenimento e riparazione dei principali sistemi d'arma comuni. Viene sostenuta dai capitali delle Nazioni, che delegano un direttore in seno al suo Board of Directors, organo di controllo dell'agenzia, viene finanziata pro-rata per eventuali servizi o beni acquistati a richiesta. Il quartier generale della NAMSA e il suo centro operativo principale sono a Capellen, in Lussemburgo, dove sono impiegate circa 900 persone, mentre due centri operativi subordinati sono dislocati in Francia e in Italia.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Michael Rühle

**NATO and Emerging Security Challenges: Beyond the Deterrence Paradigm
in American Foreign Policy Interests, Volume 33, Issue 6 , 278-282**

New security challenges, ranging from cyberattacks to failing states, cannot be deterred by the threat of military retaliation, nor will military operations be the appropriate response in most cases. Instead, the emphasis must be on prevention and enhancing resilience. If the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) wants to play a meaningful role in addressing such challenges, it will have to develop a clearer understanding of the nature of these challenges, build closer ties with other nations and institutions, and seek partnerships with the private sector. Above all, allies will have to use NATO as a forum for discussing emerging security challenges and their implications.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Charlotte Wagnsson



NATO's role in the Strategic Concept debate: Watchdog, fire-fighter, neighbour or seminar leader?
in *Cooperation and Conflict*, 46 (4) , 482-501

This article argues that traditional Westphalian powers are increasingly pressured to move beyond Westphalia towards institutionalization of security cooperation and a broader definition of referent objects of security. Focusing on the case of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), it notes that the Alliance is severely torn between traditional constructions of 'the self' and a need for change. Exploring how NATO handles this dilemma, the article examines how the Alliance articulated its constitutive story during the strategic concept process of 2009–10. Four roles are crystallized from the reading of the narrative: the fire-fighter, the watchdog, the good neighbour and the seminar leader. It is argued that NATO will be able to meet the exigencies of the post-Westphalian world more or less effectively depending on how it develops in each of these roles. The article concludes that NATO largely remains Westphalian in its four roles, but the launching of the seminar leader role indicates that it may be preparing a farewell to Westphalia. NATO is a composite actor and tensions between academic, global reformist and traditionalist regional story-lines will prevail. Nevertheless, the globalized threat environment is likely eventually to force NATO to fully recognize the need for a more post-Westphalian approach to security.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Daniel Möckli

Neutral Switzerland and Western security governance from the Cold War to the global economic crisis
in *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding*, Volume 5, Issue 4 , 282-304

Even though Switzerland is a Western country in many ways, it has traditionally kept its distance from Western security governance. During the Cold War, this was in line with the policies of other European neutrals, which also stayed away from both NATO and European integration. Yet, unlike the other neutrals, Switzerland has chosen to remain on the sidelines even when the concepts of neutrality and Western security became much less mutually exclusive after 1989. Examining the Swiss position vis-à-vis transatlantic and European security since 1945, this article argues that the main factors explaining the reluctance of the Swiss to associate with the West relate to their peculiar institutions, their identity needs, and the benefits of acting as a niche player. However, as Switzerland faces a series of foreign policy challenges in the context of the global economic crisis, there will likely be new debates as to how the country should position itself in the world.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Katchanovski Ivan

Puzzles of EU and NATO Accession of Post-Communist Countries
in *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, vol. 12, n. 3, September , 304-319

Accessions of post-communist countries to the European Union (EU) and the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) represent puzzles. While many such countries were granted a membership or a prospect of membership in these organisations, other European post-communist countries were not offered accession or the prospect of membership in the EU and NATO. The question is which factors account for such significant variation in accession to the EU and NATO among European post-communist countries. This article uses statistical analysis to determine which factors affect the



accession of 25 European post-communist states to the EU and NATO in 1997–2010. The study shows that the level of democracy is positively associated with accession to NATO and the EU. Conflicts have a negative impact on the NATO enlargement, while the level of economic development has a positive effect on EU enlargement. Being a post-Soviet country has a negative effect on both NATO and EU accession.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Bove Vincenzo, Elia Leandro

Supplying peace: Participation in and troop contribution to peacekeeping missions

in *Journal of Peace Research*, Volume 48, Number 6, November , 699-714

We explore the supply side of peacekeeping – the determinants of a country's voluntary contributions to peacekeeping operations. We focus on troop contribution and examine a large set of operations, from UN-led missions to operations led by NATO, the African Union, the European Union, and ad hoc coalitions. We rely on a theoretical model of the private provision of public goods and a dataset on troop contribution across 102 states and 45 operations from 1999 to 2009 to explain both the conditions under which third-party actors are more or less likely to intervene in peacekeeping operations and the factors determining the size of their personnel contribution. We use the characteristics of the conflict to identify which types of conflicts attract outside intervention and the characteristics of the intervener to identify the countries more willing to provide troops. We show that at the domestic level, contributions are driven by the comparative advantage in manpower – or the relative value of labor – and constrained by the tolerance of casualties and the sustainability of multiple and concurrent missions. At the international level, the most robust explanations of when states choose to intervene are the level of threat to global and regional stability, the proximity to the conflict area, and the number of displaced people. In particular, security and humanitarian concerns trigger nation-specific responses. Our empirical findings provide further evidence of the centrality of country-specific gains in explaining the participation in peacekeeping. However, contributor-specific benefits play the same role in UN and non-UN peacekeeping missions, in contrast with previous empirical studies on the financial burden-sharing.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Arita Holmberg

The changing role of NATO: exploring the implications for security governance and legitimacy

in *European Security*, Volume 20, Issue 4 , 529-546

The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation's (NATOs) changing role was debated in the face of the Strategic Concept adopted in late 2010. Two main roles can be identified in the debate; that of NATO as a defence organisation and a security organisation. The article analyses the implications of these roles for security governance and the Alliance's legitimacy – with emphasis on the novelties associated with the role of NATO as a security organisation. This development suggests an increasing need for security governance, something which is reflected in the debate. However, how for instance decision-making and implementation function in a more fragmented environment is unclear. If NATO develops its role as a security organisation new audiences are introduced that determine its appropriateness and the basis of the Alliance's input and output legitimacy changes.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Flockhart Trine

'Me Tarzan – You Jane': The EU and NATO and the Reversal of Roles

in Perspectives on European Politics and Society, vol. 12, n. 3, September , 263-282

This article questions assumptions characterizing NATO as focused on 'hard security' and the EU as focused on 'soft security'. By asking how identities and narratives have been constructed in both organizations, subtle differences are brought to light, indicating that changes have taken place in the self-conception and narrative of the two organizations resulting in different conceptions of role and identity. It is suggested that identity and narrative constructions are influenced by practical action and that the EU under ESDP has experienced positive action, leaving it in a stronger position than NATO on questions of 'hard security'. The analysis utilizes recent empirical evidence in which the EU and NATO are often compared in terms of partnerships and operations. The article shows that in the first decade of the twenty-first century, the EU has been constructing a 'Tarzan' narrative, whereas NATO's negative experience in Afghanistan has driven the organization towards a narrative of avoiding failure, emphasizing a 'Jane' narrative about partnerships. The pattern may however now be in the process of changing, as evidenced by NATO's robust intervention in Libya, and the EU's preoccupation with establishing the new External Action Service and with the Euro-crisis.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

HELGA VARDEN

A Kantian conception of global justice

in Review of International Studies (The), Volume 37 - Issue 05 , 2043-2057

I start this article by addressing Kant's question why rightful interactions require both domestic public authorities (or states) and a global public authority? Of central importance are two issues: first, the identification of problems insoluble without public authorities, and second, why a domestic public monopoly on coercion can be rightfully established and maintained by coercive means while a global public monopoly on coercion cannot be established once and for all. In the second part of the article, I address the nature of the institutional structure of individual states and of the global authority. Crucial here, I argue, is Kant's distinction between private and public right. Private right concerns rightful relations between individual legal subjects, where public right concerns legal subjects' claims on their public institutions. I propose that the distinction between private and public right should be central to liberal critiques of current legal and political developments in the global sphere.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Joerges Christian; Kjaer Poul F.; Ralli Tommi

A New Type of Conflicts Law as Constitutional Form in the Postnational Constellation

in Transnational Legal Theory, Vol. 2, issue 2 , 153-165

The 'conflicts law approach' reconstructs the potential of primarily, but not exclusively, European law to address the



threat to democracy that is posed by the concern that citizens would increasingly be subject to the effects of laws which they themselves had not authored. This structural democratic deficit calls for consideration of 'foreign' demands. It also calls for cooperation and mutual respect between political constituencies. The normative basis for understanding conflicts law as a constitutional form with democratically grounded validity claims stems from the proposition that states must acknowledge or establish a law that provides a forum for foreign demands and manifests deference through transnational rules. The approach sets out to examine three types of conflict constellations—horizontal, vertical and diagonal legal conflicts—and three types of law-mediated responses, layered as the scheme of a 'three-dimensional conflicts law'.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Valentini Laura

**A Paradigm Shift in Theorizing about Justice? A Critique of Sen
in Economics and Philosophy**, Volume 27, Issue 03, 2011 , 297-315

Abstract

In his recent book *The Idea of Justice*, Amartya Sen suggests that political philosophy should move beyond the dominant, Rawls-inspired, methodological paradigm – what Sen calls ‘transcendental institutionalism’ – towards a more practically oriented approach to justice: ‘realization-focused comparison’. In this article, I argue that Sen's call for a paradigm shift in thinking about justice is unwarranted. I show that his criticisms of the Rawlsian approach are either based on misunderstandings, or correct but of little consequence, and conclude that the Rawlsian approach already delivers much of what Sen himself wants from a theory of justice.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Goldthau Andreas

**A Public Policy Perspective on Global Energy Security
in International Studies Perspectives** , vol. 13, issue 1, february , 65-84

ABSTRACT: Despite an emerging literature on global energy governance, there so far is no extensive intellectual rationale for it. This article seeks to fill this gap by putting forward a public policy framework to analyze global energy. With that lens, energy security relates to problems of market failure at a transnational scale. These may occur due to imperfect competition; negative externalities; lack of information; or the presence of public goods. It is argued that major global energy risks such as oil price volatility, lack of transport infrastructure, and insufficient upstream investments can be convincingly conceptualized as markets failing to provide for a crucial good—energy security. This article thus proposes market failure as an analytical justification of and as an intellectual foundation for further research in global energy governance, and sketches possible research agendas in that field.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy



Miller David

A Reply to Five Critics

in *Theoria*, Volume 58, Number 129, December 2011 , 95-107

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Walker Kathryn

A troubled reconciliation: a critical assessment of Tan's Liberal Cosmopolitanism

in *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, Vol. 15, Issue 1 , 63-77

Kok‐Chor Tan argues for a conception of Liberal Cosmopolitanism that seeks to reconcile ideals of global justice and national partiality. I provide two objections to his luck egalitarian model of global justice: first, it fails to provide adequate space for legitimate cultural variation with respect to the understanding of and valuing of natural resources; and second, that its account of ideas of collective responsibility is restricted to a point at which it becomes unrecognizable and inefficacious. I conclude with some reflections on the implications of my analysis for the more general question of whether or how national partiality and global justice can be reconciled.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Walzer Michael

Achieving Global and Local Justice

in *Dissent*, Summer 2011

Years ago, in 1983, I published a book called *Spheres of Justice*, which was an attempt to give an account of distributive justice in domestic society. I said virtually nothing in that book about distributive justice in international society. Since then, I have often been challenged to address issues of global justice, and I have responded with suggestions about how an argument might be constructed that would fit or sit alongside of the arguments of *Spheres*. What follows is an attempt to flesh out that argument, still in an incomplete way, but a little more fully than I have done in the past. I am not sure that what I will say here is consistent with my earlier suggestion, but I have never been accused of being a system-builder. The issues are very difficult, and perhaps it is useful to approach them in different ways, at different times. Here is one possible approach. Global justice would seem to require a global theory—a single philosophically grounded account o...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Trapnell Stephanie E.

Actionable Governance Indicators: Turning Measurement into Reform

in *Hague Journal on the Rule of Law*, Vol. 3, issue 2 , 317-348



The link between efficient and well-functioning institutions and the economic development of a country has become the core of the good governance effort. The focus on transparency and accountability as a means of improving those processes stems from a belief that well-designed underlying institutional arrangements for particular governance systems, i.e., rules of the game, along with a strengthening of organizational capacity to achieve mandates, can lead to better governance outcomes. This is particularly true in combination with regular monitoring of performance and publication of findings, so that citizens and policymakers can be in a position to make informed judgments about how these systems are functioning. This paper will begin with a discussion of aggregate indicators of governance, outlining both advantages and drawbacks to broad measurement approaches. It will then introduce a complementary approach to governance measurement that shifts the focus from broad concepts to actual governance mechanisms, but will also caution against simplistic divisions among types of indicators. Following that will be a discussion on the nature of actionability and its relationship to reform efforts, and an explanation of how actionable governance indicators (AGIs) can provide detailed information on the design, capacities, performance, and immediate impacts of governance systems. Finally, the paper will present scenarios in which actionable governance indicators were developed to capture information on: 1) the legal frameworks of income and asset disclosure, and 2) the implementation of disclosure systems. Data from both initiatives will be presented, along with the indicators.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Carlarne Cinnamon P.

Arctic Dreams and Geoengineering Wishes: The Collateral Damage of Climate Change in *Columbia Journal of Transnational Law*, Vol. 49, issue 3

Moving forward into a post-Kyoto world, policymakers struggle to find effective and equitable solutions, not only for the most basic challenges climate change presents, but also for the secondary problems to which climate change gives rise. After more than twenty years of deliberations, policymakers continue to struggle with the fundamental question of how to use law as a tool for reducing greenhouse gas emissions. Yet, even as these deliberations proceed, more complex derivative questions are identified on a daily basis.

These spin-off questions range from well-established concerns about the impact of climate change on biodiversity, human health and human rights, to newer questions about the intersections between climate change law and other areas of law, to critical questions about how climate change is revealing new governance gaps. Many of these collateral questions raise pressing legal and political issues that cannot be resolved through ongoing climate negotiations. This Article examines two particularly important areas in which climate change is exposing fundamental gaps in existing systems of global governance. The first of these is governance of the Arctic Ocean at the edges of the existing regulatory reach of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea. The second of these is the complete absence, for all practical purposes, of a governance regime applicable to geoengineering research and experimentation. These seemingly distinct issues are examined together for two reasons. First, they raise two of the most pressing global governance challenges today. Second, global efforts to address Arctic and geoengineering governance gaps pose discreet opportunities for the global community to debate, refine and advance the normative framework and institutional structures for management of the global commons. In both contexts, the questions asked and the answers offered will offer insight into larger questions of global environmental governance.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Mongin Olivier

Au-delà du printemps arabe, un basculement social à l'échelle mondiale

in *Esprit*, Décembre 2011 , 141-145

Les révolutions arabes doivent être comprises dans un contexte mondial, de faiblesse accrue des États et d'intensification de la demande sociale. Ce n'est qu'ainsi que les Occidentaux pourront véritablement s'y intéresser, et lire de manière différente le phénomène islamiste.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Dooley Kate, Ozinga Saskia

Building on Forest Governance Reforms through FLEGT: The Best Way of Controlling Forests' Contribution to Climate Change?

in *Review of European Community & International Environmental Law*, Volume 20, Issue 2, July , 163-170

Illegal logging is a major problem in the forestry sector, and legislation to combat it has recently been introduced in both the United States and the European Union (EU) – two of the world's largest importers of timber. Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and the timber industry have urged governments to use trade incentives to control illegalities, and this has been instrumental in the development of these laws. The Lacey Act, an American conservation law revised in 2008 to include illegal timber, requires businesses to demonstrate that their purchasing policies and mechanisms effectively avoid sourcing timber from illegal sources. Because tackling the problem depends on cooperation between importing and exporting countries, the EU has been working since 2002 on a comprehensive plan to control illegal timber imports: the EU Action Plan for Forest Law Enforcement, Governance and Trade (FLEGT). This Action Plan has led to new legislation to control illegal timber imports and help timber-producing countries to improve forest governance. It is hoped that in this way FLEGT will also contribute to keeping forests standing, thereby mitigating climate change. However, it is feared that World Bank and United Nations initiatives on Reduced Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation (REDD) may undermine the FLEGT initiative if they do not recognize the need to begin with forest governance reforms.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Evans Paul

China and the Global Order: One Challenge, Three Perspectives

in *Government and Opposition* , Vol. 47, n. 1, January , 117-134

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1477-7053.2011.01350.x/abstract>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy



Clegg Jenny

China at the global summit table: rule-taker, deal-wrecker or bridge-builder?

in *Contemporary Politics*, Vol. 17, n. 4, November , 447-465

This article considers China's participation in two key areas of international affairs, climate change and nuclear non-proliferation, taking as its focus the high-profile global summits of 2009 and 2010, with a view to examining how it seeks to operationalise its foreign policy goals. Drawing on Cox's critical view of multilateralism as a 'terrain of struggle' between a conservative developed North and a transformative developing South, the discussion examines the agendas of the USA as the world's leading power, on the one hand, and the developing countries and China on the other, the conference contexts, processes and outcomes. Neither simply acquiescent nor seeking to forge an 'adversarial anti-hegemonic front', China's role is seen as one of bridge-builder between developed and developing nations, using both resistance and compliance to deflect US power plays and gain leverage in pursuit of a transformative 'multipolar developmentalism' towards a new fairer international governance.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Remer Gary

Ciceronian Ius Gentium and World Legislation

in *International Organizations Law Review*, vol. 8, n. 1 , 225-239

ABSTRACT: Only recently have world global institutions, like the United Nations Security Council, assumed the role of world legislator. The past few decades, however, have witnessed the appearance of grand normative theories of global law, the most significant recent example being John Rawls's *The Law of Peoples* (1999), in which Rawls applies many of the same (or similar) abstract, universalizable concepts that are found in his earlier works on political theory to global law and presents an "ideal theory" for a "Society of Peoples". Although I do not oppose full-blown theorizing about international lawmaking, I contend that a middle-range approach is a useful complement to a broad-range approach because of the incipient character of global law, and I further argue that Cicero's *ius gentium*, the law of nations, provides the basis for such a mid-range approach. Since *ius gentium* is connected to domestic law and values, it can accommodate the practical necessities of today's world legislation, i.e., necessities resulting from the absence of extensive, long-standing global legal norms and of international institutions to enforce world legislation. Ciceronian *ius gentium*, however, is not confined to domestic law. The link between Cicero's "law of nations" and his "natural law" points to the possibilities of a more progressive legal future, not yet realized.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Azam M. Monirul

Climate Change Resilience and Technology Transfer: The Role of Intellectual Property

in *Nordic Journal of International Law*, vol. 80, issue 4 , 485-505

ABSTRACT: The impact of climate change has emerged as a major threat to sustainable development and poverty



reduction efforts in many less developed countries, in particular in the least developed countries (LDCs) such as the countries in the African region and Small Island States. New technologies are necessary for the stabilization and reduction of atmospheric greenhouse gases and to enhance the capacity of poor countries to respond to shifts in resource endowments that are expected to accompany climate change. Therefore, technology transfer, particularly in the case of access to environmentally sound technologies (ESTs) is widely seen as an integral part of climate change resilience. Concerted efforts will be required for the development, deployment and transfer of ESTs to reduce vulnerability and increase resilience to the risks of climate change. Thus, development and transfer of ESTs has emerged as a fundamental building block in the crafting of a post-Kyoto 2012 global regime for climate change resilience. In this context, the role of intellectual property rights (IPRs) has been the subject of increased attention in the climate change discussions since the Bali conference of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) in 2007. Different conflicting views and positions have emerged pointing to the role of IPRs in either facilitating or hindering the transfer of ESTs. The dissemination of ESTs from developed countries to developing countries and LDCs is a very complicated process often simplified by the argument that patent waiver for ESTs or allowing copying with weak intellectual property rights will help the developing countries and LDCs to better cope with the climate change problems. This article tries to examine the relationship between the IPRs (with special reference to patent system) and the resilience discourse with a starting point in the terms of social and ecological resilience.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Löfquist Lars

Climate change, justice and the right to development

in **Journal of Global Ethics**, Volume 7, Issue 3, 2011 , 251-260

Abstract

The primary human rights documents of the United Nations claim that every human has a right to development, a right that also includes continuous improvement of each person's living conditions. On one interpretation, this implies a right to a never-ending improvement of living conditions. According to the author, this interpretation faces several counterintuitive implications. First, it seems reasonable that we cannot have a right to improvement without regard to environmental sustainability; improvements must instead focus on well-being, a concept that is partially unrelated to material improvements. Second, if development is a human right, there are several distributional problems with this right. The paper discusses three different responses to the idea that everybody has a right to continuous improvement and concludes that the best solution is to reject the idea that everyone has such a right. This does not imply that we must reject a right to a certain minimum level of well-being; it just means that this right cannot include claims for never-ending improvement.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Schüssler Rudolf

Climate justice: a question of historic responsibility?

in **Journal of Global Ethics**, Volume 7, Issue 3, 2011 , 261-278

Abstract



The paper argues against the assumption that citizens of industrialized countries bear responsibility for greenhouse emissions in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. An array of arguments for such a historic responsibility is refuted. The crucial role of the assumption of a liability for bona fide misappropriation in a state of nature (Lockean strict liability) is pointed out.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Rajeshwar Tripathi

Concept of Global Administrative Law An Overview

in India Quarterly, Vol. 67, n°4 , 355-372

Globalisation, which has integrated the whole world into a unit by a vast range of regulatory regime, has led to the emergence of a global state through international institutions. These institutions regulate the social, economic and political life of states. Therefore it has led to the emergence of the concept of Global Governance. This concept of Global Governance has led to development of the concept of Global Administrative Law (GAL). This GAL concept is based on the idea of understanding global governance as administration, which can be organised and shaped by principles of an administrative law character. In this way GAL is related to trans-governmental regulation and administration designed to address the consequences of globalised interdependence in such fields as security, trade conditions on development and financial assistance, banking and financial regulations, Intellectual Property Rights, Labour standards and cross-border movements of populations, including refugees. Isolated national regulations cannot govern these different areas and administrative measures and therefore various transnational systems of regulation or regulatory co-operation have been established through international treaties and organisations. To implement these regulations, transnational administrative bodies—including international organisations and informal groups of officials that perform administrative functions, are established. However these institutions are not directly subject to control by national governments or domestic legal systems or, in the case of treaty-based regimes, the states party to the treaty. However their regulatory decisions may be implemented directly against private parties by the global regime or more commonly through implementing measures at the national level. This situation has led to the question of accountability, fairness and transparency and due process in the functioning of these bodies. GAL is developed in response to this question, which attempts to extend the application of domestic administrative law to intergovernmental regulatory decisions that affect a nation.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Klick Matthew

Configuring Global Order: Institutions, Processes, and Effects

in Global Governance, vol. 17, n. 4, october-december , 557-565

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Denis Flory



Coopération internationale et sûreté nucléaire

in *Politique Etrangère*, Vol. 76, n°4 hiver

L'accident de Fukushima a conduit l'AIEA, garante du cadre international de sûreté nucléaire, à tester ses procédures d'urgence et à préciser les instruments à sa disposition. Le Plan d'action sur la sûreté nucléaire du 22 septembre 2011 met en place les éléments d'un renforcement des contrôles autour de la notion de transparence de l'évaluation par les pairs. Ce Plan d'action constitue une étape importante, applicable sans attendre une éventuelle modification juridique des conventions de sûreté.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Archibugi Daniele, Held David

Cosmopolitan Democracy: Paths and Agents

in *Ethics and International Affairs*, vol. 25, n. 4, winter , 433-461

ABSTRACT: One of the recurrent criticisms of the project of cosmopolitan democracy has been that it has not examined the political, economic and social agents that might have an interest in pursuing this programme. This criticism is addressed directly in this article. It shows that there are a variety of paths that, in their own right, could lead to more democratic global governance, and that there are a diversity of political, economic and social agents that have an interest in the pursuit of these. Cosmopolitan democracy is an open-ended project that aims to increase the accountability, transparency and legitimacy of global governance, and the battery of agents and initiatives outlined highlight the direction and politics required to make it possible.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Martell Luke

Cosmopolitanism and Global Politics

in *Political Quarterly* , Volume 82, Issue 4, October-December 2011 , 618-627

This article discusses whether global politics are the best means for achieving cosmopolitan ends. It distinguishes the cosmopolitan goal of global obligations from the cosmopolitan politics of global governance. Evidence for cosmopolitanism in society and culture is not strong. In global politics states pursue their own material interests rather than cosmopolitan goals. Copenhagen and the financial crisis did not lead to global cosmopolitan politics as might have been hoped. The article argues that it is dangerous to continue to believe in cosmopolitan politics in such a context. Cosmopolitanism is better pursued through a politics that recognises material interests, conflict, is bottom-up and based in what is happening, rather than top-down and optimistic about cosmopolitan attitudes.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Focarelli Carlo

Costituzionalismo internazionale e costituzionalizzazione della global governance: alla ricerca del diritto



globale

in *Politica del diritto*, n. 2 , 207-238

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

William Smith

Deliberation beyond Borders: The Public Reason of a Society of Peoples

in *Journal of International Political Theory*, Volume 7, Number 2 , 117-139

The aim of this article is to contribute to the elaboration of a deliberative approach to global institutional design. A deliberative approach aims to embed processes of mutual reason-giving at the heart of international relations and global decision-making. The theoretical framework that orientates this discussion is the liberal approach to international law developed by John Rawls. It may seem strange to invoke this model: after all, Rawls does not specifically discuss the issue of global institutional design and indeed has been widely criticized for neglecting this topic. In fact, in its account of global public reason, Rawls's approach can be shown to contain important and surprisingly neglected resources for constructing a dynamic and inclusive theory of global deliberative politics.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Boix Carles

Democracy, Development, and the International System

in *American Political Science Review*, vol. 105, issue 4, november , 809-828

ABSTRACT: Resolving a controversy on the relationship of development to democratization, this article expands the time period under study with panel data running from the early nineteenth century (a time where hardly any country was democratic) to the end of the twentieth century, and shows a positive and significant effect of income on the likelihood of democratic transitions and democratic consolidations. The estimations hold after I control for country and time effects and instrument for income. Results reveal that the effect of income varies across income levels and across eras. First, income has a decreasing marginal effect on democratization. In already developed (and democratized) countries, any extra growth has no further effect on the level of democracy. Second, the structure of the international system affects the resources and strategies of pro-authoritarian and pro-democratic factions in client states. The proportion of liberal democracies peaks under international orders governed by democratic hegemons, such as the post–Cold War period, and bottoms out when authoritarian great powers such as the Holy Alliance control the world system.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Fine Sarah

Democracy, citizenship and the bits in between

in *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, Vol. 14, n. 5, December , 623-640



This paper lays the foundations for a democratic defence of the argument that at least some non-citizens are entitled to claim rights of political participation with regard to states in which they are not resident. First I outline a distinctively democratic case for granting participatory rights to certain non-resident non-citizens, based upon the central claim that in a democracy those who are governed ought to have the opportunity to participate in the exercise of government. I offer support for extending rights of participation to some non-resident non-citizens by addressing two possible democratic objections, relating to political equality and reciprocity.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Rödl Florian

**Democratic Juridification Without Statisation: Law of Conflict of Laws Instead of a World State
in Transnational Legal Theory**, Vol. 2, issue 2 , 193-213

For some time now, conceptual designs for statal unity over and above the nation state have been discussed not only in theory but also in politics, as a panacea for the problems faced by the old nation state in view of globalisation. This paper begins by restating a powerful criticism of this idea from a perspective of radical democracy articulated by Ingeborg Maus. However, if her point is taken seriously, transnational constitutional theory must develop an alternative to the nation state to cope with transnationalisation. The paper argues for a democracy-preserving 'law of conflict of laws'. But, as an analysis of the changed function of conflict of laws will show, such a conception has been marginal in conflict of laws as a legal discipline. Today, conflict of laws in its hegemonic articulation is even evolving towards becoming an anti-democratic tool to accelerate the commodification of the legal function.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Klein Naomi

**Der neue Antihumanismus. Der Klimawandel und die politische Rechte
in Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik**, Februar, 2012 , 111-119

Der Klimawandel sprengt das weltanschauliche Fundament des zeitgenössischen Konservatismus. Ein Glaubensgebäude, das kollektives Handeln verteufelt und auf die totale Entfesselung der Märkte schwört, lässt sich mit dem Imperativ unserer Tage schlichtweg nicht mehr vereinbaren: mit der Notwendigkeit, in ungekanntem Ausmaß aktiv zu werden und gemeinsam die Marktkräfte, die die Krise herbeigeführt haben, ein für alle Mal zu bändigen...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Parsons Jim

**Developing Clusters of Indicators: An Alternative Approach to Measuring the Provision of Justice
in Hague Journal on the Rule of Law**, Vol. 3. issue 2 , 170-185

Empirical indicators are widely used in both developing and developed countries to assess the performance of justice



systems. Most existing indicator initiatives base their findings on expert surveys, document reviews, administrative data, or public surveys. While each of these data sources is suited to the measurement of particular facets of justice system performance, reliance on just one or two sources of information can introduce systematic bias, distorting the results of assessments. This paper discusses the strengths and weaknesses of each of the commonly used types of indicator data and describes an approach that uses clusters of indicators drawn from multiple sources. This method can reflect the complex and multi-faceted nature of justice systems while including checks on the biases inherent in individual data sources. The paper concludes with a discussion of the strengths and drawbacks of this method compared to approaches more commonly adopted by existing indicator initiatives

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Schumann Harald

Die Hungermacher

in **Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik**, Februar, 2012 , 101-110

Frankreichs Staatspräsident Nicolas Sarkozy ist gewiss nicht als Anwalt aller Mühseligen und Beladenen bekannt. Und dennoch war er der erste Staatsmann von Weltgeltung, der die schädlichen Auswirkungen der Finanzspekulationen auf den Nahrungsmittelmärkten zur Sprache brachte. Im Januar 2011 erklärte er deren Bekämpfung zu einem der drei Schwerpunkte des Programms für die Gruppe der 20 führenden Staaten der Welt (G 20). „Wie will man den Menschen erklären, dass wir zwar die Geldmärkte regulieren, aber die für Rohstoffe nicht?“, fragte Sarkozy...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Falke Andreas

Die große Ernüchterung: Zur Transformation der amerikanischen Weltmachtrolle

in **Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte**, Band 51-52, 2011

The full text is free:

www.bpb.de/publikationen/3P6JTX,0,Die_gro%DFe_Ern%FCchterung%3A_Zur_Transformation_der_amerikanischen_Weltmachtrolle.html

Inhalt:

Einleitung

Schwindende ökonomische und fiskalische Basis

Dysfunktionalität des politischen Systems

Amerikanischer Neo-Isolationismus?

Zukunft der amerikanischen Weltmachtrolle



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Mongin Olivier

Diversité des scénarios et signification historique mondiale. Introduction

in *Esprit*, Décembre 2011 , 76-77

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Blatter Johachim

Dual citizenship and theories of democracy

in *Citizenship Studies*, vol. 15, issue 6/7 , 769-798

ABSTRACT: Dual/multiple citizenship has become a widespread phenomenon in many parts of the world. This acceptance or tolerance of overlapping memberships in political communities represents an important element in the ongoing readjustment of the relationship between citizens and political communities in democratic systems. This article has two goals and parts. First, it evaluates dual citizenship from the perspective of five normative theories of democracy. Liberal and republican as well as multicultural and deliberative understandings of democracy deliver a broad spectrum of arguments in favour of dual citizenship. Only communitarians fear that dual citizenship endangers national democracies. Nevertheless, empirical evidence and national policies largely contradict these fears. The second part of the article reverses the perspective and shows that most theories of democracy do not only legitimate and facilitate the acceptance of dual citizenship – the phenomenon of multiple citizenships induces innovation in democratic theory in turn. A second look at the relationship between dual citizenship and theories of democracy reveals that dual citizenship stimulates refinements, expansions and reconceptualisations of these theories for a transnationalising world.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Sotillo Lorenzo José Angel

El papel de la Unión Europea en la cooperación para el desarrollo: opciones y límites al vínculo entre gobernanza y desarrollo

in *Cuadernos europeos de Deusto*, n. 45 , 149-175

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Lázaro Touza Lara Esther

El papel de la Unión Europea en la gobernanza global en materia climática

in *Cuadernos europeos de Deusto*, n. 45 , 117-148



No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Oulahbib Lucien S. A.

En quoi la conception morphologique des relations internationales peut renforcer l'action des institutions mondiales?

in *Esprit Critique*, Vol. 15, N° 01, Automne 2011 , 74-89

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

DAVID ARMSTRONG

Evolving conceptions of justice in international law

in *Review of International Studies (The)*, Volume 37 - Issue 05 , 2121-2136

The article examines the argument that international law is already beginning to reflect cosmopolitanism. It does so by briefly reviewing the history of the ways in which concepts of justice have been represented in international law and then considering the case that cosmopolitanism is present in various forms in contemporary international law. While dismissing some of the stronger cosmopolitan claims it argues that the fuller picture has complexities that International Relations Realists and legal Positivists tend to ignore.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Perret Bernard

Face au réchauffement, la tête dans le sable?

in *Esprit*, Janvier 2012 , 158-160

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Doherty Emma, Schroeder Heike

Forest Tenure and Multi-level Governance in Avoiding Deforestation under REDD+

in *Global Environmental Politics*, Volume 11, Issue 4, November , 66-88

This paper investigates the role of forest tenure in creating a sustainable and effective mechanism on Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation (REDD+). It draws together existing knowledge and experience of forest tenure issues as they play out in real contexts, and evaluates their implications for REDD+. In particular, it challenges the argument that simply harmonising different tenure systems will lead to improved tenure security and



ensure that REDD+ does not disenfranchise local communities. By bringing to light the ways in which local tenure could shape the implementation of REDD+, this paper provides insights that can contribute to the design of a sustainable, effective and equitable REDD+ agreement. The findings suggest that a more nuanced and locally specific understanding of tenure security and ownership are required in order to create favourable grounds for REDD+ implementation.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

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Bijian Zheng

From China's "Peaceful Rise" to Building Communities of Interest

in New Perspectives Quarterly, Vol. 28, Issue 4, Fall , 23-25

The sovereign debt problem in Europe, ignited by Greece, has morphed into an economic crisis challenging the solvency of major banks and countries as well as a generalized crisis of governance. Lacking the legitimacy of public support, the leaders of the European Union's fledgling institutions have been indecisive and unable to contain the looming danger of financial contagion. Along with the economic slowdown in the United States, instability and volatility in Europe threaten to derail the fragile global recovery.

In this section, several former European leaders as well as political figures from the emerging economies offer their ideas on how to fix Europe and stem the global threat.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Catón Matthias

Generating New Ideas for Global Governance: The World Economic Forum's Global Redesign Initiative

in Zeitschrift für Politikberatung, Volume 4, Number 3, 2011

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Herberg Martin

Global Governance and Conflict of Laws from a Foucauldian Perspective: The Power/Knowledge Nexus Revisited

in Transnational Legal Theory, Vol. 2, issue 2 , 242-268

Drawing on the work of Michel Foucault, this article sheds light on the tension-rich interactions between state-based law and the emerging power mechanisms of the transnational sphere. Besides norms and standards, private governance also includes the evolution of knowledge practices such as auditing, surveillance, rating and benchmarking. These practices can cause manifold legal conflicts, which call for specific forms of coordination. This is all the more true since the transnational sphere has evolved into a battlefield of numerous, often highly conflicting governance regimes, which often come with their own rationalities, problem-definitions and ideologies. Lawyers seeking to incorporate the emerging



extra-legal mechanisms into their decisions must try to inquire into the whole range of divergent governmental practices in the relevant field, so that they do not become captivated by the particularistic rationality of one single initiative or regime. As an empirical illustration, I discuss ISO 14000

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Martin Pamela L.

Global Governance from the Amazon: Leaving Oil Underground in Yasuní National Park, Ecuador
in *Global Environmental Politics*, Volume 11, Issue 4, November , 22-42

This article explores the saga of the campaign to save the Ishpingo-Tambococha-Tiputini (ITT) block of the Yasuní National Park in Ecuador's Western Amazon, a story of the complex transnational networks and global governance mechanisms that have emerged to create post-Kyoto solutions for the planet. Ecuador's Yasuní-ITT Initiative to keep nearly 900 million barrels of oil underground in exchange for global contributions for avoided emissions presents an alternative norm for global environmental governance in line with the indigenous concept of *buen vivir*, or the good life. This means living in harmony with nature, and is embodied in the Ecuadorian Constitution of 2008. These changes, however, are not without pressures and inconsistencies at the domestic and international levels. Ultimately, the Yasuní-ITT Initiative and subsequent UNDP Yasuní Trust Fund offer replicable models for other fossil fuel dependent and megadiverse countries in the developing world.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Valentini Laura

Global Justice and Practice-Dependence: Conventionalism, Institutionalism, Functionalism
in *Journal of Political Philosophy*, Vol. 19, Issue 4, December , 399-418

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1467-9760.2010.00373.x/abstract>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Kovats R. Sari

Global health and global environmental governance – Research for policy
in *Global Environmental Change*, Volume 22, Issue 1, February , 1-2

Full text available at

http://pdn.sciencedirect.com/science?_ob=MiamiImageURL&_cid=271866&_user=10&_pii=S0959378011001981&_check=y&_origin=browse&_zone=rslt_list_item&_coverDate=2012-02-29&wchp=dGLzVIV-zSkWb&md5=2a372dbe683626c92f7ad87d6aef07ae/1-s2.0-S0959378011001981-main.pdf

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy



Fernández Martín Rosa María

Gobernanza corporativa en la Unión Europea: oportunidades de cambio para un desarrollo sostenible
in *Cuadernos europeos de Deusto*, n. 45 , 97-115

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Erman Eva

Human rights do not make global democracy

in *Contemporary Political Theory*, Vol. 10, n. 4, November , 463-481

On most accounts of global democracy, human rights are ascribed a central function. Still, their conceptual role in global democracy is often unclear. Two recent attempts to remedy this deficiency have been made by James Bohman and Michael Goodhart. What is interesting about their proposals is that they make the case that under the present circumstances of politics, global democracy is best conceptualized in terms of human rights. Although the article is sympathetic to this 'human rights approach', it defends the thesis that human rights are not enough for global democracy. It argues that insofar as we hold on to the general idea of democracy as a normative ideal of self-determination (self-rule) that is, of people determining their own lives and ruling over themselves, the concept of democracy accommodates two necessary conditions, namely, political bindingness and political equality. Further, it argues that neither Bohman's nor Goodhart's accounts fulfill these conditions and that one explanation for this could be traced to a lack of clarity concerning the distinction between democracy as normative ideal and democracy as decision method or rules (for example, institutions, laws and norms) for regulating social interactions. This ambiguity has implications for both Goodhart and Bohman. In Goodhart's work it manifests itself as a vagueness concerning the difference between political agency and democratic agency; in Bohman's work it becomes unclear whether he contributes a normative democratic theory or a theory of democratization. Although this article develops both a conceptual and a normative argument against their proposals, the aim is not to find fault with them but to point to questions that are in need of further elaboration to make them more convincing.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Hooft Stan van

Humanity or justice?

in *Journal of Global Ethics*, Volume 7, Issue 3, 2011 , 291-302

Abstract

This paper reflects on a critique of cosmopolitanism mounted by Tom Campbell, who argues that cosmopolitans place undue stress on the issue of global justice. Campbell argues that aid for the impoverished needy in the third world, for example, should be given on the Principle of Humanity rather than on the Principle of Justice. This line of thought is also pursued by 'Liberal Nationalists' like Yael Tamir and David Miller. Thomas Nagel makes a similar distinction and questions whether the ideal of justice can even be meaningfully applied on a global scale. The paper explores whether



the distinction between the Principle of Humanity and the Principle of Justice might be a false dichotomy in that both principles could be involved in humanitarian assistance. It will suggest that both principles might be grounded in an ethics of caring and that the ethics of caring cannot be so sharply distinguished from the discourse of justice and of rights. As a result, the Principle of Humanity and the Principle of Justice cannot be so sharply distinguished either. It is because we care about others as human beings (Principle of Humanity) that we pursue justice for them (Principle of Justice) and the alleviation of their avoidable suffering.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Alessandro Colombo

I nodi politici dell'ingerenza umanitaria

in **Quaderni di Relazioni Internazionali** , n. 15, novembre 2011 , 13-26

La spinta a rivedere il rapporto tra sovranità e ingerenza non può essere compresa al di fuori del mutamento più comprensivo che, in un crescendo politico e giuridico, ha investito la società internazionale almeno a partire dalla seconda metà del Novecento, contrapponendo al particolarismo della società internazionale degli stati il cosmopolitismo politico e giuridico della cosiddetta società globale. Fondata su un'immagine della convivenza internazionale nuova (o, forse, semplicemente nostalgica dell'unità precedente al sorgere del pluralismo degli stati)⁴, la visione cosmopolitica è portatrice di un modello normativo alternativo a quello stato-centrico di impronta westphaliana – un modello alternativo prefigurato dagli esperimenti di sicurezza collettiva del periodo infrabellico, successivamente assemblato nella Carta delle Nazioni Unite ed espresso, oggi, in riforme almeno potenzialmente rivoluzionarie quali l'istituzione della Corte penale internazionale e, appunto, l'endiadi responsibility to protect-diritti di ingerenza.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Marceau Gabrielle

IGOs in Crisis? Or New Opportunities to Demonstrate Responsibility?

in **International Organizations Law Review**, vol. 8, n. 1 , 1-13

ABSTRACT: This editorial seeks to explore the creative reactions of intergovernmental organizations ('IGOs') in times of global crisis. With emphasis on recent health and economic crises and the response of IGOs including the World Health Organization, the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the World Trade Organization, the editorial shows that crises have strengthened the institutional and law-making power of the IGOs that are forced to deal with them. Certain common elements emerge from this discussion, including the more prominent role that the leadership and Secretariats of IGOs regularly play in crises, the wider range of institutions and groups with which IGOs are prepared to closely collaborate in order to deal with new issues, and the increased prevalence of creative and informal law-making by IGOs as part of their institutional responses to challenges.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Saunders Ben

Immigration, Rights and Democracy

in Theoria, Volume 58, Number 129, December 2011 , 58-77

Abstract:

Arash Abizadeh has recently argued that political communities have no right to close their borders unilaterally, since by doing so they subject outsiders to coercion which lacks democratic justification. His conclusion is that any legitimate regime of border controls must be justified to outsiders. David Miller has sought to defend closed borders by distinguishing between coercion and prevention and arguing that the latter does not require democratic justification. This paper explores a different route, arguing firstly that the requirements of democracy do not provide us with practical guidance unless we also consider other values, such as rights, and secondly that being subject to coercion does not entitle one to democratic justification. These arguments suggest that Abizadeh is wrong to hold closed borders in need of democratic justification.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Knight Carl

In Defence of Cosmopolitanism

in Theoria, Volume 58, Number 129, December 2011 , 19-34

Abstract:

David Miller has objected to the cosmopolitan argument that it is arbitrary and hence unfair to treat individuals differently on account of things for which they are not responsible. Such a view seems to require, implausibly, that individuals be treated identically even where (unchosen) needs differ. The objection is, however, inapplicable where the focus of cosmopolitan concern is arbitrary disadvantage rather than arbitrary treatment. This 'unfair disadvantage argument' supports a form of global luck egalitarianism. Miller also objects that cosmopolitanism is unable to accommodate special obligations generated by national membership. Cosmopolitanism can, however, accommodate many special obligations to compatriots. Those which it cannot accommodate are only morally compelling if we assume what the objection claims to prove - that cosmopolitanism is mistaken. Cosmopolitanism construed as global luck egalitarianism is therefore able to withstand both of Miller's objections, and has significant independent appeal on account of the unfair disadvantage argument.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Vieira Marco Antonio, Alden Chris

India, Brazil, and South Africa (IBSA): South-South Cooperation and the Paradox of Regional Leadership

in Global Governance, vol. 17, n. 4, october-december , 507-528

ABSTRACT: This article argues that the long-term sustainability of the trilateral partnership established in 2003 between



India, Brazil, and South Africa (IBSA) rests on a more conscious engagement with their regional partners. The construction of a strong regional leadership role for IBSA based on its members' strategic positions in South Asia, South America, and southern Africa is the proper common ground to legitimize a diplomatic partnership between the IBSA states. This is even more pressing as China is actively competing for markets and influence with the IBSA trio within their respective regions, particularly in Africa. The paradox, though, is that while Northern powers have welcomed the regional leadership role of IBSA's members, most of their neighbors are not convinced of the actual intentions of New Delhi, Brasilia, and Pretoria. As a result, leadership within IBSA is defined in global terms as a claim to lead the developing world. At the regional level, however, IBSA's claim for leadership is less clear, less acceptable, and therefore remains constrained.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Botero Juan Carlos, Nelson Robert L., Pratt Christine

Indices and Indicators of Justice, Governance, and the Rule of Law: An Overview
in *Hague Journal on the Rule of Law*, Vol. 3. issue 2 , 153-169

Throughout the past two decades, the demand for social science indicators to quantify the performance of various institutions has increased dramatically. These indicators seek to address the concerns of policymaking and public audiences by operationalizing such complex, multi-dimensional concepts as governance, access to justice, corruption, and the rule of law, to name a few.

The increased demand for institutional indicators has led to a proliferation of indices. This special issue of the Hague Journal on the Rule of Law, entirely dedicated to measurement of institutional indicators across countries, represents the outcome of a collaborative effort between the Hague Institute for the Internationalisation of Law (HiIL) and The World Justice Project (WJP). In August 2010, these institutions convened in Washington, DC, a seminar with some of the leading researchers and indicator developers in the fields of governance, corruption, and access to justice. The goal of the seminar was to facilitate an open conversation about the need for, and the limitations of, cross-country institutional indicators. Presentations made at this seminar have been turned into papers for this special issue.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Hammergren Linn

Indices, Indicators and Statistics: A View from the Project Side as to Their Utility and Pitfalls
in *Hague Journal on the Rule of Law*, Vol. 3. issue 2 , 305-316

This article reviews the utility of global indices and indicators of judicial performance and quality from the standpoint of those designing and implementing country reforms. It argues that despite the recurrent interest of donors in sponsoring these global systems, they are of limited use for reformers because 1) they operate at too high a level; 2) they consequently fail to capture the types of changes promoted by reform; and 3) they are too easily 'gamed.' A more significant drawback however is their likely discouragement of efforts to develop in-country management information systems, or databases on key events in case processing that could be used to generate more reform-specific measures.



Donors must bear part of the responsibility here as their financing of court and sector-wide automation has overlooked this need as well.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Wessel Remses A.

Informal International Law-Making as a New Form of World Legislation?

in International Organizations Law Review, vol. 8, n. 1 , 253-265

ABSTRACT: Law-making by formal, intergovernmental international organizations received abundant attention over the past years. The aim of the present contribution is to investigate whether the notion of 'word legislation' would also be appropriate in the case of 'informal international law-making'. It is argued that this could be the case when international public authority is exercised, in which case 'informal' rules have effects similar to domestic legislation.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

van Asselt Harro

Integrating Biodiversity in the Climate Regime's Forest Rules: Options and Tradeoffs in Greening REDD Design

in Review of European Community & International Environmental Law, Volume 20, Issue 2, July , 139-149

Forests play a crucial role at the interface of the international legal regimes for climate change and biodiversity protection. However, the rules on land use, land-use change and forestry developed under the Kyoto Protocol have only provided limited incentives to protect biodiversity. A new opportunity to exploit potential synergies between the climate and biodiversity regimes is provided by the ongoing negotiations on reduced emissions from deforestation and forest degradation (REDD), yet the biodiversity impacts of a REDD mechanism will crucially depend on its design. Against that background, this article suggests and examines various options to integrate biodiversity considerations in REDD design. It shows that while the explicit incorporation of biodiversity considerations is possible, doing so will force negotiators to make inevitable tradeoffs. The first tradeoff is between pursuing a legally binding agreement and strong references to biodiversity in a future agreement, whereas the second tradeoff is between the strength of such references and the need to secure countries' participation in a future REDD mechanism. Nevertheless, the article concludes that such tradeoffs need not necessarily lead to the exclusion of biodiversity concerns under a future climate regime.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

SALADIN MECKLED-GARCIA

International law and the limits of global justice

in Review of International Studies (The), Volume 37 - Issue 05 , 2073-2088

There are two central theses to this article, the first is that a special kind of governance authority is needed for principles of distributive social justice ('social justice' from now on) to be applicable to any sphere of human action. The second is that international law does not and cannot represent that kind of governance authority. It is not 'social justice-apt', in my



terminology. This is due to the limits inherent in the statist character of international law, a character that underlies the point and purpose of international law in the first place. Putting these together, one can conclude that international law cannot be used to govern the global order according to those principles of social justice that liberal theorists typically defend in the domestic context. This shows that if the cosmopolitan project of extending social justice to the global arena does not find an alternative form of governance for the international order (the problem of 'cosmopolitan coordination') it ceases to be a viable project.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

LAURA VALENTINI and TIZIANA TORRESI

Introduction – International law and global justice: a happy marriage
in *Review of International Studies (The)*, Volume 37 - Issue 05 , 2035-2041

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Pearson John

Is Miller's Minimalist Approach to Human Rights Obligations Coherent?
in *Theoria*, Volume 58, Number 129, December 2011 , 35-57

Abstract:

This paper asks whether David Miller's minimalist theory of human rights is coherent with his claim that obligations of global justice involve obligations to provide people with a minimally decent life. I argue that there is a justice gap in Miller's theory: the structure of his distinction between basic and societal needs is such that people will be left below the level of minimal decency even when obligations of justice are met. Miller can either bite this bullet or look for alternative sources of obligations of justice. I take up the second option by arguing that there can be obligations of global justice to build institutions that enable societies to generate income and wealth.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

TERRY NARDIN

Justice and authority in the global order
in *Review of International Studies (The)*, Volume 37 - Issue 05 , 2059-2072

The global justice debate has largely ignored law. But that debate presupposes a legal order within which principles of justice could be implemented. Paying attention to law alters our understanding of global justice by requiring us to distinguish principles that are properly prescribed and enforced within a legal order from those that are not. Given that theories of global governance depreciate law and that cosmopolitan and confederal theories are utopian, the most promising context for a realistic global justice discourse is one that is focused on strengthening, not transcending, the international legal order.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Leist Anton

Klimagerechtigkeit

in **Information Philosophie**, Band 39, Heft 5, 2011

Mit Klimawandel und Klimapolitik beschäftigen sich Philosophen erst seit wenigen Jahren. Dennoch hat sich bereits ein Punkt ergeben, an dem die reale Politik die begriffliche Phantasie eher zu unterlaufen scheint als ihr ein offenes Anwendungsfeld zu bieten. Der Klimagipfel in Kopenhagen 2009 hat für vermutlich längere Zeit die Hoffnung zerstört, es könnte eine ethisch geläuterte Nachfolgeversion des Kyoto-Abkommens geben. Die Kontrahenten, insbesondere die USA und China, stehen sich starr gegenüber und die Europäer sind mangels Masse und Einfluss unfähig, diese Blockade aufzubrechen. Für Bürger der westlichen und der übrigen Welt sollte es dennoch hilfreich sein, diesen Zustand mindestens zu begreifen, begleitend zu politischen Vorarbeiten für Koalitionenbildung im bescheideneren Umfang. Welche Rolle Gerechtigkeit dabei jetzt und in der Zukunft spielen kann, wird ein Teil dieser Diagnostik sein. Die Philosophie könnte also das Verständnis der augenblicklichen Stagnation unterstützen, allerdings nur, wenn sie die real-sozialen Kräfte neben den idealen berücksichtigt. Ob der Klimawandel überhaupt noch menschlich kontrolliert werden kann, ist durchaus ungewiss. Ob anspruchsvolle Kooperationen langfristig und im globalen Maßstab möglich sind, wird historisch zum ersten Mal getestet; und die traditionell eine einzige, weltumfassende Vernunft reklamierende Philosophie könnte in diesem Fall real widerlegt werden. In welchem Sinn können Philosophen angesichts des Klimawandels überhaupt hilfreiche Dienste leisten? ...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Leggewie Claus

Klimaschutz: Last Exit Durban?

in **Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik**, Dezember, 2011 , 13-16

The full text is free:

www.blaetter.de/archiv/jahrgaenge/2011/dezember/klimaschutz-last-exit-durban

Nach dem dramatischen Scheitern von Kopenhagen 2009, als ein international verbindliches Abkommen zur Reduktion der CO₂-Emissionen nicht zustande kam, und dem Minimalkompromiss von Cancún, wo nur eine freiwillige Reduktionszusage auf den Weg gebracht wurde, blickt die ganze Klimaschutz-Community auf die nächste internationale Klimakonferenz, die Ende November in Durban startet – als bereits 17. Vertragsstaatenkonferenz der UN-Klimarahmenkonvention (COP 17) und siebente des Kyoto-Protokolls (CMP 7)...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Sari Aurel

Kompetenzlehre Internationaler Organisationen (Theory of the Powers of International Organizations)



in *International Organizations Law Review*, vol. 8, n. 1 , 279-284

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Lasa López Ainhoa

La contribución de la Unión Europea a la gobernanza económica mundial ante la crisis del paradigma globalizador

in *Cuadernos europeos de Deusto*, n. 45 , 67-96

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Ortega Carcelén Martín

La contribución de la Unión Europea a la gobernanza global en cuestiones de paz y seguridad

in *Cuadernos europeos de Deusto*, n. 45 , 49-65

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Franco Pizzetti

La protezione dei dati: servono regole globali

in *Aspenia*, n. 54, ottobre , 72-81

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Death Carl

Leading by Example: South African Foreign Policy and Global Environmental Politics

in *International Relations*, vol. 25, n. 4, december , 455-478

ABSTRACT: Global environmental politics is emerging as a key field for South African diplomacy and foreign policy, in which Pretoria is endeavouring to lead by example. Environmental summits and conferences such as Johannesburg (2002) and Copenhagen (2009) have been crucial stages for the performance of this role as an environmental leader, and in December 2011 Durban will host the seventeenth Conference of the Parties (COP17) to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change. There are also signs from within policy-making circles that 'the environment' is seen as a field in which some of the lustre of South Africa's post-1994 international high moral standing could be



recovered. However, tensions remain between South Africa's performance and rhetoric on the global stage, and domestic development paths which continue to be environmentally unsustainable. The article concludes by suggesting that while the visibility and prominence of South Africa as an actor in global environmental politics is likely to grow, it remains doubtful whether this represents a sustained and committed new direction in South African foreign policy.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Rwengabo Sabastiano

Legalisation versus instrumentalisation: United States, international law and world politics

in *Journal of Law and Conflict Resolution*, vol. 3, n. 8, october , 130-141

ABSTRACT: International law institutionalises norms, behaviour expectations and obligations for state and non-state international actors, regulates their behaviour, and offers some justice to victims of state and non-state actions and processes. It creates a semblance of international realm of law-abiding actors. This law, however, is affected by the United States' (US) dominant position: the US uses informal channels to manipulate international law and subject other states to this law without the US itself being equally subjected to the law; dominates international institutions as embodiments of international law; and internationalises its domestic law. This article argues that much as law regulates state behaviour in international affairs, it remains an instrument of world politics serving state interests of those capable of manipulating and/or eluding it, simultaneously sustaining a semblance of universal legality, a reason why the US's retreat from international law is justified by disguised reference to US constitution, independence and sovereignty.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Jussi Hanhimaki

Les États-Unis et le multilatéralisme depuis le 11 septembre

in *Politique Etrangère*, Vol. 76, n°3 automne

Unilatéralisme et multilatéralisme doivent être vus comme les instruments conjoncturels d'une diplomatie américaine dont l'objectif reste la protection des intérêts du pays. George W. Bush a en son temps opéré un virage moins brusque qu'il n'y paraît. L'Administration Obama tient un discours plus ouvert au multilatéralisme. Et c'est l'évolution globale des rapports de puissance qui devrait inciter Washington à recourir davantage, dans l'avenir, à la négociation multilatérale.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Dinar Ariel, Rahman Shaikh Mahfuzur, Larson Donald F., Ambrosi Philippe

Local Actions, Global Impacts: International Cooperation and the CDM

in *Global Environmental Politics*, Volume 11, Issue 4, November , 108-133

We examine the Clean Development Mechanism (CDM) market as form of cooperative involvement between developing-host and developed-investor countries, likely to evolve into a form of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) with



opportunities for further collaboration. We use three variables to measure the level of cooperation, namely number of joint CDM projects, volume of CO2 abatement realized from the CDM projects, and volume of investment in the CDM projects. We rely on international economics and international relations literature to suggest that the levels of economic development and institutional development, energy structures of the economies, country vulnerability to various climate change effects, political constraints, trade, and historic relations between the host and investor countries are good predictors of the level of cooperation in CDM projects. The main policy relevant conclusions include the importance of simplifying the CDM project regulation/clearance cycle as an essential policy option for further growth of joint CDM projects; improving governance structures in the host and investor countries that would lead to higher political stability and trust between the countries for business, including CDM; and strengthening trade or other long-term economic activities that connect the countries for fostering CDM cooperation.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

García Pérez Rafael

Los desafíos de la Unión Europea en la gobernanza global

in *Cuadernos europeos de Deusto*, n. 45 , 23-47

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Chavagneux Christian

L'instabilité du monde : inégalités, finance, environnement. À propos de Susan Strange

in *Esprit*, Décembre 2011 , 49-61

Susan Strange n'a jamais promu de théorie globale de l'économie politique. L'originalité de son approche, qui fait que ses textes sont encore si pertinents aujourd'hui, dix ans après sa disparition, réside dans la manière dont elle diagnostique les facteurs d'instabilité à l'échelle mondiale en intégrant préoccupation environnementale, instabilité sociale et montée en puissance, à côté des États, des acteurs transnationaux privés.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Strange Susan

L'échec des États face à la mondialisation

in *Esprit*, Décembre 2011 , 62-75

Les États-nations, artisans du développement du capitalisme financier, se trouvent, à la fin du XXe siècle, dans l'impossibilité de contenir ses dérives. La finance échappe au politique, les inégalités se creusent et l'environnement se dégrade. Les États se pensent comme les seuls acteurs légitimes de la scène internationale alors que leur capacité à imposer leur autorité s'est érodée. Écrit au moment de la crise financière asiatique, cet article rappelle que les facteurs de la crise actuelle se sont mis en place depuis plus d'une décennie.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Gramatikov Martin, Barendrecht Maurits , Verdonschot Jin Ho

Measuring the Costs and Quality of Paths to Justice: Contours of a Methodology

in Hague Journal on the Rule of Law, Vol. 3. issue 2 , 349-379

Legal problems and justice needs are similar in different jurisdictions and different locations. Processes for resolving them, as well as rules determining outcomes, however, vary widely. Measuring the price (costs) and quality of such 'paths to justice' from the perspective of the user is likely to enhance users' choice, enable comparison and learning, to increase transparency, and to create incentives for improving access to justice. This paper discusses the contours of a methodology for this purpose and of some concrete tools for measuring costs, procedural quality, and outcome quality. Conceptualization of a path to justice, criteria and items included in the measurement framework, as well as different data collection methods, are presented. Experiences from two pilot studies give insight into the challenges that lie ahead, and in the potential uses of the (developing) measurement methodology.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Ulaş Luke

Miller's Models and Their Applicability to Nations

in Theoria, Volume 58, Number 129, December 2011 , 78-94

Abstract:

This paper argues that the two models of collective responsibility David Miller presents in National Responsibility and Global Justice do not apply to nations. I first consider the 'like-minded group' model, paying attention to three scenarios in which Miller employs it. I argue that the feasibility of the model decreases as we expand outwards from the smallest group to the largest, since it increasingly fails to capture all members of the group adequately, and the locus of any like-mindedness becomes too abstract and vague to have the causal force the model requires. I thereafter focus on the 'cooperative practice' model, examining various ways in which the analogy Miller draws between an employee-led business and a nation breaks down. In concluding I address the concern that my arguments have worrying consequences and suggest that, on the contrary, the rejection of the idea of national responsibility is a positive move.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Pearson John

National responsibility, global justice and exploitation: a preliminary analysis

in Journal of Global Ethics, Volume 7, Issue 3, 2011 , 321-335

Abstract

This article addresses the problem of filling in a missing component of David Miller's non-cosmopolitan theory of global justice, as elaborated in his recent National responsibility and global justice (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007). Miller originally included non-exploitation as one of the norms of global justice, but he does not provide a theory of



exploitation in his recent book. This article is a preliminary attempt to suggest how Miller might fill in this gap. This article identifies the problems Miller faces in coming up with a theory of exploitation, given the limits imposed by the other parts of his theory of global justice. It examines and criticises several possible theories of exploitation that Miller might use. Finally, it argues that a modified version of Hillel Steiner's liberal theory of exploitation fits into Miller's overall theory of global justice.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Bednar-Friedl Birgit, Farmer Karl

Nationally and Internationally Optimal Climate Policies: External Balances versus Environmental Preferences in CESifo Economic Studies, Volume 57 Issue 3 September 2011 , 432-457

This article compares nationally optimal to internationally optimal (Pareto efficient) emission permit levels in a two-country overlapping generations model with national emission permit systems and the environment as a global public good. When each government maximizes its steady state economic and environmental welfare and one country is a net foreign creditor and the other one a net foreign debtor, it is nationally optimal for the creditor country with sufficiently high environmental preferences to chose a stricter permit level than the debtor country. However, the resulting Nash equilibrium permit levels are not Pareto efficient. Depending on the direction and strength of the countries' differences in external balances and environmental preferences, Pareto efficiency mandates that their permit levels are either adjusted in opposite directions or reduced in both.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Moore Margaret

Natural Resources, Territorial Right, and Global Distributive Justice in Political Theory , Volume 40, n. 1, February , 84-107

The current statist order assumes that states have a right to make rules involving the transfer and/or extraction of natural resources within the territory. Cosmopolitan theories of global justice have questioned whether the state is justified in its control over natural resources, typically by pointing out that having resources is a matter of good luck, and this unfairness should be addressed. This paper argues that self-determination does generate a right over resources, which others should not interfere with. It does not entail, however, that there is no obligation on rich countries to redistribute to poor countries. Indeed, in some rare instances, it might be necessary for a particular political community to use its resources, but the presumption is that the collectively self-determining group (the political community) should have the right to decide that.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Vihma Antto, Mulugetta Yacob, Karlsson-Vinkhuyzenc Sylvia

Negotiating solidarity? The G77 through the prism of climate change negotiations



in **Global Change, Peace & Security**, vol. 23, n. 3 , 315-334

ABSTRACT: The negotiating group of developing countries, the G77, is one of the most important institutions in global climate governance. This article analyses the cohesiveness of, and internal tension within, the G77 coalition by using the politics of climate change as the empirical window. The study examines four arenas of UN-based deliberations on climate change in the years 2007–2010; the Security Council, the Commission on Sustainable Development, the General Assembly and the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). We argue that these deliberations, once they reached the top of the international political agenda in 2007, and ever since, have posed deeper challenges to the G77 coalition than ever before. While developing country interests are both converging and diverging, the increasingly conflicting interests, as well as the very slowly eroding common identity, are creating increasingly unified subgroups in the G77. The G77 is highly unlikely to break up formally, but how functional it will be as a bloc in the forthcoming climate change negotiations remains an open question.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Geuna Marco

Oltre l'universalismo. Diritti e conflitti in un mondo plurale

in **Iride**, numero 2, agosto 2011 , 427-434

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Richard Shapcott

Philosophical Hermeneutics in Practice: Fred Dallmayr, Comparative Political Theory and Cosmopolitanism

in **Journal of International Political Theory**, Volume 7, Number 2 , 229-238

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Ginsburg Tom

Pitfalls of Measuring the Rule of Law

in **Hague Journal on the Rule of Law**, Vol. 3. issue 2 , 269-280

The recent demand for new measures of the rule of law confronts several methodological challenges. This article calls for careful attention to fundamental social science ideas of conceptualization and measurement in approaching the rule of law. Efforts to measure complex social phenomena such as the rule of law are challenging, and thus require that researchers and policy makers pay attention to the cautionary rules of social science in their efforts. Violating these basic rules risks producing measures that are not reliable or valid, and could be a bad basis for policymaking. This paper demonstrates some of the pitfalls that rule of law researchers have fallen into and suggests improvements in measurement approaches.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Godwell Nhamoa

REDD+ and the global climate policy negotiating regimes: Challenges and opportunities for Africa
in *South African Journal of International Affairs* , vol. 18, issue 3 , 385-406

ABSTRACT: Prior to developments in Copenhagen in 2009 and Cancun in 2010, global climate policy negotiations seldom culminated in concrete decisions concerning ways in which Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation (REDD) could be linked to sustainable development and carbon markets in developing countries, such as those in some parts of Africa. That changed with the expansion of the REDD initiative, to REDD+. Key arguments in the discussions have concerned contested methodologies for measuring, reporting and verifying carbon stocks; ensuring adequate technology transfer; and rectifying the shortage of local experts to deal with REDD+. However, there has been no contestation on the fact that REDD+ creates financial value for carbon stored in forests, an aspect that would encourage developing countries to reduce emissions from deforestation and degradation of forested lands and to invest in low-carbon growth paths. This article sheds light on how REDD+ has developed in global climate negotiations and how African governments have and should engage with REDD+. The conclusion is that since the Bali Action Plan of 2007, there has been significant progress in creating enabling global architecture with regard to REDD+, and African governments should now grasp the opportunities offered by REDD+ while advocating for a fair, legally binding and ethical arrangement to engage over the forests which are so key to many of their economies.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Saisana Michaela, Saltelli Andrea

Rankings and Ratings: Instructions for Use

in *Hague Journal on the Rule of Law*, Vol. 3. issue 2 , 247-268

Multidimensional measures (composite indicators, indices, ratings, league tables) can effectively underpin the development of data-driven narratives in support to policy. A controversy surrounds the use of these measures. We review some good and bad practices from the recent literature. We then discuss briefly a decalogue to develop a multidimensional measure. We argue in favor of a multi-modeling approach to represent different scenarios in the construction of an aggregate measure prior to drawing recommendations for policy making. Finally, we try to establish a link between the analytic use of well-designed aggregate measures and the development of a robust culture of evaluation of policies based on evidence. An application of these concepts and tools to the Rule of Law index developed by the World Justice Project is given.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Orr Shannon K.

Reimagining Global Climate Change: Alternatives to the UN Treaty Process

in *Global Environmental Politics*, Volume 11, Issue 4, November , 134-138



Book Review Essay

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

PETER DIETSCH

Rethinking sovereignty in international fiscal policy

in Review of International Studies (The), Volume 37 - Issue 05 , 2107-2120

The power to raise taxes is a sine qua non for the functioning of the modern state. Governments frequently defend the independence of their fiscal policy as a matter of sovereignty. This article challenges this defence by demonstrating that it relies on an antiquated conception of sovereignty. Instead of the Westphalian sovereignty centred on non-intervention that has long dominated relations between states, today's fiscal interdependence calls for a conception of sovereignty that assigns duties as well as rights to states. While such a circumscribed conception of sovereignty has emerged in other areas of international law in recent years, it has yet to be extended to fiscal questions. Here, these duties arguably include obligations of transparency, of respect for the fiscal choices of other countries, and of distributive justice. The resulting conception of sovereignty is one that emphasises its instrumental as well as its conditional character. Neither state sovereignty nor self-determination is an end in itself, but a means to promoting individual well-being. It is conditional in the sense that if states do not live up to their fiscal obligations towards other states, their claims to autonomy are void.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Brunnengräber Achim, Haas Tobias

Rio+20: Die grüne Beliebigkeit

in Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik, Februar, 2012 , 15-18

Die UN-Konferenz für Umwelt und Entwicklung, die 1992 in Rio de Janeiro stattfand, gilt als Meilenstein der internationalen Gipfeldiplomatie: Sie prägte den Begriff der Nachhaltigen Entwicklung (sustainable development), der Lösungsvorschläge für die drängenden globalen Fragen beinhaltete und besonders der Entwicklungspolitik lange als Orientierungsrahmen diente...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

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Barendrecht Maurits

Rule of Law, Measuring and Accountability: Problems to be Solved Bottom Up

in Hague Journal on the Rule of Law, Vol. 3. issue 2 , 281-304

Efforts to measure the rule of law trigger a process of clarifying how the rule of law impacts people's lives. Accountability emerges as a key element of the rule of law. Nowadays, accountability is created through courts and by countless other forums, including the court of public opinion. Legal pluralism is common: the standards for accountability can be norms from local, national and international levels, set by public or private organizations, formal as well as informal. Measuring the status and progress in the field of rule of law would then require investigating what these accountability mechanisms



jointly produce, working together and competing with each other. But how can this be established? Inspired by developments in the health care sector, this paper suggests focusing on specific problems and the way they are resolved. Legal needs studies and crime surveys suggest a classification of problems for which accountability is frequently sought. This can be extended to other areas of governance. These studies also gather data about the incidence of problems and which forums are actually addressed for accountability. Sophisticated client satisfaction surveys now monitor whether this leads to fair and acceptable results. Evidence based treatments for some legal problems are also developing. The rule of law in a country may eventually be measured as the capacity to prevent and resolve the most urgent problems. Interventions can focus on specific, urgent problems, opt for the best available 'treatments' and measure progress systematically.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Li Zhaoxing

Setting the record straight on China's global ambitions

in *Europe's World*, Issue 19, Autumn

Perhaps the most salient feature of the 21st Century so far has been China's emergence as a global force. Li Zhaoxing, who was the Chinese foreign minister until 2007, sets out here to correct some of the common misapprehensions about China's international goals and intentions.

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21907/language/en-US/Default.aspx

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Child Richard

Statism, Nationalism and the Associative Theory of Special Obligations

in *Theoria*, Volume 58, Number 129, December 2011 , 1-18

Abstract:

Statists claim that robust egalitarian distributive norms only apply between the citizens of a common state. Attempts to defend this claim on nationalist grounds often appeal to the 'associative duties' that citizens owe one another in virtue of their shared national identity. In this paper I argue that the appeal to co-national associative duties in order to defend the statist thesis is unsuccessful. I first develop a credible theory of associative duties. I then argue that although the associative theory can explain why the members of a national community should abide by egalitarian norms, it cannot show that people have a duty to become or to continue as a member of a national community in the first place. The possibility that citizens might exercise their right to reject their national membership undermines the state's ability justifiably to coerce compliance with egalitarian distributive norms and, ultimately, the statist claim itself.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Rizen Thomas



Tax Competition and Inequality: The Case for Global Tax Governance

in *Global Governance*, vol. 17, n. 4, october-december , 447-468

ABSTRACT: This article presents the normative case for global tax governance. Contrary to an influential part of the literature, national tax policy choices cause significant externalities for other nation-states. Focusing on business taxation, the article shows that tax competition undermines the integrity and distributive principles of domestic tax systems and aggravates the inequality between developed and developing countries. Further, it demonstrates that the effects of international tax competition are unjust irrespective of whether a globalist or less demanding internationalist perspective on justice is adopted. The minimum requirement of justice is to devise global rules that ensure that national tax systems remain capable of implementing distributive justice as they see fit. Finally, the article presents and discusses a concrete proposal for the global governance of business tax competition, namely, unitary taxation with formula apportionment.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Schwöbel Christine

The Appeal of the Project of Global Constitutionalism to Public International Lawyers

in *German Law Journal*, Vol. 13, n. 1 , 1-22

The discourse on global constitutionalism has been gaining momentum among public international lawyers. This paper endeavors to understand the discourse by focusing on international lawyers, and seeks to explain what it is that draws them to the debate. It emerges that the idea of global constitutionalism embodies important concerns of public international lawyers about the current status of their field as a result of globalization. I suggest that there are three principal motivations that explain the tenacity of the debate: first, international lawyers are interested in the allocation of power in the international sphere. Constitutionalism seemingly provides a suitable tool for restricting political power through legal expertise, while at the same time constituting power in a globalized world. Second, international lawyers have a deeply entrenched interest in seeing the regulation of international society through law. The pull of this argument lies in the preservation of the status of international law as a profession at the heart of social change. Third, a strong motivation to engage in global constitutionalism is that it may be a means of ensuring the legitimation of international law itself. Global constitutionalism appears to offer the irresistible prospect of awarding legitimacy to international law by providing it with a legal framework with moral authority. These motivations all have in common that they allow international lawyers to declare and perpetuate their own relevance in a globalized world. Lastly, I consider just how irresistible the idea of global constitutionalism is: is it an appeal in the sense of...

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<http://www.germanlawjournal.com/index.php?pageID=11&artID=1401>

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Muchlinski Peter

The Changing Face of Transnational Business Governance: Private Corporate Law Liability and Accountability of Transnational Groups in a Post-Financial Crisis World

in *Indiana Journal for Global Legal Studies*, vol. 18, issue 2, summer , 665-705

ABSTRACT: This article seeks to critically assess the recently dominant financialized model of corporate law and governance and its contribution to the creation of the "asocial corporation" geared only to the enhancement of shareholder value. This article places corporate law in a wider context of national and international legal developments that, together, create a framework for the financialization of transnational corporate activity. This article shows that a new approach to transnational corporate governance is emerging from a number of sources. These predate the crisis but have been given impetus by it. In particular, three important phenomena are examined: the rise of activist litigation against the parent companies of multinational enterprises (MNEs) for the actions of overseas subsidiaries; the new framework for human rights and business developed by the U.N. Special Representative of the Secretary General; and the increased role of the state as an owner, controller, and regulator of enterprise as a result of the financial crisis and the rise of state-owned and -controlled MNEs from newly industrialized countries. Together, these developments contribute to a reconsideration of the enhanced shareholder value model and the development of a more socially rooted appraisal of the corporation and of corporate law and governance. In addition, new approaches to international economic law instruments and institutional activities can further enhance this reform process, and examples of existing and potential changes are given in the final part.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Breitmeier Helmut, Underdal Arild, Young Oran R.

The Effectiveness of International Environmental Regimes: Comparing and Contrasting Findings from Quantitative Research

in *International Studies Review*, vol. 13, issue 4, december , 579-605

ABSTRACT: This article uses quantitative methods to deepen and broaden our understanding of the factors that determine the effectiveness of international regimes. To do so, we compare and contrast the findings resulting from two major projects: the Oslo-Seattle Project and the International Regimes Database Project. The evidence from these projects sheds considerable light on the determinants of regime effectiveness in the environmental realm. Clearly, regimes do make a difference. By combining models and data from the two projects, we are able to move beyond this general proposition to explore the significance of a number individual determinants of effectiveness, including the distribution of power, the roles of pushers and laggards, the effects of decision rules, the depth and density of regime rules, and the extent of knowledge of the relevant problem. We show how important insights emerge not only from the use of statistical procedures to separate the effects of individual variables but also from the application of alternative techniques, such as Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA), designed to identify combinations of factors that operate together to determine the effectiveness of regimes. We use our results to identify a number of opportunities for additional research featuring quantitative analyses of regime effectiveness. Our goal is not to displace traditional qualitative methods in this field of study. Rather, we seek to sharpen a set of quantitative tools that can be joined together with the extensive body of qualitative studies of environmental regimes to strengthen our ability both to identify patterns in regime effectiveness and to explore the causal mechanisms that give rise to these patterns.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Law David S., Versteeg Mila

The Evolution and Ideology of Global Constitutionalism

in *California Law Review*, Vol. 99, issue 5 , 1163-1258

It has become almost universal practice for countries to adopt formal constitutions. Little is known empirically, however, about the evolution of this practice on a global scale. Are constitutions unique and defining statements of national aspiration and identity? Or are they standardized documents that vary only at the margins, in predictable and patterned ways? Are constitutions becoming increasingly similar or dissimilar over time, or is there no discernible overall pattern to their development? Until very recently, scholars have lacked even basic empirical data on the content of the world's constitutions, much less an understanding of whether there are global patterns to that content. This Article offers the first empirical account of the global evolution of rights constitutionalism. Our analysis of an original data set that spans the rights-related content of all national constitutions over the last six decades confirms the existence of several global constitutional trends. These include the phenomenon of "rights creep," wherein constitutions tend to contain an increasing number of rights over time, and the growth of "generic rights constitutionalism," wherein an increasing proportion of the world's constitutions possess an increasing number of rights in common. Perhaps our most striking discovery is that 90% of all variation in the rights-related content of the world's constitutions can be explained as a function of just two variables. Both of these variables are underlying traits of a constitution that can be measured quantitatively. The first variable is the comprehensiveness of a constitution, which refers simply to the tendency of a constitution to contain a greater or lesser number of rights provisions. The second variable is the ideological character of the constitution. We find empirically that the world's constitutions can be arrayed along a single ideological dimension. At one end of the spectrum, some constitutions can be characterized as relatively libertarian, in the sense that they epitomize a common law constitutional tradition of negative liberty and, more specifically, judicial protection from detention or bodily harm at the hands of the state. At the other end of the spectrum, some constitutions are more statist in character: they both presuppose and enshrine a far-reaching role for the state in a variety of domains by imbuing the state with a broad range of both powers and responsibilities. For every constitution in the world, we calculate a numerical score that measures its position on this ideological spectrum. These scores yield an ideological ranking of the world's constitutions—the first of its kind. Using these scores, we are able to map the ideological evolution of global constitutionalism. We show that the world's constitutions are increasingly dividing themselves into two distinct clusters—one libertarian in character, the other statist. Within each cluster, constitutions are becoming increasingly similar, but the clusters themselves are becoming increasingly distinct from one another. The dynamics of constitutional evolution, in other words, involve a combination of ideological convergence and ideological polarization.

Full text available at:

<http://www.californialawreview.org/assets/pdfs/99-5/01-LawVersteeg.pdf>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations



Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Kissinger Henry

**The G20 Is the Key Forum for Adjusting Global Power Shift
in New Perspectives Quarterly**, Vol. 29, Issue 1, Winter , 44-48

For 500 years the West was on the rise, culminating in Globalization 1.0—the open system of trade, information flows and the spread of technology on the terms and in the image of the West. The benefits of that system over the last 30 years have led to the rise of the emerging economies. As a result we are entering the new era of Globalization 2.0 characterized by new forms of non-Western modernity and the interdependence of plural identities. The advent of this new era has been hastened by the fiscal and financial crisis in Europe and the United States.

Turkey, with its Islamic-oriented democracy that has become a template for the liberated peoples of the Arab Spring, and China, with its effective neo-Confucian form of governance, are the most sharply defined new players in this multi-polar and multi-dimensional world.

In this section, one of Turkey's most insightful sociologists examines the post-secular transformation of that nation. One of China's more provocative philosophers proposes a hybrid model that combines what has been learned from the experience of Western and Chinese governance in a way that “enhances democracy” in both systems.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Otero-Iglesias Miguel

The Influence of the Euro in Reshaping Global Monetary Governance: Perceptions from financial elites in Brazil and China

in European law journal, Vol 18 Issue 1 - January , 122–142

This article examines the ways in which key emerging market financial elites assess Europe's monetary power in the reconfiguration of the U.S. dollar-dominated monetary system. Interviews with public and private financial actors in China and Brazil record that while Europe's debt markets are limited by their size, and hence the material impact of the euro is restricted, the ideational effects are considerable. The findings show that even if the euro does not appear to be replacing the dollar as the main international currency, the European Monetary Union (EMU) is an example for regional and even world monetary integration. Chinese and Brazilian elites applaud European efforts to create a more multilateral and regulated financial system. In this sense, EMU has significant influence, and hence potential for global reach. However, this study also notes that this projection requires greater political coordination of exchange rate policy in order to fully realise its material impact in global monetary governance.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Pedersen Ole W.

**The Janus-Head of Human Rights and Climate Change: Adaptation and Mitigation
in Nordic Journal of International Law**, vol. 80, issue 4 , 403-423



ABSTRACT: This article examines the role human rights instruments play when states seek to adopt regulatory initiatives in the name of addressing climate change. The article argues that a series of important restrictions exist. Governments responding to climate change need to take into account existing human rights. This observation is particularly relevant for countries implementing Reduction of Emissions from Deforestation and Degradation (REDD) projects and for countries taking part in Clean Development Mechanism (CDM) projects under the Kyoto Protocol. The article likewise argues that special human rights obligations arise in relation to the risks associated with climate change. These place on states a responsibility to secure risk assessment and risk communication while taking steps to mitigate climate change-associated risks. While the article considers these requirements to constitute an absolute minimum, it is argued that they can offer a way of securing that national governments are accountable when it comes to climate change responses. On the other hand, it will be shown that these human rights restrictions will sometimes have the potential to run counter to the adoption of effective climate change responses.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Everson Michelle

**The Limits of the 'Conflicts Approach': Law in Times of Political Turmoil
in Transnational Legal Theory**, Vol. 2, issue 2 , 269-283

Over the last decade, Christian Joerges has elaborated a theory of law, or 'conflicts law approach', which is argued to be appropriate to the legal governance of the European Union. Built upon a primary constitutional prescription—the notion that the EU's legitimacy derives from its ability to compensate for the 'democratic deficit' posed by the exclusionary characteristics of the nation state—the conflicts law approach demands that EU law promote deliberative democratic processes within Europe that can balance the interests of member states against each other and against the supranational interests of the Union. Predictably, the approach has accordingly also attracted criticism, in particular from those who argue that its procedural mission of balancing technocratic against political interest is at best misguided and at worst impossible. In reviewing the conflicts law approach and tracing it back to its heritage within critical legal thinking, this article both rebuts such critique—the conflicts approach is necessarily modest in its efforts to promote 'deliberate supranationalism'—but also highlights areas where the theory must still be modified if it is to survive in an unprecedented era of social dynamism. Processes of European integration and globalisation have also called into question the integrative functions of nation states. To this degree, the conflicts law approach must widen its horizons in order to address new conflicts between established political orders and novel political communities, some of which may have yet to be formed.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Goodhart Michael, Bondanella Taninchev Stacy

**The New Sovereigntist Challenge for Global Governance: Democracy without Sovereignty
in International Studies Quarterly**, vol. 55, issue 4, december , 1047-1068

ABSTRACT: The “new sovereigntists,” a prominent group of scholars and policymakers, articulate a widely held view that global governance is inherently undemocratic because it undermines popular sovereignty. Problems with their argument notwithstanding, we argue that they identify a real and serious tension. We also argue, however, that the



vision of democracy as popular sovereignty that they advocate is becoming incoherent and untenable in an era of increasing interdependence. Conceptions of democracy anchored in popular sovereignty depend for their legitimacy on empirical conditions that no longer obtain. What we call the new sovereigntist challenge for global governance is to develop an alternate conception of democracy that avoids the logic and forms of popular sovereignty at the global level while still respecting and promoting democracy and democratization within states. We outline one such alternative here.

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Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Amstutz Marc

The Opium of Democracy: A Comment on Florian Rödl's Theory of Democratic Juridification without Statisation in Transnational Legal Theory, Vol. 2, issue 2 , 214-225

Two axiomatic assumptions underlie Rödl's conception of law in the globalised world. The first posits globalisation as consisting solely of the spatial movements of individuals, which he terms 'societal boundary-crossing'. The second is an implicit acceptance of Kant's notion of democracy as the sole source of legitimate law. This view is based on an image of world society, according to which it is possible to simply extrapolate the function of national legal systems—the stabilisation of normative expectations—to world society. The present comment, by contrast, argues that the nature of global society renders this model obsolete. The non-territorial nature of that emerging society has given rise to communication networks in which cognitive, rather than normative, expectations are primarily determinant. In this situation, the legitimisation of law can no longer be sought in democratic institutions, but only in 'custom and usage', as a recognised means for stabilising cognitive expectations.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Rupp Leila J.

The Persistence of Transnational Organizing: The Case of the Homophile Movement in American Historical Review, Volume 116, Number 4, October , 1014-1039

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Kjaer Poul F.

The Political Foundations of Conflicts Law in Transnational Legal Theory, Vol. 2, issue 2 , 226-241

Statehood has undergone rapid expansion in both depth and scope in recent history. It has, however, always been a limited form of social ordering which has operated in conjunction with other forms of social ordering located beneath, beside and above the state. The central structural cause behind the expansion in statehood was the implosion of the eurocentric world and the subsequent decolonisation processes that unfolded in the twentieth century. Besides leading to a globalisation of statehood, this transformation also implied a transformation of transnational forms of ordering away



from colonial centre/periphery differentiation and towards the kind of functionally delineated regulatory regimes that represent the dominant form of transnational ordering today. Understanding the consequences of this fundamental transformation is the central issue with which contemporary transnational legal and political theory, including the conflicts law approach, is dealing.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Kriebaum Ursula

The Relevance of Economic and Political Conditions for Protection under Investment Treaties in Law and Practice of International Courts and Tribunals (The), vol. 10, n. 3 , 383-404

ABSTRACT: Some treaty standards for the protection of investments, like national treatment and MFN, are variable. They depend upon standards granted to the host State's nationals or to investors from third States. By contrast, standards like fair and equitable treatment and full protection and security provide fixed reference points. The question arises whether these reference points are the same for all states regardless of their level of development and their economic, social and political circumstances at the time of the investment.

Some arbitral tribunals have been prepared to consider the social, economic and political situation prevailing in the host country when assessing the threshold for the violation of investment protection standards or the level of compensation required by BITs. This article addresses the question whether and how tribunals have made use of the flexibility in the legal standards in investment law to take account of the different economic and political conditions across nations. It concludes by considering what the implications of this flexibility might be and how far it should go.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Kaufmann Daniel , Kraay Aart, Mastruzzi Massimo

The Worldwide Governance Indicators: Methodology and Analytical Issues in Hague Journal on the Rule of Law, Vol. 3, issue 2 , 220-246

This paper summarizes the methodology of the Worldwide Governance Indicators (WGI) project, and related analytical issues. The WGI has covered over two hundred countries and territories, measuring six dimensions of governance starting in 1996: Voice and Accountability, Political Stability and Absence of Violence/Terrorism, Government Effectiveness, Regulatory Quality, Rule of Law, and Control of Corruption. The aggregate indicators are based on several hundred individual underlying variables, taken from a wide variety of existing data sources. The data reflect the views on governance of survey respondents and public, private, and NGO sector experts worldwide. We also explicitly report margins of error accompanying each country estimate. These reflect the inherent difficulties in measuring governance using any kind of data. We find that even after taking margins of error into account, the WGI permit meaningful cross-country and over-time comparisons. The aggregate indicators, together with the disaggregated underlying source data, are available at <www.govindicators.org

Section B) Global governance and international organizations



Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

JONATHAN SYMONS

The legitimization of international organisations: examining the identity of the communities that grant legitimacy
in *Review of International Studies (The)*, Volume 37 - Issue 05 , 2557-2583

'Legitimacy' is commonly cited as one of three fundamental mechanisms of social control within both domestic politics and international society. However, despite growing attention to the legitimacy of global governance, little consideration has been given to the identity of the political communities that must grant legitimacy to an international organisation or to the conditions under which legitimacy is valuable for the functioning of that organisation. In raising and responding to these questions, this article rejects the argument that actors must gain legitimacy among all subject social constituencies within their political realm of action. Instead, the importance of legitimacy within a particular constituency is a variable. The article labels this variable a 'legitimacy nexus' and outlines five factors that are hypothesised to contribute to calibrating a legitimacy nexus. The plausibility of the proposed schema is explored through discussion of the role of legitimacy in the trade regime and analysis of the origins of the International Labour Organization's anomalous tripartite representative structure.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Khanna Parag

The new world order ... really: mega-diplomacy
in *European View* , vol. 10, n. 2, December , 153-158

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Dluhosch Barbara, Ziegler Nikolai

The paradox of weakness in the politics of trade integration
in *Constitutional political economy*, Volume 22, Number 4 / December 2011 , 325-354

In his 1960 seminal contribution to game theory and its applications, *The Strategy of Conflict*, Thomas Schelling suggested that in international negotiations, strong international opposition may be an asset rather than a liability. Rather than constraining it, the opposition would enlarge the opportunity set thus making it easier to successfully conclude international negotiations. This property, which is also known as the Schelling-conjecture, shares some aspects with constitutional economics, namely the two-level approach suggesting that it might be beneficial for all parties to give up some power by tying one's hands. In this paper we examine by means of a simulation study how far we can take this notion in the politics of trade integration. In explicitly marrying Schelling's 1960 idea with the 1988 two-level approach by Putnam and embedding the result into the political economy of trade we find that the threat of a domestic opposition or national institution having a veto power frequently but not always delivers a more favorable outcome for the respective trade representative at the international table. Whether the Schelling-conjecture applies or not actually depends on the subtle interplay of a "bully effect" and a "serenity effect".



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Xinran Qia

The rise of BASIC in UN climate change negotiations

in *South African Journal of International Affairs* , vol. 18, issue 3 , 295-318

ABSTRACT: This paper assesses the role of the BASIC countries — Brazil, South Africa, India, and China — in UN climate change negotiations. The paper explores the formation and evolution of the group, and focuses on how the four major developing countries of China, India, Brazil, and South Africa have coordinated their positions and acted jointly to achieve an agreed outcome with other players in the recent UN Climate Change Conferences in Copenhagen and Cancun, based on an analysis of their country profiles and negotiation positions on a wide range of climate issues. The paper argues that the emergence of the BASIC Group is a reflection of the ongoing power shift from EU–US agreement to BASIC–US compromise in UN climate negotiations since the early 1990s. The rise of BASIC also has its roots in recent global market dynamics and further reflects the power transformation in the economic dimension of the international system.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Grasso Marco

The role of justice in the North–South conflict in climate change: the case of negotiations on the Adaptation Fund

in *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics*, Volume 11, Number 4, November , 361-377

Justice, by and large, implies greater legitimacy and can persuade parties with conflicting interests to cooperate more closely on collective actions. Therefore, the aim of this article is to investigate the role that ethical arguments have played in restoring mutual trust between the developed and the developing countries in negotiations on the Kyoto Protocol Adaptation Fund and in transforming the patent failure of the Subsidiary Body for Implementation Bonn May 2006 meetings on its management into the encouraging success of the Nairobi December 2006 round. These meetings are analysed from the perspectives of procedural and distributive justice in order to interpret the negotiating dynamics and their outcomes. More specifically, procedural and distributive justice are, respectively, sought in the Bonn and Nairobi formal meetings through reference to, and the emergence of, principles and criteria of participation, recognition and distribution of power among Parties, and of Parties' responsibility for, and vulnerability to, climate impacts.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Melandri Manuela

The state, human rights and the ethics of war termination: what should a just peace look like? A critical appraisal

in *Journal of Global Ethics*, Volume 7, Issue 3, 2011 , 241-249

Abstract

The concept of jus post bellum deals with moral considerations in the aftermath of conflict and is concerned with how a just peace should look like. This paper analyses the concept of jus post bellum as developed by contemporary Just War



theorists. Its aim is to provide a critical perspective on the proposed substantial scope of this concept. In other words, it will consider the question: in restoring peace after war, is it justified for just combatants to change the political structure of a defeated aggressor? The piece will be divided into two main parts. First, through a review of the literature, I define the current state of the art on jus post bellum thinking in relation to a number of key aspects of this concept. What does it entail? Which principles is it made of? What sort of activities do just war theorists speak about when they speak of creating a just peace? Second, I focus on the principle of 'political rehabilitation' of the defeated state: is it permissible? Under what circumstances? While considering these questions and authors' views on this matter, the paper will provide a critical reappraisal of the current debate on the justifiability of political reconstruction in post-conflict states.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Napolitano Giulio

The two ways of global governance after the financial crisis: Multilateralism versus cooperation among governments

in *International Journal of Constitutional Law*, Vol. 9, issue 2 , 310-339

In an ever-more interdependent world economy, the number of global and regional public goods, from financial stability to sustainable growth, quickly increase and call for greater global and regional collective action. This paper tries to understand which mechanisms, if any, have been adopted to achieve a proper degree of international cooperation after the 2008 financial crisis. The analysis shows that the movement toward a new economic global governance is not the result of a single strategy but, rather, an original blend of different solutions enhanced by flexibility and experimentalism. Some of these solutions involve efforts to strengthen multilateral agreements and the effectiveness of supranational institutions and regulatory measures; others aim to develop new forms of cooperation among governments, through a "concerted practice" form of action. Informal contacts and meetings among political leaders and the G-20 summits become the preferred rooms in which to exchange points of view, to coordinate action without assuming legal obligations, and to monitor voluntary compliance. The parallel approval of similar pieces of legislation at the national level signals the willingness of governments to cooperate effectively, while leaving space for opportunistic behaviors

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Morgan Grace

Traction on the Ground: From Better Data to Better Policy

in *Hague Journal on the Rule of Law*, Vol. 3, issue 2 , 380-396

In 2010, the World Bank and the Department for International Development (DFID) funded and orchestrated an initiative to develop a tool to monitor corruption performance in Uganda on an ongoing basis. By basing operations in a local university-based research center and engaging the Inspectorate General of Government to manage the project, the tool is becoming the responsibility of national stakeholders, including the government. The local university research center is working with government to improve government collection of sectoral and functional anti-corruption data. In addition, evidence-based international corruption data has been incorporated into the public discussion on corruption. Donors continue to play an important role – funding the project launch, and providing ongoing guidance and support to engage executive agencies, Parliament, NGOs, and the media. The project has had some positive and unexpected results.



While the project remains in early stages, there are signs that this gradual, data-driven approach is deepening the public dialogue on corruption and creating an important consensus for anti-corruption reform.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Kuei-Jung Ni

Traditional Knowledge and Global Lawmaking

in *Northwestern University Journal of International Human Rights*, vol. 10, issue 2, fall

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Cingari Salvatore, Gozzi Gustavo, Pievatolo Maria Chiara

Tramonto globale. La fame, il patibolo, la guerra di Danilo Zolo

in *Iride*, numero 2, agosto 2011 , 447-464

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Owen David

Transnational citizenship and the democratic state: modes of membership and voting rights

in *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, Vol. 14, n. 5, December , 641-663

This article addresses two central topics in normative debates on transnational citizenship: the inclusion of resident non-citizens and of non-resident citizens within the demos. Through a critical review of the social membership (Carens, Rubio-Marin) and stakeholder (Baubock) principles, it identifies two problems within these debates. The first is the antinomy of incorporation, namely, the point that there are compelling arguments both for the mandatory naturalization of permanent residents and for making naturalization a voluntary process. The second is the arbitrary demos problem and concerns who determines whether expatriate voting rights are granted (and on what terms). The argument developed provides a way of dissolving the first problem (and defending the proposed solution against possible objections) and resolving the second problem. In doing so it provides a defensible normative basis for the political theory of transnational citizenship.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Menéndez Agustín José

United They Diverge? From Conflicts of Law to Constitutional Theory



in *Transnational Legal Theory*, Vol. 2, issue 2 , 167-192

This paper analyses Christian Joerges' conflicts theory of European Union law. It is claimed that the theory of European conflicts is structured around three key premises: first, that there are functional and normative reasons to transcend the autarchic national constitutional state; second, that the public philosophy of European constitutional law should operationalise the regulatory ideal of unity in diversity; and third, that any European constitutional theory should be 'grounded' on the empirical analysis and resolution of specific supranational conflicts. The paper finds that the theory of European conflicts, first, remains incomplete as a constitutional theory; second, fails to provide a satisfactory account of the legitimacy foundations of Community law; and third, underestimates the structural implications of the combination of the doctrines of primacy, direct effect and mutual recognition.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

ELISA ORRÙ and MIRIAM RONZONI

Which supranational sovereignty? Criminal and socioeconomic justice compared

in *Review of International Studies (The)*, Volume 37 - Issue 05 , 2089-2106

The idea that transnational dynamics challenge the regulatory capacity of the state has hardly ever received as much attention as in contemporary debates. Different voices denounce the crisis of the state and advocate the establishment of supranational institutions with legally coercive power. It is tempting to jump to the conclusion that these voices are concerned with the same cluster of problems. We think that one should resist this temptation. Firstly, not all the problems pointed out by the advocates of supranational sovereignty are of the same kind and structure. Some concern the need to limit the power of states, whereas others address the almost opposite necessity to support and strengthen their problem-solving capacity through forms of international regulation. Secondly, the corresponding solutions are different. In particular, although they may all imply the establishment of supranational institutions, not all such institutions need be global. The creation of a full-blown global rule of criminal law, for instance, would raise serious concerns of global despotism and cultural imperialism, and we therefore make a case for regional and context-sensitive solutions in this case. However, problems of supranational socioeconomic justice can only be addressed through global regulatory institutions, for regional institutions would, in this case, only recreate current problems at the interregional level.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Elsig Manfred, Milewicz Karolina, Stürchler Nikolas

Who is in love with multilateralism? Treaty commitment in the post-Cold War era

in *European Union Politics* , Vol. 12, n. 4, December , 529-550

Since the end of the Cold War, multilateral treaties have again become a central vehicle for international cooperation. In this article, we study states' commitment to 76 multilateral treaties concluded between 1990 and 2005. The article offers a systematic account of present-day multilateral treaty-making efforts and asks what explains variation in states' participation as witnessed in the act of treaty ratification. We test existing explanations and provide a novel argument that accounts for the strong participation of new European democracies in multilateral treaties. We find that regime type and being part of the European Union (EU) strongly affect treaty ratification. New EU democracies, in particular, are much more likely to ratify multilateral treaties than are other new democracies.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Werner Wouter, Wolthuis Bertjan

World Legislation Perspectives from International Law, Legal Theory and Political Philosophy
in *International Organizations Law Review*, vol. 8, n. 1 , 197-204

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Vos J.A.

World Legislation as Deliberation about the Common Good of International society
in *International Organizations Law Review*, vol. 8, n. 1 , 241-251

ABSTRACT: This contribution describes how the phenomenon of world legislation by the Security Council highlights the interrelationship between the entrustment of the common good of international society and a concentration of legislative and executive powers in an organ of an international institution. The notion of the trias politica seems unsuitable to address this dichotomy, in so far as the practice of the Security Council may be analyzed in policy, legislative and executive terms. Seeking to contain these powers through other international organs evokes the specter of the super-State, consistently rejected in ICJ jurisprudence. The contribution ends by suggesting how deliberative and representative aspects may direct us to seeing the action of both organs of international institutions and the members of international society as informing the common good of international society.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Nay Olivier, Petiteville Franck

Éléments pour une sociologie du changement dans les organisations internationales
in *Critique Internationale*, N°53 - Octobre/Décembre

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Somek Alexander

Über kosmopolitische Selbstbestimmung
in *Staat*, vol. 50, issue 3 , 329-251



ABSTRACT: Um gewandelte westfälische Weltordnung angemessen begreifen zu können, ist es angezeigt, zwischen der politischen und der kosmopolitischen Selbstbestimmung zu unterscheiden. Während die politische Selbstbestimmung einen gemeinsam geteilten Raum voraussetzt, lässt sich ihr kosmopolitisches Gegenstück als die entgrenzte Selbstbestimmung unter Fremden verstehen. Sie tritt in zwei Formen auf. In gemischter Form setzt sie die politische Selbstbestimmung voraus und vertraut auf diese als Medium der virtuellen Repräsentation von Fremden. In reiner Form basiert die kosmopolitische Selbstbestimmung auf dem klugen Zulassen von anonymen Prozessen des Risikomanagements und der Krisenintervention. Sie ist Ausdruck der Verarmung der kollektiven Freiheit in der verwalteten Welt.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Nzelibe Jide

Strategic Globalization: International Law as an Extension of Domestic Political Conflict
in *Northwestern University Law Review*, Vol. 105, issue 2 , 635–688

Full text available at:

<http://www.law.northwestern.edu/lawreview/v105/n2/635/LR105n2Nzelibe.pdf>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Tongdong Bai

A Confucian Improvement of Democracy

in *New Perspectives Quarterly*, Vol. 29, Issue 1, Winter , 12-39

For 500 years the West was on the rise, culminating in Globalization 1.0—the open system of trade, information flows and the spread of technology on the terms and in the image of the West. The benefits of that system over the last 30 years have led to the rise of the emerging economies. As a result we are entering the new era of Globalization 2.0 characterized by new forms of non-Western modernity and the interdependence of plural identities. The advent of this new era has been hastened by the fiscal and financial crisis in Europe and the United States.

Turkey, with its Islamic-oriented democracy that has become a template for the liberated peoples of the Arab Spring, and China, with its effective neo-Confucian form of governance, are the most sharply defined new players in this multi-polar and multi-dimensional world.

In this section, one of Turkey's most insightful sociologists examines the post-secular transformation of that nation. One of China's more provocative philosophers proposes a hybrid model that combines what has been learned from the experience of Western and Chinese governance in a way that “enhances democracy” in both systems.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process



Teperoglou Eftichia, Tsatsanis Emmanouil

A New Divide? The Impact of Globalisation on National Party Systems

in *West European Politics*, vol. 34, n. 6 , 1207-1228

ABSTRACT: This article contributes to the ongoing discussion concerning the impact of globalisation and European integration on the structure of ideological space in Western Europe. The empirical investigation is based on an examination of Euromanifestos data from four European countries – Germany, United Kingdom, Greece and Portugal – for a time frame of up to 30 years. The findings largely support the hypothesis of a transformation of the content of the standard cultural axis due to the emergence of conflicts over the desirability for regional and/or global integration. However, this transformation occurs in different ways and by different actors across national contexts. Whereas in the United Kingdom and Germany objections against ongoing integration processes have been mainly articulated by political parties of the conservative and populist right, in Greece and Portugal left-wing political parties emerge as the main representatives of the anti-integration camp.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Fukumoto Yukio

Another Look at the Underlying Cause of the End of the Bretton Woods System: International Price Differences Perspective

in *Review of International Economics*, Volume 19, Issue 5, November 2011 , 852-864

In this study, the sustainability of the Bretton Woods system from the standpoint of purchasing power parity is discussed. The paper uses wholesale price indexes of the group of seven industrialized countries (G-7) and examines when persistent price disparities among the countries occurred by applying the panel unit root tests. It is found that the price indexes of G-7 countries began to diverge in the first half of the 1960s. Evidence from international price differences suggests that the price indexes may have signaled the breakdown of the Bretton Woods system before the inflation rate in the USA accelerated.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Lodge Martin, Wegrich Kai

Arguing about Financial Regulation: Comparing National Discourses on the Global Financial Crisis

in *Political Science and Politics*, vol. 44, issue 4, october , 726-730

ABSTRACT: As we write, the world is still in the grips of a financial crisis. Germany was one of the first countries to bail out a bank in July 2007. Then, in September 2007, the United Kingdom (UK) witnessed a run on a building society, Northern Rock, and the subsequent widespread nationalization of its banking sector. In the United States, the crisis led to a number of collapses among financial institutions, most famously Bear Stearns and Lehman Brothers, and the bail out of the insurance group, AIG, all in 2008.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations



Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Ueda Koza

Banking globalization and international business cycles: Cross-border chained credit contracts and financial accelerators

in *Journal of International Economics*, Volume 86, Issue 1, January 2012 , Pages 1-16

This paper constructs a two-country DSGE model to study the nature of the recent financial crisis and its effects that spread immediately throughout the world owing to the globalization of banking. In the model, financial intermediaries (FIs) enter into chained credit contracts at home and abroad, engaging in cross-border lending to entrepreneurs by undertaking cross-border borrowing from investors. The FIs as well as the entrepreneurs in two countries are credit constrained, so all of their net worths matter. Our model reveals that under FIs' globalization, adverse shocks that hit one country affect the other, yielding business cycle synchronization on both the real and financial sides. It also suggests that the FIs' globalization, net worth shock, and credit constraints are key to understanding the recent financial crisis.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Wallerstein Immanuel (entretien)

Crises de l'économie-monde et dépassement du capitalisme: années 1970 – années 2000

in *Actuel Marx*, N° spécial (octobre 2011)

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Hwang Uk, Lee Jinkwon

Cross-Country Technology Transfer and Politically Driven International Agreements for Environmental Standards

in *Bulletin of Economic Research*, Volume 63, Issue 4, October 2011 , 417-437

Grossman and Helpman highlighted a political framework to internalize inefficiency incurred due to unilateral trade policy implementation by sovereign countries. This paper extensively adopts their framework to explore the effects of special interest politics on governments under negotiation to forge international environmental standards to control global emission. Particular attention is given to a case in which negotiation is driven by transferring the abatement technology. Within a specific factor model of international trade, improving the abatement efficiency through technology transfer can give the most mutually beneficial outcome, achieving the lowest level of global pollution compared to other political benchmarks.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Mahrane Yannick

De la nature à la biosphère. L'invention politique de l'environnement global, 1945-1972



in *Vingtième Siècle*, n. 113

Comment, entre la fin de la Seconde Guerre mondiale et la conférence de Stockholm sur l'environnement humain en 1972, l'environnement a-t-il accédé au rang de problème global et de catégorie d'action politique internationale ? Cet article analyse le contexte géopolitique et les formes d'alerte et d'expertise scientifique qui façonnèrent l'émergence et les évolutions de la catégorie d'« environnement global ». Tandis que la catégorie de « nature » décline, il retrace, à travers la guerre froide et les décolonisations, l'affirmation des questions de conservation internationale des ressources, des « bases biologiques de la productivité » planétaire, puis des pollutions et de « la biosphère », et analyse leur intégration dans une conception écosystémique de la planète et leur inscription dans l'agenda politique international.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Ronzoni Miriam, Orrù Elisa

Die Internationalisierung des Strafrechts und der sozialen Gerechtigkeit. Parallele Entwicklungen oder unterschiedliche Problemfelder?

in *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Philosophie*, 59. Jahrgang, Heft 6, 2011 , 853-874

Abstract

The idea that the capacity of the state is under strain has hardly ever received as much attention as in contemporary debates. Different voices denounce its crisis and advocate the establishment of supranational institutions with legally coercive power to address political problems of global reach, such as human rights violations, international crimes, and transnational socioeconomic justice. It is tempting to jump to the conclusion that these voices are concerned with the same cluster of problems. We think that one should resist this temptation. Firstly, not all the problems pointed out by the advocates of supranational sovereign institutions are of the same kind. Some concern the need to limit the power of states, whereas others address the almost opposite necessity to support their problem-solving capacity through forms of international regulation. Secondly, the corresponding solutions are different. In particular, although they may all imply the establishment of supranational institutions, not all such institutions need be global. The paper analyses these two differences through a comparison between international criminal justice and global socio-economic justice.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Ferrarese Maria Rosaria

Diritto globale e «dislocazioni» giuridiche. A partire da un volume di S. Cassese

in *Politica del diritto*, n. 3 , 379-39

No abstract available



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Joseph P. Joyce

Financial Globalization and Banking Crises in Emerging Markets

in *Open Economies Review*, Volume 22, Number 5 , 875-895

Scroll upScroll downReferences (56)Export CitationAboutAbstract

Bank crises in emerging economies have been a feature of the recent global crisis, and their incidence has increased in the post-Bretton Woods era. This paper investigates the impact of financial globalization on the incidence of systemic bank crises in 20 emerging markets over the years 1976–2002 using measures of de facto and de jure financial openness. An increase in foreign debt liabilities contributes to an increase in the incidence of crises, but foreign direct investment and portfolio equity liabilities have the opposite effect. A more liberal de jure capital regime lowers the incidence of banking crises, while a regime of fixed exchange rates increases their frequency. The results of the econometric analysis is consistent with the experience of East European and central Asian emerging markets, which attracted a relatively large proportion of capital flows in the form of debt in recent years and have been particularly hard hit by the global financial crisis.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Bai Yan, Zhang Jing

Financial integration and international risk sharing

in *Journal of International Economics*, Volume 86, Issue 1, January 2012 , Pages 17-32

Conventional wisdom suggests that financial liberalization can help countries insure against idiosyncratic risk. There is little evidence, however, that countries have increased risk sharing despite widespread financial liberalization. We show that the key to understanding this puzzling observation is that conventional wisdom assumes frictionless international financial markets, while actual markets are far from frictionless: financial contracts are incomplete and contract enforceability is limited. When countries remove official capital controls, default risk is still present as an implicit barrier to capital flows. If default risk were eliminated, capital flows would be six times greater, and international risk sharing would increase substantially.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

D'Alterio Elisa

From judicial comity to legal comity: A judicial solution to global disorder?

in *International Journal of Constitutional Law*, Vol. 9, issue 2 , 394-424

Multifarious definitions and different practices are associated with the notion of “judicial comity.” Nevertheless, this paper seeks to demonstrate the existence of a key feature of the phenomenon. The analysis of cases illustrates that the implementation of certain judicial techniques expresses a court's “regulating function,” which is aimed at governing the relations between different legal systems within the global legal space, specifically when the codified criteria regulating



those relations are lacking or insufficient. It is an original approach, which allows us to identify the new boundaries of the phenomenon—distinguishing between the techniques that are effectively an expression of judicial comity and those which are not—and, consequently, to depart from the definitions elaborated by a certain jurisprudence and the pertinent literature. From this standpoint, judicial comity produces the interesting effect of “legal comity,” which can lead to a mitigation of the disorder characterizing the global legal space. At the same time, this perspective gives rise to some questions, for example, related to the real value of the phenomenon and the existence of extrajudicial interests behind the application of the techniques.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Schnatz Bernd

Global Imbalances and the Pretence of Knowing Fundamental Equilibrium Exchange Rates

in *Pacific Economic Review*, Volume 16, Issue 5, December 2011 , 604-615

Global imbalances remain a key challenge for the world economy. In this regard, it has often been argued that insufficient exchange rate adjustment prevents their dissolution. Obviously, such a line of reasoning crucially depends on the methodologies used for assessing the ‘fair value’ of a currency. This paper looks specifically at estimates of fundamental equilibrium exchange rates (FEER) and shows that these are highly sensitive to the chosen assumptions. The present study cautions against using such models too mechanistically and giving too much confidence to the precision of obtained magnitudes of misalignment.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Belke Ansgar, Beckmann Joscha, Kühl Michael

Global Integration of Central and Eastern European Financial Markets: The Role of Economic Sentiments

in *Review of International Economics*, Volume 19, Issue 1, February 2011 , 137-157

This paper examines the importance of different economic sentiments for the Central and Eastern European countries (CEECs) during the transition process. We first analyze the importance of economic confidence with respect to the CEECs' financial markets. Since the integration of formerly strongly-regulated markets into global markets can also lead to an increase in the dependence of the CEECs' economies on global sentiments, we also investigate the relationship between global economic sentiments, domestic income, and share prices. Applying a restricted cointegrating VAR (CVAR) framework, which allows us to distinguish between the long-run and the short-run dynamics, our results for the short run suggest that economic sentiments are influenced by share prices but also offer some predictive power with respect to the latter. What is more, European sentiments play an important role in particular for the CEECs' income and sentiments.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Eckert Andreas

Globalgeschichte und Zeitgeschichte

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 1-3, 2012



The full text is free:

www.bpb.de/publikationen/GLM2TK,0,Globalgeschichte_und_Zeitgeschichte.html

Inhalt:

Einleitung

Was ist Globalgeschichte?

Dekolonisation und "Entwicklung"

Beispiel: Bevölkerungswachstum und -kontrolle

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Li Eric X.

Globalization 2.0

in **New Perspectives Quarterly**, Vol. 29, Issue 1, Winter , 40-44

For 500 years the West was on the rise, culminating in Globalization 1.0—the open system of trade, information flows and the spread of technology on the terms and in the image of the West. The benefits of that system over the last 30 years have led to the rise of the emerging economies. As a result we are entering the new era of Globalization 2.0 characterized by new forms of non-Western modernity and the interdependence of plural identities. The advent of this new era has been hastened by the fiscal and financial crisis in Europe and the United States.

Turkey, with its Islamic-oriented democracy that has become a template for the liberated peoples of the Arab Spring, and China, with its effective neo-Confucian form of governance, are the most sharply defined new players in this multi-polar and multi-dimensional world.

In this section, one of Turkey's most insightful sociologists examines the post-secular transformation of that nation. One of China's more provocative philosophers proposes a hybrid model that combines what has been learned from the experience of Western and Chinese governance in a way that "enhances democracy" in both systems.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Allena Miriam, Fracchia Fabrizio

Globalization, environment and sustainable development, in global, European and Italian perspectives

in **Rivista italiana di diritto pubblico comunitario**, n. 3-4 , 781-800

No abstract available



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Elisabetta Nones

Il futuro della globalizzazione secondo Dani Rodrik

in *Equilibri*, anno XV, n. 3, dicembre , 504-505

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Pelissero Marco

Il vagabondo oltre confine. Lo statuto penale dell'immigrato irregolare nello Stato di prevenzione

in *Politica del diritto*, n. 2 , 239-286

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Callies Galf-Peter

Introduction: Transnational Corporations Revisited

in *Indiana Journal for Global Legal Studies*, vol. 18, issue 2, summer , 601-616

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Jameson Fedric

La mondialisation comme objet philosophique

in *Actuel Marx*, N° spécial (octobre 2011)

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Alba Vega Carlos

La mondialisation par le bas et ses formes de régulation politique

in *Revue Tiers Monde*, n. 208 , 103-119

Cet article porte sur la globalisation par le bas qui concerne des millions de personnes et de marchandises qui se



déplacent avec et sans papiers en participant à l'autre versant de la globalisation hégémonique. Ces flux, qui impliquent des transactions peu institutionnalisées, informelles, parfois « semi-légales » ou illégales, sont le fait de migrants, de commerçants et de petits entrepreneurs qui transmettent des marchandises neuves ou usagées, originales ou piratées, à des consommateurs qui, autrement, n'auraient pas accès à ces flux mondiaux de la richesse. En quoi consiste cette globalisation par le bas ? Comment les commerçants ambulants s'organisent-ils pour vendre les marchandises dans des lieux interdits ? Telles sont les deux questions qui guident cette recherche basée sur des entretiens et des questionnaires effectués dans la ville de Mexico.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Carlos Alba Vega

La mondialisation par le bas et ses formes de régulation politique

in *Revue Tiers Monde*, n. 208 , 103-119

Cet article porte sur la globalisation par le bas qui concerne des millions de personnes et de marchandises qui se déplacent avec et sans papiers en participant à l'autre versant de la globalisation hégémonique. Ces flux, qui impliquent des transactions peu institutionnalisées, informelles, parfois « semi-légales » ou illégales, sont le fait de migrants, de commerçants et de petits entrepreneurs qui transmettent des marchandises neuves ou usagées, originales ou piratées, à des consommateurs qui, autrement, n'auraient pas accès à ces flux mondiaux de la richesse. En quoi consiste cette globalisation par le bas ? Comment les commerçants ambulants s'organisent-ils pour vendre les marchandises dans des lieux interdits ? Telles sont les deux questions qui guident cette recherche basée sur des entretiens et des questionnaires effectués dans la ville de Mexico.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Gentili Aurelio

La sovranità nei sistemi giuridici aperti

in *Politica del diritto*, n. 2 , 181-206

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Moessner Richhild, Allen William A.

Las crisis bancarias y el sistema monetario internacional en la Gran Depresión y en la actualidad

in *Revista de economia institucional*, VOLUMEN 13, NÚMERO 25, SEGUNDO SEMESTRE DE 2011

Identificamos las semejanzas y las diferencias en la escala y la naturaleza de las crisis bancarias de 2008-2009 y de la Gran Depresión, y analizamos las diferencias en la respuesta de política a las dos crisis a la luz de los sistemas monetarios internacionales predominantes. Encontramos que la escala de la crisis bancaria, medida por la reducción



internacional del endeudamiento de corto plazo y de los depósitos bancarios totales, fue menor en 2008-2009 que en 1931. Sin embargo, la provisión de liquidez del banco central fue mayor en el contexto de tasas de cambio flexibles de 2008-2009 que en 1931, cuando estaba limitada en muchos países por el patrón oro.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Sainteville Maude

**Les paradis fiscaux dans la mondialisation boursière
in *Economie politique (L')*, n° 52, 2011/4 , 63-75**

A travers une approche géographique, cet article propose de lever le voile sur la place des paradis fiscaux dans les réseaux de la mondialisation boursière. Pour cela, l'analyse s'appuie sur l'observation des stratégies de cotations transfrontières élaborées par les entreprises. Dans un premier temps, il convient de définir, justifier et contextualiser cet indicateur. Par la suite, un...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Presti G.

**Means and Ends in the New Financial Regulation
in *Rivista Internazionale di Scienze Sociali*, n. 1 - 2011**

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Hoover Stewart M.

**Media and the imagination of religion in contemporary global culture
in *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, Volume 14, No. 6, December 2011 , 610-625**

This article argues for an invigorated scholarship of religion within cultural studies. It suggests that this is justified both on its own terms and because there is evidence that the interaction of media and religion is creating entirely new forms of the religious in contemporary public life. Religion persists in history, but it persists in part because of its mediation and this persistent, mediated religion constitutes a new evolution. The article presents a range of contexts where this can be seen to be happening, not least those contexts most involved in contemporary cultural globalization.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Ivanova Maria N.

**Money, housing and world market: the dialectic of globalised production
in *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, Volume 35 Issue 5 September 2011 , 853-871**



This article offers an interpretation of the domestic and global dimensions of the US housing, financial and economic crisis in a Marxian framework. My key argument is that the origins of the Great Recession can be fully understood only within an analysis of the system of globalised production and the corresponding division of labour manifest in the symbiotic relationship between the financialised US-centred core and the commodity-producing periphery. The imbalance between production and finance in the US economy mirrors the global imbalance between the ability to produce and the capacity to consume.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Gardels Nathan

NPQ's New Focus: Globalization 2.0

in *New Perspectives Quarterly*, Vol. 29, Issue 1, Winter , 2-5

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1540-5842.2012.01289.x/abstract>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Limão Nuno, Tovar Patricia

Policy choice: Theory and evidence from commitment via international trade agreements

in *Journal of International Economics*, Volume 85, Issue 2, November 2011 , Pages 186-205

Why do governments employ inefficient policies when more efficient ones are available for the same purpose? We address this puzzle in the context of redistribution toward special interest groups (SIGs) by focusing on a set of important policies: tariffs and non-tariff barriers (NTBs). In our policy choice model a government can gain by committing to constrain tariffs through international agreements even if this leads to the use of less efficient NTBs; commitment has political value because it improves the bargaining position of a government that is weak relative to domestic SIGs. Using detailed data we find support for several of the model's predictions including: (i) tariff commitments in trade agreements increase the likelihood and restrictiveness of NTBs but not enough to offset the original tariff reductions; (ii) tariff commitments are more likely to be adopted and more stringent when the government is weaker relative to a SIG. Thus, the results can explain the use of inefficient policies for redistribution and suggest that the bargaining motive is an important source of the political value of commitment in international agreements.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Cowling Keith, Tomlinson Philip R.

Post the 'Washington Consensus': economic governance and industrial strategies for the twenty-first century

in *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, Volume 35 Issue 5 September 2011 , 831-852

Recent events in the global economy have led to a growing dissatisfaction with the neo-liberal economic paradigm that has dominated economic policy over the last 30 years, and the increasing concentration of (and abuse of) economic power within the corporate sector that has ensued. However, amidst calls for a new approach to economic management, there is a danger that a new policy framework may overlook underlying economic governance structures



that exist (and may evolve) within the economy. Such oversight has implications for development. This paper seeks to demonstrate that the long run efficacy of industrial strategy depends upon designing appropriate economic governance structures that serve the wider public interest. It does so by exploring past experiences of industrial strategy, drawing lessons from the USA, the UK, Japan, the third Italy and the emerging and transition economies. We also offer some suggestions for ways forward.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Gole Nilufer

Post-Secular Turkey

in New Perspectives Quarterly, Vol. 29, Issue 1, Winter , 7-11

For 500 years the West was on the rise, culminating in Globalization 1.0—the open system of trade, information flows and the spread of technology on the terms and in the image of the West. The benefits of that system over the last 30 years have led to the rise of the emerging economies. As a result we are entering the new era of Globalization 2.0 characterized by new forms of non-Western modernity and the interdependence of plural identities. The advent of this new era has been hastened by the fiscal and financial crisis in Europe and the United States.

Turkey, with its Islamic-oriented democracy that has become a template for the liberated peoples of the Arab Spring, and China, with its effective neo-Confucian form of governance, are the most sharply defined new players in this multi-polar and multi-dimensional world.

In this section, one of Turkey's most insightful sociologists examines the post-secular transformation of that nation. One of China's more provocative philosophers proposes a hybrid model that combines what has been learned from the experience of Western and Chinese governance in a way that “enhances democracy” in both systems.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

De Bellis Maurizia

Public law and private regulators in the global legal space

in International Journal of Constitutional Law, Vol. 9, issue 2 , 425-448

In domestic legal systems, public authorities have incorporated rules already long established by private bodies. In the global arena, public regulatory regimes increasingly connect with private ones. Examples include the Financial Stability Board's incorporation of international auditing standards, the Basel Committee's reference to credit-rating agencies, the World Trade Organization agreements' connection with international standards established by private bodies, and the EU endorsement of international accounting standards. Notwithstanding the different contexts, traditional techniques, such as incorporation and reference, are surprisingly resilient. Yet, tools originating in the transplantation of instruments well-known within national legal orders end up used for new purposes. Moreover, in some cases systems drawing on old tools enact new and more complex models. Lastly, the paper shows that, in some cases, procedural tools addressing legitimacy concerns seem to be more developed in the global context than in national ones—even though their efficacy is sometimes uncertain



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Richemond-Barak Daphné

Regulating War: A Taxonomy in Global Administrative Law

in *European Journal of International Law*, Vol. 22, issue 4 , 1027-1069

This article examines the intersection between the private security and military industry and the emerging framework of global administrative law ('GAL'). I explore in this article one aspect of this intersection, namely the use of GAL to create a taxonomy of the industry's regulatory schemes. The industry is characterized by a fragmented and decentralized regulatory framework, which has yet to be presented in a complete and orderly fashion. This article fills the gap by applying GAL's methodology to the private security and military industry. Using the industry as a case study in GAL, I identify (1) international formal administration (the United Nations Working Group on Mercenaries); (2) distributed domestic administration (contract and domestic legislation); (3) hybrid modes of administration (multi-stakeholder initiatives); and (4) private modes of administration (industry associations and codes of conduct). By emphasizing – but not limiting itself to – hybrid and private modes of administration, this article describes what is an increasingly complex manifestation of global governance. Its purpose is to highlight GAL's potential in understanding and contending with the growth of the private security and military industry.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Boccagni Paolo

Rethinking transnational studies. Transnational ties and the transnationalism of everyday life

in *European Journal of Social Theory*, Volume 15, Number 1, February 2012 , 117-132

Once an alternative approach to the mainstream, transnationalism has gained increasing currency and salience in migration studies. What is left of its theoretical import, however, after establishing that proper transnational activities, aside from remittances, are relatively infrequent; and that such practices are not incompatible with – and are even facilitated by – successful integration overseas? This article contends that the theoretical toolkit of transnationalism can still be helpful in studying migrant life trajectories, with particular respect to their everyday life sphere. Theoretical progress should be made, however, in three regards: (1) a stronger connection with globalization studies; (2) further elaboration on the reference points of transnational ties; and (3) a deeper reflection on the relevance of identifications and senses of belonging to migrant connectedness with their homeland. Along these lines, an understanding of transnational ties and relationships is outlined, in terms of potential and selective attributes of day-to-day interactions between migrants and their non-migrant counterparts.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Fontanelli Filippo

Santi Romano and L'ordinamento giuridico: The Relevance of a Forgotten Masterpiece for Contemporary International, Transnational and Global Legal Relations

in *Transnational Legal Theory*, Vol. 2, issue 1 , 67-117



This article has two main purposes. The first is to provide an introduction to Santi Romano's seminal work *L'ordinamento giuridico*, first published in 1917, in which the author develops the main tenets of his thought, namely institutionalism and pluralism. The first part of this essay accordingly provides an outline of Romano's theories; this account is intended to be sufficiently robust to benefit an English-speaking readership for which there is still no translated version of *L'ordinamento giuridico* available. Embedded within the overview of Romano's theories is a discussion of the criticism they have attracted and the influence they had on Romano's contemporaries, and to that extent this first part constitutes a contribution to the history of ideas. The second purpose is to assess the relevance of Romano's theories for the current study of international, transnational and global law. It is argued that Romano's particular conception of law as an institution can be helpful in the current debate on the unity and systematisation of international law, whereas his reflections on the plurality of legal orders contained early kernels of insight for present-day research on the fragmentation of international law and the rise of atypical global governance regimes.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Higgins Matthew, Klitgaard Thomas

Saving Imbalances and the Euro Area Sovereign Debt Crisis

in Current Issues in Economics and Finance, Volume 17, Number 5

For several years prior to 2010, countries in the euro area periphery engaged in heavy borrowing from foreign private investors, allowing domestic spending to outpace incomes. Now these countries face debt crises reflecting a loss of investor confidence in the sustainability of their finances. The result has been an abrupt halt in private foreign lending to these economies. This study explains how the periphery countries became dependent on foreign borrowing and considers the challenges they face reigniting growth while adjusting to greatly reduced access to foreign capital.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Ahmad Waseem, Soskolne Colin L., Ahmed Tanvir

Strategic thinking on sustainability: challenges and sectoral roles

in Environment, Development and Sustainability, Volume 14, Number 1, February , 67-83

This paper focuses on identified challenges for sustainable development across various sectors and the actions needed by different institutions and individuals for the achievement of a sustainable path. For finding solutions that impede sustainable development, emphasis is given to collaborative, inter- and trans-disciplinary problem-solving approaches. The 'ecological modernization' view is based on the belief that science and technology will result in continuous improvement in human welfare, while the emerging postmodern 'ecological paradigm' also emphasizes harmony with nature and other actors. Global societies are in the midst of a number of challenges: (1) implementation of existing and new hard- and soft-law instruments, (2) the degradation of natural resources, (3) an inadequate global mechanism for handling environmental and social responsibilities by the international community, (4) an unbalanced distribution of wealth, locally and internationally, (5) unethical and unsustainable business practices, (6) consequent unethical and unsustainable consumer practices, (7) selective application of ethical principles by rich countries and (8) the absence of norms of good conduct by powerful and wealthy peoples pertaining to sustainable development. Governments, civil societies, academicians, indigenous peoples, communities, businesses and international organizations need to become



engaged in the formulation and enforcement of environmentally and ecologically sound development policies along with relevant research, education, training, awareness and a change in social values as provided in the Earth Charter to support actions for sustainable development.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Yu Hua

The Arab Spring and the Chinese Autumn

in *New Perspectives Quarterly*, Vol. 29, Issue 1, Winter , 49-51

For 500 years the West was on the rise, culminating in Globalization 1.0—the open system of trade, information flows and the spread of technology on the terms and in the image of the West. The benefits of that system over the last 30 years have led to the rise of the emerging economies. As a result we are entering the new era of Globalization 2.0 characterized by new forms of non-Western modernity and the interdependence of plural identities. The advent of this new era has been hastened by the fiscal and financial crisis in Europe and the United States.

Turkey, with its Islamic-oriented democracy that has become a template for the liberated peoples of the Arab Spring, and China, with its effective neo-Confucian form of governance, are the most sharply defined new players in this multi-polar and multi-dimensional world.

In this section, one of Turkey's most insightful sociologists examines the post-secular transformation of that nation. One of China's more provocative philosophers proposes a hybrid model that combines what has been learned from the experience of Western and Chinese governance in a way that “enhances democracy” in both systems.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Lundan Sarianna M.

The Coevolution of Transnational Corporations and Instit

in *Indiana Journal for Global Legal Studies*, vol. 18, issue 2, summer , 639-663

ABSTRACT: While economic theories of the firm have traditionally focused on the ownership of assets, the increasing use of contractual partnerships is beginning to challenge our conception of the firm by emphasizing its coordinating role. In structuring their contracts, as well as in managing the relationships governed by the contracts, firms try to mitigate uncertainties that could destroy the value-adding potential of such transactions. These uncertainties may be specific to the transaction partner, but they might also arise from the institutional context of the contracting parties, particularly in the case of transactions that cross borders. The coevolutionary process whereby firms both adjust to and shape the institutional constraints facing them results in new hybrid forms of governance, which contribute to the body of private transnational law. By studying how firms mitigate the uncertainties in their contractual relationships, empirical research can yield new insights about the emergence and impact of private law.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Öniş Zya, Güven Ali Burak

The Global Economic Crisis and the Future of Neoliberal Globalization: Rupture Versus Continuity
in **Global Governance**, vol. 17, n. 4, october-december , 469-488

ABSTRACT: This article outlines the main elements of rupture and continuity in the global political economy since the global economic crisis of 2008–2009. While the current calamity poses a more systemic challenge to neoliberal globalization than genetically similar turbulences in the semi-periphery during the 1990s, we find that evidence for its transformative significance remains mixed. Efforts to reform the distressed capitalist models in the North encounter severe resistance, and the broadened multilateralism of the Group of 20 is yet to provide effective global economic governance. Overall, neoliberal globalization looks set to survive, but in a more heterodox and multipolar fashion. Without tighter coordination between old and emerging powers, this new synthesis is unlikely to inspire lasting solutions to pressing global problems such as an unsustainable international financial architecture and the pending environmental catastrophe and may even fail to preserve some modest democratic and developmental gains of the recent past.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Rubin R.

The Global Financial Crisis and Its Ramifications
in **Rivista Internazionale di Scienze Sociali**, n. 1 - 2011

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Love Nancy S., Mattern Mark

The Great Recession: Causes, Consequences, and Responses
in **New Political Science**, vol. 33, n. 4 , 401-411

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Cwik Paul F.

The New Neo-Mercantilism: Currency Manipulation as a Form of Protectionism
in **Economic Affairs**, Volume 31, Issue 3, October 2011 , 7-11

Three waves of mercantilism have arisen in the past few centuries. The first wave was countered by the classical economists. The second wave (neo-mercantilism) hit during the inter-war period. Today's third wave uses monetary



policy. We explore the mercantilist waves and argue in favour of a free trade policy. We conclude that an international system of free banking best protects the economy from currency manipulation as a form of protectionism.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Eidenmüller Horst

**The Transnational Law Market, Regulatory Competition, and Transnational Corporations
in *Indiana Journal for Global Legal Studies*, vol. 18, issue 2, summer , 707-749**

ABSTRACT: In many regions of the world and across various fields, law has become a product. Individuals and companies seek attractive legal regulations, and countries advertise their legal wares globally as they compete for customers. Transnational corporations in particular are prominent actors in the emerging transnational law market. This article investigates the causes of this development and discusses these changes with respect to company law, contract law, the law of dispute resolution, and insolvency law. It assesses the market for legal rules and its practical consequences, and it provides legal policy recommendations for an efficient framework of the transnational law market. The emphasis is on transnational corporations as market actors and on specifics of the European regulatory framework.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Lahiri Bidisha

**The Welfare Synergy of Bundling International Environmental Agreements with International Trade Treaties
in *Review of International Economics*, Volume 19, Issue 5, November 2011 , 909-921**

This paper examines whether linking environmental cooperation with international trade agreements improves the welfare of the participating countries and allows countries to move closer to free trade compared with trade-only agreements. The model is an infinitely repeated game with the threat of reversion to Nash equilibrium if an economy deviates from the cooperative agreement. It is found that such a synergy exists in a symmetric two-country model with two goods, both emitting pollutants even when the externalities have local impact. A combination of analytic and numerical simulation analysis is used to derive the conclusions.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Kappel Robert

**The challenge to Europe: Regional powers and the shifting of the global order
in *Intereconomics*, Volume 46, Number 5 / October 2011 , 275-286**

Europe's position as the most important economic area in the world is gradually being challenged by China and other regional powers which have been growing faster than the EU in the last 20 years. An economic and political power shift is taking place. How can Europe best cope with this challenge?

Section B) Global governance and international organizations



Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Battini Stefano

The procedural side of legal globalization: The case of the World Heritage Convention
in *International Journal of Constitutional Law*, Vol. 9, issue 2, 340-368

The conceptual premise of global administrative law (GAL) is that, in order to cope with globalization, the right of states to regulate has been increasingly entrusted to global authorities, which adopt rules and decisions best conceptualized as administrative regulation. Therefore, GAL is in response to substantial, vertical institutional and legal globalization, and it develops in order to avoid the risk of an administrative regulation (which goes global) unregulated by administrative law (which remains domestic). This paper, however, takes a slightly different approach to GAL. With a focus on the impact of global regulatory regimes on domestic regulation, I argue that those regimes change the very nature of domestic rules and decisions as long as they are adopted according to decision-making processes open to the participation of “external” subjects, representing the interests of different political communities. From this perspective, GAL contributes to the development of a horizontal and procedural path to legal globalization.

This point is demonstrated by examining a single global regulatory regime—the World Heritage Convention—scrutinizing three specific cases, each referring to three different domestic administrative decisions to which the convention has been applied. The World Heritage Convention—as well as many other global regulatory regimes—places on domestic authorities the burden of taking into account the global interests affected by their decisions. This is a typical procedural burden, drawn from the legacy of domestic administrative law. Thus, legal globalization progresses along a procedural path and in accordance with administrative law (rather than private law) concepts

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Anderson James E.

The specific factors continuum model, with implications for globalization and income risk
in *Journal of International Economics*, Volume 85, Issue 2, November 2011, Pages 174-185

This paper embeds the specific factors model in the goods continuum approach of Dornbusch et al. (1977, 1980) and applies it to analyze the effect of globalization on income risk. Globalization amplifies sector specific income risk induced by idiosyncratic sectoral technology shocks, but tends to reduce income risk to both mobile and immobile factors induced by aggregate technology shocks that differ by country. Aggregate risk bears most heavily on the poorest specific factors.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Newman Abraham

Transatlantic flight fights: multi-level governance, actor entrepreneurship and international anti-terrorism cooperation
in *Review of International Political Economy*, Volume 18, Issue 4, 2011, pages 481-505

Anti-terrorism cooperation has sparked a series of transatlantic conflicts. Many popular accounts look to differing policy



preferences between US and European capitals to explain these disagreements. This article, by contrast, contends that these disputes are often rooted in internal multi-level governance processes within Europe that present different opportunity structures for actors to influence international debates. The case of airline passenger name records offers a unique within-case comparison akin to a natural experiment with which to examine the multi-level governance hypothesis.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Aguila Y.

Un nouvel Etat?

in *Revue européenne de droit public*, vol. 23 - n. 1 , 17 - 38

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Gianpaolo Rossini

Una globalizzazione più debole

in *Mulino (il)*, n. 5, settembre-ottobre, 2011 , 828-836

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Magee Christopher S. P.

Why are Trade Barriers so low?

in *Economic Affairs*, Volume 31, Issue 3, October 2011 , pages 12–17

The political economy literature suggests that tariff rates should be high because the gains to producers from protection are enormous while the welfare costs are small. This paper presents and evaluates six possible explanations for the relatively low tariffs we see today in most developed countries.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Krotoski Aleks

Wikileaks and the New, Transparent World Order

in *Political Quarterly* , Volume 82, Issue 4, October-December 2011 , 526-530

No abstract available



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Casini Lorenzo

“Italian Hours”: The globalization of cultural property law

in *International Journal of Constitutional Law*, Vol. 9, issue 2 , 369-393

Cultural property offers a significant yet ambiguous example of the development of global regulatory regimes beyond the State. On the one hand, traditional international law instruments do not seem to ensure an adequate level of protection for cultural heritage; securing such protection requires procedures, norms, and standards produced by global institutions, both public (such as UNESCO) and private (such as the International Council of Museums). On the other hand, a comprehensive global regulatory regime to complement the law of cultural property is still to be achieved. Instead, more regimes are being established, depending on the kind of properties and public interests at stake. Moreover, the huge cultural bias that dominates the debate about cultural property accentuates the “clash of civilizations” that already underlies the debate about global governance. The analysis of the relationship between globalization and cultural property, therefore, sheds light on broader global governance trends and helps highlight the points of weakness and strength in the adoption of administrative law techniques at the global level

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

Jetschke Anja, Murray Philomena

Diffusing Regional Integration: The EU and Southeast Asia

in *West European Politics*, vol. 35, n. 1 , 174-191

ABSTRACT: Given its distinctive structure and norms, is ASEAN's recent institutionalisation an instance of diffusion from the EU to ASEAN? Or do we observe adaptation to changes in the external and domestic environments of ASEAN states that are unrelated to, or independent of, the EU? Or is there some combination of both at work here – diffusion and adaptation to changes that do not relate to the EU? This article argues that ASEAN members have started to adopt EU-style institutions, in particular, the EU's Committee of Permanent Representatives and economic integration processes. This adoption process can be conceived as both lesson-drawing and normative emulation from the EU. This has not led to a comprehensive and systematic copying of EU institutions by ASEAN. Rather, member states have acted selectively in line with their ‘cognitive priors’ about state sovereignty. We observe institutional change only, but not a change in behavioural practices.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

Richard Perkins, Eric Neumayer

Does the ‘California effect’ operate across borders? Trading- and investing-up in automobile emission standards

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 19, Issue 2 2012 , 217-237

The ‘California effect’ hypothesis posits that economic integration may lead to the ratcheting upwards of regulatory



standards towards levels found in higher-regulating jurisdictions. Although a number of previous large sample quantitative studies have investigated such convergence dynamics for public environmental policies, their results have been based exclusively on geographically and sectorally aggregated data. Our contribution advances on these studies. We provide the first large-N, geographically disaggregated evidence consistent with a trading-up effect: exports of automobiles and related components from developing countries to countries with more stringent automobile emission standards are found to be associated with more stringent domestic emission standards. Investing-up dynamics are also apparent, with aggregate inward foreign direct investment into host developing economies' automotive sector increasing the likelihood of more stringent emission standards domestically.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

GARY MARKS

Europe and Its Empires: From Rome to the European Union

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 50, Issue 1, January 2012 , 1-20

This article claims that the territorial structure of government results from a tension between scale and community. The benefits of scale arise from the nature of public goods, and include economic exchange, political power and protection against external shocks. Communities are double-edged in that they are characterized by parochial altruism. Altruism and social solidarity facilitate government within communities, but parochial attachments constrain government among communities. Scale and community, as theorized here, provide a setting for strategic choice. Both are in flux as patterns of human interaction change, and government itself shapes those patterns. Evidence is drawn from the five largest polities in the history of western Europe: the Roman Empire, the Frankish Empire, Napoleonic France, the Third Reich and the European Union.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

Stefan Eichler, Alexander Karmann

Optimum Currency Areas in Emerging Market Regions: Evidence Based on the Symmetry of Economic Shocks

in **Open Economies Review**, Volume 22, Number 5 , 935-954

This paper examines which emerging market regions form optimum currency areas (OCAs) by assessing the symmetry of macroeconomic shocks. We extend the output-prices-VAR framework by adding net exports and the real effective exchange rate as endogenous variables. Based on theoretical considerations, we derive which shocks affect these variables in the long run: shocks to labor productivity, foreign trade, labor supply, and money supply. The considered economies of Central and Eastern Europe, the Commonwealth of Independent States, East and Southeast Asia, and South Asia, exhibit large enough shock symmetry to form a currency union; the economies of Africa, Latin America, and the Middle East do not.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

Lenz Tobias

Spurred Emulation: The EU and Regional Integration in Mercosur and SADC



in *West European Politics*, vol. 35, n. 1 , 155-173

ABSTRACT: This article analyses the EU's influence on regional institutional change in Mercosur and the Southern African Development Community from a diffusion perspective. Focusing on market-building objectives and dispute settlement mechanisms, it addresses the puzzle that policy-makers in both regions have, over time, increasingly adopted EU-style institutional arrangements even though alternative institutional models more suitable to their preferences for 'pragmatic', sovereignty-preserving cooperation have been available at various critical junctures of institutional evolution. The article makes two main arguments. First, it suggests that EU influence has affected outcomes in several specific ways that are irreducible to, and quite different from, mainstream functional accounts of economic regionalism. Second, it contends that the diffusion of EU institutional templates can be understood as a process of spurred emulation, when regional policy-makers emulate EU institutional models under conditions of uncertainty and promoted by EU-oriented domestic actors as well as the EU's direct involvement in the process.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

Alten Karen J.

The Global Spread of European Style International Courts

in *West European Politics*, vol. 35, n. 1 , 135-154

ABSTRACT: Europe created the model of embedded international courts (ICs) where domestic judges work with international judges to interpret and apply international legal rules that are also part of national legal orders. This model has now diffused around the world. This article documents the spread of European style ICs: there are now 11 operational copies of the European Court of Justice (ECJ), and a number of ICs that do not copy the ECJ but use Europe's embedded approach to international law. After documenting the spread of European style ICs, the article then explains how two regions chose European style ICs, yet varied from the ECJ model.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

Baccini Leonardo, Dür Andreas

The New Regionalism and Policy Interdependence

in *British Journal of Political Science*, vol. 42, issue 1, january , 57-79

ABSTRACT: Since 1990, the number of preferential trade agreements has increased rapidly. The argument in this article explains this phenomenon, known as the new regionalism, as a result of competition for market access; exporters facing trade diversion because of their exclusion from a preferential trade agreement concluded by foreign countries push their governments into signing an agreement with the country in which their exports are threatened. The argument is tested in a quantitative analysis of the proliferation of preferential trade agreements among 167 countries between 1990 and 2007. The finding that competition for market access is a major driving force of the new regionalism is a contribution to the literature on regionalism and to broader debates about global economic regulation.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

Stefan Eichler, Alexander Karmann

The Political and Economic Dimension of Monetary Unions

in Open Economies Review, Volume 22, Number 5 , 935-954

This paper examines which emerging market regions form optimum currency areas (OCAs) by assessing the symmetry of macroeconomic shocks. We extend the output-prices-VAR framework by adding net exports and the real effective exchange rate as endogenous variables. Based on theoretical considerations, we derive which shocks affect these variables in the long run: shocks to labor productivity, foreign trade, labor supply, and money supply. The considered economies of Central and Eastern Europe, the Commonwealth of Independent States, East and Southeast Asia, and South Asia, exhibit large enough shock symmetry to form a currency union; the economies of Africa, Latin America, and the Middle East do not.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

KATHY POWERS and GARY GOERTZ

The economic-institutional construction of regions: conceptualisation and operationalisation

in Review of International Studies (The), Volume 37 - Issue 05 , 2387-2415

The international relations literature on regionalism, both in economic and security issues, has grown dramatically over the last 15 years. One of the ongoing issues discussed in most articles and books is the conceptualisation of 'region'. Instead of thinking about regions using notions of interdependence and interaction we take a social constructivist approach, whereby states themselves define regions via the construction of regional economic institutions (REI). We explore how a conceptualisation of region based on REIs contrasts with various related concepts such as regional system, and regional IGO. Empirically, we show that most all countries belong to at least one important regional economic institution, REI, (for example, EU, Mercosur, ASEAN, etc). In short, the world is dividing itself into regions by the creation of regional economic institutions. We contrast our economic-institutional approach to regions with Buzan and Wæver's 'regional security complexes' which is based on security dependence. There are interesting agreements and disagreements between their approach and our economic-institutional approach to defining regions. It is perhaps not surprising that many REIs have taken on security roles, which we briefly show by looking at military alliances embedded in REIs. This suggests that policymakers are creating regions through institutional innovations that link economic and security issues.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

Vicard Vincent

Trade, conflict, and political integration: Explaining the heterogeneity of regional trade agreements

in European Economic Review, Volume 56, Issue 1, January 2012 , Pages 54-71

Many historians argue that the main goal of European trade integration was the preservation of peace. This paper



investigates whether this reasoning is relevant for the EU and other regional trade agreements (RTAs). I provide empirical evidence that customs unions and common markets (deep RTAs) do reduce the probability of war between members. Partial scope and free trade agreements (shallow RTAs) however have no effect on war probabilities. Accordingly, international insecurity has a differential impact on incentives to create RTAs. Deep RTAs are signed between countries that are involved in many interstate disputes and that have low trade costs with the rest of the world, whereas the opposite is true for shallow RTAs.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

Zissimo Ben

Why are Trade Agreements Regional?

in *Review of International Economics*, Volume 19, Issue 1, February 2011 , 32-45

This paper shows how distance may be used to coordinate on a unique equilibrium in which trade agreements are regional. Trade agreement formation is modeled as coalition formation. In a standard trade model with no distance between countries a familiar problem of coordination failure occurs, giving rise to multiple equilibria; any one of many possible trade agreements can form. With distance between countries, regional trade agreements generate larger rent-shifting effects than nonregional agreements. Countries use these effects to coordinate on a unique equilibrium.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Motelle Sephooko I.

A survey of poverty and inequality indicators with an application to Southern African Customs Union (SACU)

in *Journal of Economics and International Finance*, 22 November, 2011; 3(14) , 697-704

The article provides a brief survey of poverty and inequality indicators and proceeds to provide their analytical application for countries in the Southern African Customs Union (SACU). Poverty measures surveyed, included money-metric measures such as the Foster-Greer-Thorbecke (FGT) indicators, while the non-money metric measures included body mass index and human development index (HDI), among others. The inequality measures included, inter alia the entropy measures and the Gini index. The results reveal that SACU still has to go a long way in improving poverty and inequality levels as well as the general well-being of its member economies. Some positive observations emerge on the improvement of gender participation in economic and political activities in the union. Botswana performed better than the rest of the countries as far as the fight against poverty is concerned. However, all the countries need to continue to implement policies that not only reduce poverty but also narrow the pervasive inequality in the region.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Loureiro João, Martins Manuel M.F., Ribeiro Ana Paula

Anchoring to the Euro (and Grouped Together)? The Case of African Countries

in *Journal of African Economies*, Volume 21 Issue 1 January 2012 , 28-64

This paper assesses the adequacy of the exchange rate regime of 16 African countries that are pegged to the euro



since 1999. The evaluation is based on three key criteria borrowed from the optimal currency area literature. A first conclusion is that the peg to the euro has granted the 16 countries a good inflation performance. However, with the clear exception of Cape Verde, the peg is not supported by the other economic requirements, namely trade integration and synchronisation of business cycles. We also assess whether the US dollar would be a better currency to anchor. Since the results are ambiguous, pegging to the euro seems to be a better alternative as these countries benefit from established exchange rate cooperation agreements. Given that most of the countries in the sample are historically grouped together in the West African Economic and Monetary Union (WAEMU) or the Central African Economic and Monetary Community (CAEMC), the paper further assesses whether the grouping of countries in these two CFA monetary unions receives economic support. The conclusion is that the composition of CAEMC does not conform to basic requirements. In contrast, for a wide group of WAEMU countries there is room for sharing a common monetary policy.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Lynch Gabrielle

Becoming indigenous in the pursuit of justice: The African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights and the Endorois

in African Affairs, Volume 111, Issue 442, January , 24-45

The February 2010 ruling of the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Kenyan government's violation of the Endorois people's rights is the Commission's most substantive and radical decision to date, with important implications for international jurisprudence, national politics, and local strategies – as well as potential socio-economic realities and inter-communal relations. The ruling combined a liberal interpretation of the African Charter with far-reaching recommendations and the request for a government progress report. It was the first time that the Commission had decided on and extended individual and peoples' rights to indigenous people, and is the first time in the world that a specific right to development has been adjudicated upon. By accepting the Endorois as an indigenous community the decision completes a process of ethnic invention that began in the 1990s, and has seen Endorois assert ethnic difference from their Kalenjin neighbours as a strategy of legal argument. The outcome is a victory for Endorois leaders and may help other communities tackle state injustice. However, the broad implications for social justice and inter-communal relations are contentious given the decision's reinforcement of an inherently exclusive sense of ethnic territoriality and neglect of gross inequalities in wealth and power. From this perspective, the decision reflects a modern obsession with the 'politics of recognition' to the neglect of a 'politics of redistribution'.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Mor Bakhom

Cohérence institutionnelle et effectivité d'une politique régionale de la concurrence : le cas de l'Union Économique et Monétaire Ouest-Africaine (UEMOA)

in Revue internationale de droit économique , Vol. 25, n°3 , 305-332

En droite ligne avec le développement exponentiel de politiques régionales de la concurrence dans les pays en développement ces dernières années, l'UEMOA a adopté une législation communautaire de la concurrence entrée en vigueur en 2003. Caractérisée par une centralisation aussi bien de la réglementation du droit matériel (ententes et abus



de position dominante) que de la prise de décision (avec une compétence exclusive reconnue à la Commission), celle-ci a suscité des réserves quant à son aptitude à garantir la libre concurrence dans l'Union (dans le sens du commerce entre États membres) et dans les marchés nationaux. L'architecture institutionnelle mise en place dans l'UEMOA, du fait de la forte centralisation des compétences, a provoqué des résistances au niveau des États membres qui non seulement tardent à mettre en conformité leurs droits nationaux au droit communautaire, mais également refusent de collaborer à la mise en œuvre de ce droit. Au niveau communautaire, l'organe de décision – le bureau de la concurrence de la Commission de l'UEMOA – fait face à des contraintes qui limitent l'efficacité de son action. La conséquence de ces incohérences aussi bien au niveau communautaire qu'au niveau national est une effectivité limitée du droit communautaire de la concurrence, comme en témoigne la jurisprudence de la Commission. Partant du cas de l'UEMOA et d'autres exemples de politiques régionales de la concurrence, cet article identifie un certain nombre d'éléments que nous avons qualifiés de « contraintes concurrentielles », qui entrent en ligne de compte dans la définition de l'orientation institutionnelle d'une politique régionale de la concurrence. Celles-ci sont liées à la configuration géographique et au nombre d'États composant l'organisation, au degré de fluidité du commerce entre États membres, aux capacités institutionnelles des États membres, à l'existence d'une culture de la concurrence, etc. Cet article propose une redéfinition de l'orientation institutionnelle du droit de la concurrence de l'UEMOA dans le sens d'une plus grande implication des structures nationales de la concurrence dans la prise de décision.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Nwauche ES

Enforcing ECOWAS Law in West African National Courts

in Journal of African Law, Vol. 55, issue 2 , 181-202

One of the constitutional challenges of regional integration is how to manage the limitation of national judicial sovereignty of member states to ensure that community law is recognized as superior to national law and is accordingly applied and interpreted by national courts at the instance of community citizens. This challenge arises from the national ordering of legal systems and the fact that states are the primary parties to agreements in which they limit their sovereignty in favour of the success of the community. This article examines the enforceability of the law of the Economic Community of West African States in the national courts of the West African states which comprise ECOWAS, with the aim of determining how this affects the integration goals of ECOWAS.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Sing'Oei Korir

Engaging the Leviathan: National Development, Corporate Globalisation and the Endorois' Quest to Recover their Herding Grounds

in International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights, Volume 18, Number 4, "Contrasted Perspectives on Recognition and Implementation of Indigenous Rights" , 515-540

This article examines in detail the recent landmark decision of the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights in Centre for Minority Rights Development & Minority Rights Group (on behalf of the Endorois) v. Kenya. In particular, the article analyses the extent to which the Commission has given a new and more "African" life to indigenous peoples' human rights in the continent. While engaging in a juridical exposition of various rights germane to indigenous groups



within the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights, the article places this discourse in the context of globalisation whose (re)shaping of the state power has placed non-state corporations at the centre of development intervention with deleterious effects on insular groups.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Fliss Liwaedine

Intégration monétaire en Afrique de l'Ouest : Quelles perspectives ?

in *African Integration Review - Revue Africaine de l'Integration*, Vol. 4, N. 2, July

L'objet de ce papier est d'étudier et d'évaluer la mise en oeuvre du projet d'union monétaire de la CEDEAO en vue d'identifier les perspectives possibles et proposer des scénarios alternatifs à l'approche actuelle du processus d'intégration monétaire en Afrique de l'ouest. La zone CEDEAO a ses propres spécificités et sur la base d'une analyse comparative entre les processus d'intégration monétaire de la CEDEAO et de l'Europe, l'étude a démontré que le Nigeria est un facteur de risque dans la stabilité et la création de la future zone monétaire de la CEDEAO. Aussi, est-il nécessaire de créer une banque centrale supranationale indépendante qui aura comme mandat de stabiliser les prix dans la région. En outre, un engagement politique ferme de la part des dirigeants est impératif pour améliorer les résultats macroéconomiques des pays et supporter le projet d'union monétaire. Enfin, deux scénarios alternatifs ont été proposés en vue de l'accélération de l'intégration monétaire de la CEDEAO.

Monetary integration in West Africa:

What prospects?

Abstract: The purpose of this work is to study and evaluate the implementation of the proposed ECOWAS single monetary union in order to identify possible opportunities and propose alternative scenarii to the current approach of the process of monetary integration in West Africa. The ECOWAS region has its own characteristics and on the basis of a comparative analysis between the process of monetary integration in ECOWAS and Europe, the study showed that Nigeria is a risky element in the stability as well as in the creation of the future single monetary union of ECOWAS. Also, it is necessary to create a supranational independent Central Bank with a mandate to stabilize prices in the region. In addition, a strong political commitment of the Political Leaders is imperative to improve the macroeconomic performance of countries and support the monetary union project. Finally, two alternative scenarios were proposed in order to accelerate the monetary integration in ECOWAS region.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Mbissane Ngom

Intégration régionale et politique de la concurrence dans l'espace CEDEAO

in *Revue internationale de droit économique*, Vol. 25, n°3, 333-349

Organisation sous-régionale dont la vocation est l'intégration de ses États membres pour assurer leur développement économique, la CEDEAO n'a commencé à s'intéresser à l'encadrement de la compétition économique qu'au début du



XXIe siècle. Ce n'est qu'en 2008 qu'elle s'est dotée d'un cadre de promotion et d'encadrement de la concurrence dans ses États membres, en faisant de la politique de la concurrence un élément central de son dispositif de création d'un marché communautaire ouest-africain. Mais l'analyse du droit matériel de la concurrence de la CEDEAO montre que celui-ci répond peu aux besoins des populations et des entreprises de cette zone. Il semble plus orienté vers la promotion des investisseurs que vers la réponse à un réel besoin d'encadrement de la concurrence. En effet, la politique de la concurrence de la CEDEAO promeut peu la compétitivité des entreprises locales et ne les protège pas contre les multinationales. On peut donc douter de l'efficacité de ce droit de la concurrence dans la perspective du développement économique. Par ailleurs, ce droit est concurrencé dans sa zone d'influence par le droit de l'UEMOA, plus ancien, ainsi que par ses instances de mise en œuvre. Il s'ensuit une concurrence normative qui brouille les repères de l'application du droit de la concurrence et ne favorise guère son appropriation par les acteurs économiques locaux. Il reste cependant que les instances nationales et communautaires de la concurrence utilisent les outils modernes de l'analyse économique et de la régulation pour préserver le caractère concurrentiel des différents marchés auxquels elles s'intéressent.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Nasser Ary Tanimoune

La convergence économique en zone UEMOA : une analyse empirique du critère budgétaire in *African Integration Review - Revue Africaine de l'Intégration*, Vol. 4, N. 2, July

Ce papier, à l'aide de règles empiriques à la Ballabriga et Martinez-Mongay (2002), présente une évaluation empirique des mécanismes budgétaires dans l'Union Économique et Monétaire Ouest Africaine (UEMOA), sur la période 1986-2006. Il s'en dégage deux principales conclusions. D'une part, la politique budgétaire semble avoir été discrétionnaire, avec des stabilisateurs automatiques relativement faibles. D'autre part, face à un choc d'endettement, les ajustements budgétaires semblent passer par les dépenses publiques courantes alors que les recettes publiques totales seraient davantage utilisées en cas de choc de production.

Economic convergence criteria in WAEMU: an empirical study of fiscal policies

Abstract: This paper presents an empirical assessment of the core convergence criteria in West African Economic and Monetary Union (WAEMU) in the period 1986-2006. We use empirical rules based on the previous work of Ballabriga-Mongay and Martinez (2002). As results, in WAEMU, the fiscal policies seem to have been discretionary, with a relatively low level of automatic stabilizers. Also, it seems that in face of an external debt shock, the fiscal adjustments have been conducted through current public expenditures while in case of a production shock, the adjustment variable has been the total government revenue

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Thiam Ibrahima

Mixed exchange rate regime in the West African Economic and Monetary Union (WAEMU) in *Journal of Economics and International Finance*, 22 December, 2011; 3(16) , 787-792

The debate on the issue of choosing the best exchange rate regime is still valid. Indeed, each exchange rate regime has both costs and benefits. For WAEMU countries, the current choice is less and less justified mainly because of



globalization. Therefore, the objective of this study is to propose a mixed exchange rate regime pegged to the euro and U.S. dollar. The study shows that this type of plan allows WAEMU countries to be more competitive. Also, their economies will be less vulnerable to internal and external shocks. The study finally recommends a product diversification and intensification trade of intra zone.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Mor Bakhoum

Perspectives africaines d'une politique de la concurrence dans l'espace OHADA

in Revue internationale de droit économique , Vol. 25, n°3

Cet article analyse la problématique de la pertinence d'une politique de la concurrence dans l'espace OHADA. Des matières qui ont fait l'objet d'unification par des actes uniformes, le droit de la concurrence est le grand absent. Pourquoi une absence d'uniformisation dans ce domaine à l'heure où on tend vers une régionalisation des politiques de la concurrence dans les pays en développement, et notamment en Afrique ? Une politique régionale de la concurrence contribuerait-elle à l'atteinte des objectifs de l'OHADA, notamment l'harmonisation du droit des affaires, la promotion et la sécurisation de l'investissement et la mise en place d'un droit simple, moderne et adapté ? Pour répondre à ces interrogations, l'auteur donne d'abord un bref aperçu des objectifs généralement assignés à une politique régionale de la concurrence, à savoir l'intégration juridique et économique, la lutte contre les cartels internationaux, l'utilisation efficiente des ressources limitées et la promotion de l'investissement. L'article analyse ensuite les objectifs ainsi que la politique législative de l'OHADA à la lumière des objectifs d'une politique régionale de la concurrence. L'analyse est enfin orientée vers les politiques régionales de la concurrence concurrentes applicables dans l'espace OHADA, à savoir celles de l'UEMOA, de la CEDEAO et de la CEMAC. De cette analyse, l'auteur conclut à une pertinence douteuse d'une politique de la concurrence dans l'espace OHADA. Il est soutenu qu'une politique régionale de la concurrence qui généralement vise à réguler un espace économique partagé avec des interdictions (pratiques anticoncurrentielles) et une autorité régionale pour les mettre en œuvre ne va pas dans le sens de l'approche législative de l'OHADA qui vise à harmoniser le droit des affaires par des actes uniformes. Par ailleurs, dans un espace déjà étoffé de politiques régionales de la concurrence (UEMOA, CEDEAO, CEMAC), avec les conflits de compétences qui peuvent résulter de la compétence de deux autorités régionales, l'OHADA devrait s'abstenir de légiférer en droit de la concurrence. Elle ne devrait s'occuper que de l'harmonisation du droit des affaires et laisser aux autres organisations d'intégration économique le soin de réguler la concurrence. L'article envisage enfin les ajustements institutionnels qu'il serait nécessaire d'opérer si l'OHADA décidait de légiférer en droit de la concurrence.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Laurence Boy

Quel droit de la concurrence pour l'Afrique francophone subsaharienne ? Introduction

in Revue internationale de droit économique , Vol. 25, n°3 , 263-280

Depuis une vingtaine d'années, le droit de la concurrence des pays en développement, spécialement d'Afrique subsaharienne, suscite un intérêt croissant chez les universitaires. De nombreuses réformes ont été adoptées pour promouvoir l'efficacité économique et attirer les investisseurs étrangers. Dans ce contexte, l'intégration économique est apparue comme l'un des outils du développement. Les travaux présentés dans ce cahier s'attachent à vérifier, à partir



des exemples européen et africains (UEMOA, CEDEAO, OHADA), le lien entre intégration et développement économique, et à rechercher le niveau pertinent pour appréhender les pratiques anticoncurrentielles. Le droit de la concurrence (contrôle des ententes et des abus de position dominante) est apparu comme un instrument non seulement de lutte contre les atteintes à l'efficacité mais comme une entrave au développement des petites et moyennes entreprises, tout particulièrement en Afrique où l'économie informelle est importante. C'est la raison pour laquelle ces dernières années, aux préoccupations traditionnelles du droit de la concurrence, s'est ajouté le souci de promouvoir le « petit commerce », et se développe à cette fin ce qu'il est convenu d'appeler « petit droit de la concurrence » ou pratiques individuelles. Les contributeurs de ce « Cahier à thème » se sont montrés préoccupés par la recherche du niveau efficace des politiques de la concurrence. Convient-il de favoriser un droit régional de la concurrence ou faut-il préserver, au nom du principe de subsidiarité, des compétences nationales ? Faut-il contenir la compétence des droits régionaux aux pratiques ayant des effets supranationaux ou laisser s'épanouir les droits nationaux plus à même peut-être d'appréhender des pratiques aux effets plus limités mais néanmoins néfastes ? Sur toutes ces questions où sont présentés avec clarté le droit de l'UEMOA et celui de la CEDEAO, et où est « questionné » le droit de l'OHADA, le modèle de l'UE ne pouvait être passé sous silence. Les enseignements que l'on tire de ces lectures (M. Bakhoun, J. Drexler, M. Ngom) nous semblent, en tout cas, dépasser le cadre de la seule Afrique francophone subsaharienne.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Sanchez Nadia, Gupta Joyeeta

Recent changes in the Nile region may create an opportunity for a more equitable sharing of the Nile river waters

in *Netherlands International Law Review*, Volume 58, Issue 3, 363-385

Egypt and Sudan's reluctance to share the Nile waters with the remaining riparian states has soured relations between them. The downstream countries base their claims on historical legal rights embodied in the 1929 and 1959 Nile Waters Agreements. Past efforts to enhance regional cooperation such as the Nile Basin Initiative and the Cooperative Framework Agreement (between the upstream countries) did not appear to significantly improve their relations. However, the legal and political situation has recently changed: South Sudan's independence from Sudan on 9 July 2011, the outbreak of civil turmoil in Egypt on 25 January 2011 leading to the fall of Mubarak, and the unilateral start of the construction of the Grand Millennium Dam (GMD) by Ethiopia at the beginning of April 2011. This paper sets out to address the following question: Do these recent changes create an opportunity to incorporate a more equitable sharing of the waters in the Nile Basin legal regime? It examines how the new changes may affect the existing legal debates on the validity of the Nile Agreements, state succession given that Sudan has split into two nations, whether Ethiopia is bound by the 1902 Agreement to notify planned measures and whether the new GMD gives expression to the implementation of the equity principle. It concludes that there is some hope for a more equitable sharing of the Nile waters given the recent legal and political changes.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Mwanawina Ilyayambwa

Regional Integration versus National Sovereignty: A Southern African Perspective

in *Verfassung und Recht in Übersee*, vol. 44, issue 4



ABSTRACT: The 21st Century has presented a myriad of challenges to the world including terrorism, economic meltdown, poverty, unemployment and demands from the governed such as better living conditions and respect for human rights. These challenges have prompted a change in global governance trends. It has become evident that a state can no longer exist in isolation; there is a greater demand and advantage in entering into regional or international agreements in order to be able to survive in an increasingly interdependent world. However states are faced with a dilemma as to how far they have to shed their ability to control and dictate the internal affairs of their countries in favour of the international agreements that they have voluntarily entered into. This paper will bring into perspective the experience in Southern African Region and illustrate the conflict between municipal and international obligations, a conflict which can only be eradicated if a regional body has the constitutional prowess to influence domestic policy.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Ludovica Poli

Responsibility to Protect and the Role of International Organisations: the African Case
in *Quaderni di Relazioni Internazionali* , n. 15, novembre 2011 , 68-79

This paper explores the relationship between R2P and the enlargement of African organisations' capabilities in peace and security. After considering the origins of the doctrine and its inclusion in UN documents and practice, this analysis will examine the development (within ECOWAS and the AU) of response mechanisms to internal crises. These regional organisations have designed tools which can be used also when the UNSC fails to act, thus making their compliance with the UN Charter Chapter VIII questionable. A proposal to solve this issue is contained in the closing remarks.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Lippman Thomas W., Vatanka Alex, Mattair Thomas R.

Symposium: A Reawakened Rivalry: The GCC v. Iran
in *Middle East Policy* , Volume 18, Issue 4, Winter , 1-24

Full text available at <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1475-4967.2011.00507.x/pdf>.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East



Sarkin Jeremy

The African Commission on Human and People's Rights and the future African Court of Justice and Human Rights: Comparative lessons from the European Court of Human Rights

in *South African Journal of International Affairs* , vol. 18, issue 3 , 281-293

ABSTRACT: This article focuses on two regional human rights systems — the system that exists in Africa and the mechanism that exists within the Council of Europe. It examines the development and specifics of each system to determine what lessons the African Commission and the future African Court of Justice and Human Rights can learn from the European model and its Court of Human Rights. The article also examines what can be learnt from the role of the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights and the role of the present human rights court: the African Court of Human and Peoples' Rights. It examines the strengths and weaknesses of each system and the challenges that exist for each. The article also examines the experience of the European Commission, which is no longer in existence, in addition to European Court on Human Rights, which has taken over the functions of the Commission, to determine what can be drawn from their experiences. Issues examined include the institutional strengths and weaknesses of these bodies, state compliance with the decisions of the human rights institutions and the resources available to these bodies.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Forstenlechner Ingo, Rutledge Emilie Jane

The GCC's "Demographic Imbalance": Perceptions, Realities and Policy Options

in *Middle East Policy*, Volume 18, Issue 4, Winter , 25-43

Full text available at <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1475-4967.2011.00508.x/pdf>.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Burgos Cáceres Sigfrido

Towards Concert in Africa: Seeking Progress and Power through Cohesion and Unity

in *African Studies Quarterly*, vol. 12, issue 4, fall , 59-73

ABSTRACT: Economic development, power distribution, and security consolidation can be promoted collectively by states. Collective actions are predicated on acquiring strength through unity. A number of formal and informal institutional arrangements exist to advance broad and narrow goals. One of these is concert. The classical notion of concert is related to the balance of power that existed in Europe from the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815 to the outbreak of the First World War in 1914. A more contemporary notion of concert goes beyond power balancing, as it seeks to address economic, environmental, legal, military, political, trade, and socio-cultural issues. The African continent is not seeking an ideal form of multi-polar balance of power but rather is aiming to join forces to tackle the most pressing concerns of its societies: conflict, dictatorship, hunger, illiteracy, integration, poverty, public health, resource extraction, and water scarcity. The heterogeneous landscape of influence and power within the African Union creates two sets of states: core and peripheral. The most dominant states in the core advance progressive policy initiatives that uphold their national interests, while the remaining periphery follows as they stand to benefit from the spillover effects generated. Concert provides an effective platform for African states to assess, agree, and adopt coordinated positions on matters of common interests that can have national, regional, and international impacts. This



essay argues that cohesive agreements on adjustments, designs, and implementations of tactics, plans, and strategies are strengthened by multilateral communication of opinions, proposals, and views under concert.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Murungu Chacha Bhoke

Towards a Criminal Chamber in the African Court of Justice and Human Rights
in *Journal of International Criminal Justice*, Volume 9, Issue 5, November , 1067-1088

The African Union (AU) intends to establish a Criminal Chamber within the African Court of Justice and Human Rights (the Criminal Chamber) to prosecute persons responsible for international crimes in Africa. This article argues that calls by the AU to establish the Criminal Chamber arise from a chain of events beginning with the indictment and prosecution of some African individuals, including state officials, by the Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court (ICC), and the authorities in domestic courts of European states. It examines the basis for, and likely problems associated with, the establishment of a Criminal Chamber, and concludes that by establishing such a chamber, African states parties to the Rome Statute will act in breach of their obligations under that treaty. It recommends that African states and the AU must respect their international law obligations arising from the Rome Statute.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Ibironke Olabode

W.E.B. Du Bois and the ideology or anthropological discourse of modernity: the African Union reconsidered
in *Social Identities*, Volume 18, Issue 1, 2012 , 135-153

Abstract

Pan-Africanism is usually considered a progressive movement for black socio-political and economic advancement. This focus on activism alone sometimes occludes the profound philosophical issues that inform Pan-Africanist discourse. The last decade has witnessed tremendous changes in the ideological posture of the African Union (AU) as reflected in the change of name from the Organization of African Unity (OAU). This paper explores the historical and philosophical contexts for understanding the agenda of the African Union and highlights the consequences of such an agenda. The paper argues that the establishment of the African Union conforms to certain aspects of W.E.B. Du Bois's philosophy of Pan-Africanism that focuses on economic self reliance, at the same time that it uses Du Bois as a template for critiquing the neoliberal economic dispensation of the African Union implemented through its program, the New Partnership for Africa's Development. This it accomplishes with its emphasis on Du Bois's critique and skepticism of modernism and Western philanthropy.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 3. Cooperations and integration in Central and North America

Maihold Günther

Mexiko und die USA: zwischen NAFTA-Partnerschaft und Zweckgemeinschaft
in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 40-42, 2011



The full text is free:

www.bpb.de/publikationen/X0D7AA,0,Mexiko_und_die_USA%3A_zwischen_NAFTAPartnerschaft_und_Zweckgemeinschaft.html

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Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 3. Cooperations and integration in Central and North America

Esquivel Gerardo

The Dynamics of Income Inequality in Mexico since NAFTA

in *Economía*, Volume 12, Number 1, Fall 2011, pp. 155-179

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Jorge Di Masi

América del Sur, la Crisis Internacional y los Cambios en el Sistema Internacional

in *Relaciones internacionales* : revista publ. por el Instituto de Relaciones Internacionales, n°40

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Hugo Carvajal

Brasil: poder hegemónico o integrador

in *Cuadernos de pensamiento político*, Nr 33, Enero-Marzo



No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Berardo Ramiro, Gerlak Andrea K.

Conflict and Cooperation along International Rivers: Crafting a Model of Institutional Effectiveness in Global Environmental Politics, Volume 12, Issue 1, February , 101-120

The management of international rivers is increasingly marked by a heightened attention to and growth in institutions at the river-basin level to promote cooperation and resolve conflicts between states in a basin. Yet, little theoretical and empirical research exists to understand when these institutions are most effective. Here we draw from diverse literatures, including work on social and ecological systems, international institutions, common-pool resources, and international waters, to capture and integrate the design elements associated with effective collaborative management along an international river. We apply and test the validity of our model in a plausibility probe through the analysis of the conflict between Argentina and Uruguay over the construction of pulp mills along the Uruguay River, and the role of the established and functioning river basin organization—the Administrative Commission of the Uruguay River (CARU)—in this conflict. We re-examine our model based on our case findings to highlight the challenge and role of public input and representation in institutional effectiveness along international rivers.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Olmedo González Hernán

Diez años de la Carta Democrática Interamericana: un régimen internacional para la defensa de la democracia in Revista Electrónica de Estudios Internacionales, Número 22, diciembre 2011

September 11 marked the tenth anniversary of the signing of the Inter-American Democratic Charter. This document contains a set of principles, rules, legal and diplomatic procedures which constitute an international regime for the defense of democracy in the Inter-American system. This study reveals that ten years after its signing, this document has been invoked in various institutional crisis that occurred in Latin America. However, this article evidence that in cases of institutional crisis studied this international regime has not shown primacy over the sovereignty of member States.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Hofstetter Marc

Inflation Targeting in Latin America: Toward a Monetary Union?
in *Economía*, Volume 12, Number 1, Fall 2011 , pp. 71-112

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

César Augusto Bermúdez Torres

MERCOSUR y UNASUR: una mirada a la integración regional a comienzos del siglo XXI
in *Análisis político* , Vol. 24, issue 72 , 115-

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Courtis Christian

Notes on the Implementation by Latin American Courts of the ILO Convention 169 on Indigenous Peoples in International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights, Volume 18, Number 4, "Contrasted Perspectives on Recognition and Implementation of Indigenous Rights" , 433-460

This article presents some emblematic cases of the application of the International Labour Organization (ILO) Convention 169 Concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Nations by Latin American courts. I chose a small number of cases that cover diverse topics and represent different countries in the region, as well as the regional court of human rights - the Inter-American Court of Human Rights. It is clear that there has been considerable experience in the application of Convention 169 in Latin America, with some countries having developed important jurisprudence through a significant number of judgments in the field. Therefore, this work makes no pretence of being an exhaustive review of the material: the perspective adopted is simply to select a handful of cases, based on the novelty of interpretation offered or on the relevance of its consequences. Before outlining the cases, I make some preliminary clarifications that may be useful in explaining the material presented here, and the context in which they should be understood.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Lanzaro Jorge

Social Democracy in the Global South: Brazil, Chile and Uruguay in a Comparative Perspective
in *Social Europe Journal*, Volume 6, Issue 1, Summer/Autumn , 33-43

<http://www.social-europe.eu/wp-content/uploads/2011/07/SocialEurope-19.pdf>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Daniel Flandes, Detlef Nolte, Leslie Wehner

Una comunidad de seguridad regional en formación : la UNASUR y su Consejo de Defensa
in *Estudios internacionales : revista del Instituto de Estudios Internacionales de la Universidad de Chile*, Vol. 44, No. 170 , 105-127

This article examines the continuing process of establishment and formal and informal institutionalization of UNASUR's and its Security Defence Council through action and discourse. We claim that both are in an «ascent» phase, and that



the aims of the group's leading countries are to create a «rigorous» regional grouping. Paradoxically, evidence points to crises as main elements that drive these countries to strengthen the institution. Moreover, the role placed by UNASUR during crises becomes a mechanism for achieving institutional balance and balance of power vis-à-vis the OAS and the United States.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Alessandro Politi

Una dottrina Monroe sudamericana?

in **CeMiSS - Osservatorio Strategico e Quarterly**, XIII, n. 9 , 63-68

Il 5 settembre 2011, nell'ambito di una bilaterale di Difesa tra Argentina e Brasile, è stata formulato a livello politico un concetto di comunità di sicurezza dell'America del Sud che implica anche una capacità di dissuasione politica e militare rispetto a possibili interventi di paesi terzi, oltre che il definitivo accantonamento dell'uso della forza all'interno del subcontinente americano.

In uno scenario d'accresciuta competizione per beni strategici di primaria importanza (cibo, acqua potabile, energia e minerali) e di possibile frammentazione delle regole della sicurezza internazionale, è stata sottolineata la fragilità militare dei paesi dell'area, che si traduce in una condizione di grave vulnerabilità, dove l'essere pacifici può essere percepito come essere indifesi.

Sotto la spinta di Brasile ed Argentina, unite in un'alleanza strategica, e con l'appoggio del Venezuela, si stanno creando alternative politiche e strategiche alla tradizionale egemonia americana. Vi sono obiettivi ostacoli geostrategici, d'interesse nazionale, di rischi da affrontare e di risorse militari per arrivare ad una comune identità di difesa, ma i paesi latinoamericani hanno sinora impiegato tre anni per bruciare traguardi in cui l'Europa ha dovuto lavorare per un ventennio.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Jaime García Covarrubias



¿Hacia donde va el Consejo de Defensa Sudamericano?

in *Relaciones internacionales* : revista publ. por el Instituto de Relaciones Internacionales , n°40

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Lorena Di Placido

1991-2011: What remains of the Soviet Union?

in *CeMiSS - Osservatorio Strategico e Quarterly*, A. IX, Summer , 67-71

Between August and September of 1991 the Central Asian republics have begun the process of independence from the Soviet Union¹. Without any previous experience, they were immediately involved in challenges such as state building and national identity, control of territory and many other issues, frozen during the USSR common membership and re-emerged in the aftermath of its breakup. New tools were sought to overcome the stabilization problems, the definition of open bilateral issues, the arrival of extra-regional partners interested in gaining some advantage in the new Eurasia. Several regional organizations were established on the initiative of Moscow, that tried to reproduce the cooperation mechanisms of the USSR. Moreover, in post-Soviet period the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), an organization whose members are Russia, China and four of the five Central Asian republics, grew up.

At the Astana Summit in June 2011, China took over the SCO presidency. The first major event organized by Beijing was the SCO Council of Regional Antiterrorism Structure nineteenth meeting. The debate within the organization is back again on the fight against three evil forces of terrorism, separatism and extremism, the core interest of members since the foundation. In view of the terrorist attacks of summer 2009 and 2011 in Xinjiang and due to the constant tension that characterizes the relationship between Han and Uighur population in that area, the first official act of the Chinese chairmanship is charged with an additional meaning, addressed to national security.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Shinichi Kitaoka

A New Asian Order and the Role of Japan

in *Asia Pacific Review*, Volume 18, Issue 2 , 1-13

China is changing the international order in East Asia. It is not only a matter of a power transition, but also a matter of a change in the international system. Chinese people tend to see the world order in hierarchical terms as they did for centuries; nationalism is used as a tool of national integration; and government control of the military is weakening. These are the factors behind the rise of China. If these trends continue, a hierarchical order with China as hegemon might be established in East Asia. It seems as if we are returning to the period before the nineteenth century when China led the world. However, the international order in the twenty-first century has to be based upon such principles as



the rule of law, peaceful solution of conflict, democracy, and human rights. In order to establish such an order, Japan and other countries that have committed to those values should unite firmly. China also would benefit very much from that order in the long run.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

J. Reilly

A Norm-Taker or a Norm-Maker? Chinese aid in Southeast Asia
in *Journal of Contemporary China*, Volume 21, Issue 73 , 71-91

As China expands its development assistance in Southeast Asia, is Chinese aid beginning to emulate international norms and practices or sustaining its own distinct approach to development assistance? This essay argues that China's socialization into international norms varies with the thickness of the institutional environment. In Laos and Cambodia, China's enhanced collaboration with international consortia, improved transparency, and project diversity point to nascent socialization. China's aid to Myanmar, however, remains opaque and largely self-interested. At the regional level, Beijing is bolstering its influence over the norms and practices of regional developmental institutions.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Chen Lurong, Cuyvers Ludo, De Lombaerde Philippe, Kusumaningtias Wahyu Mukti

An ASEAN–EU FTA, Regional Production Sharing, and Regional Cohesion, Focus on Cambodia, Laos and Myanmar
in *South African Journal of Economics (The)*, December 2011 - Volume 79, Issue 4 , 411-427

This article focuses on the potential effects of an Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN)–European Union (EU) Free Trade Agreement (FTA) for Cambodia, Laos and Myanmar (C-L-M), the least developed economies of ASEAN. The authors explore how the particular structure of the ASEAN production sharing network might shed light on the transmission of effects. Gravity models for intra-regional trade are estimated for that purpose. Whereas the existing computable general equilibrium (CGE) analyses consider C-L-M as one rest category, a country-level analysis for the C-L-M countries is presented.

It is shown that it is not straightforward that C-L-M would win from an ASEAN–EU FTA. At best, marginal absolute positive effects might be expected for the C-L-M economies. In relative terms, an FTA is not likely to contribute to more economic (and political?) cohesion in the region. It is therefore argued that it makes sense to (re-) connect C-L-M to the negotiation process.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Manmohan Agarwal, Madanmohan Ghosh

An India–China FTA Potential Economic Implications for the Asian and the North American Economies
in *South Asia Economic Journal*, Vol. 12, No. 2 , 185-220



In a recent visit to India the Chinese president, Hu Jintao, proposed closer economic relations between China and India, possibly a India–China free trade area (FTA). These two economies have been experiencing rapid growth during the last couple of decades and in recent years trade between these two nations has grown spectacularly. This article analyzes the implications of a possible India–China FTA on trade flows, real output and investment both at the aggregate and industry levels in India, China, the rest of Asia, the North American and European economies using a multi-sector, multi-region dynamic computable general equilibrium (CGE) model. Our simulation results suggest that the overall economic gains to India and China would be modest. The distribution of the economic gains, however, depends on the speed of elimination of the bilateral tariffs. China gains more if the tariffs are eliminated immediately, whereas India gains more from gradual liberalization. India's exports to China could expand by almost 57 per cent, while imports from China could increase by over 240 per cent implying an increased bilateral trade deficit. Output in each sector in India would increase. Sectors such as clothing, leather, textiles and motor vehicles and parts would gain the most in India.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Bewicke Aurora E.

Asian Developments in Access to Counsel: A Comparative Study

in Northwestern University Journal of International Human Rights, vol. 10, issue 2, fall

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

C. J. Petersen

Bridging the Gap?: The Role of Regional and National Human Rights Institutions in the Asia Pacific

in Asia-Pacific Law and Policy Journal , Volume 13, Issue 1 , 174-209

Although the United Nations has been encouraging the development of regional human rights mechanisms for decades, there is still no regional human rights commission or human rights court in the Asia Pacific region. The lack of such a mechanism is often attributed to the region's vast size and to the diversity of political, economic, and religious traditions. Yet it also reflects the region's strong commitment to Westphalian concepts of sovereignty and the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of neighboring countries. Taken together, these factors make it difficult to persuade governments in the Asia Pacific to give independent investigatory or judicial power to a regional (or even sub-regional) human rights institution.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Kazuhiko Noguchi

Bringing Realism Back In: Explaining China's Strategic Behavior in the Asia-Pacific

in Asia Pacific Review, Volume 18, Issue 2 , 60-85

This article argues that offensive realism is applicable to explain China's strategic behavior. Contrary to constructivist and liberal arguments, ideational and domestic factors are not the primary causes of China's strategic behavior. Instead,



structural and material factors such as anarchy and the distribution of relative power significantly shape how China behaves in the Asia-Pacific. Furthermore, they have a larger impact relative to non-material/unit-level variables on China's policymaking. Available evidence strongly indicates that China's strategic behavior is driven by power maximizing calculation. China's grand strategy, its maritime ambition as well as naval modernization, and rapid growth rate of military expenditure all confirm the hypotheses of offensive realism.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

M. Beeson; Fujian Li

Charmed or Alarmed? Reading China's regional relations
in *Journal of Contemporary China*, Volume 21, Issue 73 , 35-51

China has rapidly re-emerged as a major regional power in East Asia. Although this represents a return to a long-established historical pattern, the ability of China's political elites to reassure nervous neighbours about the implications of its rise will be a major test of its evolving and increasingly sophisticated foreign policies. In this paper we focus primarily on China's regional engagement strategies, detailing the way such initiatives are understood in China, and the way they are received elsewhere. We focus primarily on the political and economic impacts of China's policies, and briefly consider their reception in Northeast Asia and Southeast Asia. We highlight the different dynamics and issues that China's policymakers must consider in each area, and suggest that despite some difficulties and tensions, on balance, China's policies are proving surprisingly effective.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

J. D. Ciorciari

Chiang Mai Initiative Multilateralization: international politics and institution-building in Asia
in *Asian Survey* , Vol. 51, No. 5, September/October , 926-952

In 2010, the Chiang Mai Initiative Multilateralization agreement established a new Asian financial arrangement to help address potential currency or liquidity crises. This articles analyzes the origins and basic features of the new arrangement, which treflect both progress and the continuing political challenges of building regional institutions in Asia.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

N. Bisley

China's Rise and the Making of East Asia's Security Architecture
in *Journal of Contemporary China*, Volume 21, Issue 73 , 19-34

This article examines the recent growth in multilateral security processes, the efforts to forge a 'security architecture', and focuses particularly on the role that China's rise has played in this process. It sketches out growth in Asian security cooperation and the efforts to forge a new security architecture. It then considers the question of China as a cause of this increase in security cooperation as well as China's own motives in actively engaging with this process. The final section then reflects on the contribution that security cooperation currently makes to the regional order. The article



argues that China's rise has been an important prompt to the efforts to devise new security arrangements, but has not been the only source of this trend. It concludes that while multilateral security cooperation will be important in the emerging regional order, alone it will not provide a robust foundation for regional stability and security.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Chin Gregory, Stubbs Richard

China, regional institution-building and the China–ASEAN Free Trade Area

in Review of International Political Economy, Volume 18, Issue 3, 2011 , pages 277-298

This article uses the concepts of critical juncture and feedback effects in historical institutionalism to examine China's role in promoting a China–ASEAN Free Trade Area (CAFTA). The first section examines the specific combination of structural factors and key intervention from Chinese policymakers that triggered the CAFTA process. The second section outlines the details of the CAFTA negotiations, analyzing the feedback effects that shaped the path and eventual outcomes of the CAFTA Agreement. Attention is given to China's initiation of a programme of 'early harvest' agreements that were added to the CAFTA Agreement Framework in order to help persuade the hesitant states in the region to enlist in the China-led conception of Asian regionalism.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

P.J. Bolt

Contemporary Sino-Southeast Asian Relations

in China: an International Journal, Volume: 9, Issue: 2, September , 276-298

China's growth has brought important benefits to Southeast Asia. China's "new diplomacy" has accommodated many of the region's political concerns and its economic expansion has been an engine of growth for Southeast Asia. However, China's rise brings challenges as well. China's rapid naval build-up, more intensified disputes in the South China Sea, environmental problems and questions over China's ultimate goals create concerns in the region. Southeast Asia's strategy has been to accommodate China's rise while striving to maintain the American position in the region. Southeast Asia has been successful in this strategy, although this balance will be increasingly difficult as China's power increases.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Hyug-Baeg Im; Yu-Jeong Choi

Inter-Korean and Cross-Strait Relations through the Window of Regional Integration Theories

in Asian Survey , Vol. 51, No. 5, September/October , 785-811

This article examines why although the two Koreas have had many talks and reached many agreements, economic cooperation and exchanges have met setbacks, stalemate, spillback, and not spillover. It also explores why the two Chinas have made a relatively successful case of functionalist cooperation and exchanges but have failed to make economic cooperation spill over into political cooperation in a neo-functionalist "pack-age deal".



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

M. de Bruyn

Inter-Korean cooperation in the fisheries industry: modeling trust and peace building on the ECSC
in *Asia Europe Journal*, Volume 9, Number 1 , 1-11

The predecessor of the European Union (EU), the European Coal and Steel Community, was successful in its dual goal of providing peace and prosperity to the European subcontinent in large part because its institutions fostered enduring relations between government officials. Mirroring the European focus on coal and steel, this paper suggests inter-Korean cooperation in the fisheries industry. The Yellow Sea border and the disputed Northern Limit Line has been the scene of deadly clashes between the two Koreas. Cooperation in the fisheries industry would provide economic benefits while it can build trusting relations between the two Koreas as a necessary condition for political cooperation. As coal and steel were only a start for the EU, and implemented clearly with greater political goals in mind, so can the integration of the fishery industries provide a similar starting point in the search for peace and security for the Korean peninsula.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Hiro Katsumata

Japanese popular culture in East Asia: a new insight into regional community building
in *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, Volume 12 Issue 1, January , 133-160

This article seeks to enhance our understanding of an East Asian community by focusing on its cultural aspect. The specific focus of analysis is Japanese popular culture, whose elements include J-pop music, TV dramas, movies, manga (comic books), and anime (animations). This article sheds light on the progress of community building in the cultural sphere by demonstrating that Japanese popular culture has been favored by the people in the East Asian region. By so doing, it modifies our common beliefs about the characteristics of an East Asian community and our conventional expectations of the nature of an East Asian regional identity.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Claudia Astarita

La SAARC offre a India e Pakistan un nuovo contesto in cui cooperare
in *CeMiSS - Osservatorio Strategico e Quarterly*, XIII, n. 11 , 58-62

Nonostante non sia stato raggiunto nessun accordo specifico, l'incontro Saarc del 10-11 novembre può essere considerato un grande successo sotto diversi punti di vista. La Saarc, letteralmente South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation, è l'associazione che



coinvolge tutti i paesi dell'Asia del Sud, India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Maldive, Nepal e Sri Lanka, con l'aggiunta di Cina, Australia, Unione Europea, Iran, Giappone, Corea del Sud, Mauritius, Myanmar e Stati Uniti che, in tempi diversi, sono stati ammessi come paesi osservatori.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Lorena Di Placido

La presidenza cinese della SCO torna alle origini

in CeMiSS - Osservatorio Strategico e Quarterly, XIII, n. 9 , 71-73

Al vertice di Astana del giugno 2011 la Cina ha assunto la presidenza della Organizzazione di Shanghai per la Cooperazione. Il primo evento di rilievo organizzato da Pechino è stata la XIX riunione del Consiglio della Struttura Regionale Antiterrorismo della SCO (secondo l'acronimo internazionale RATS, Regional Anti Terrorism Structure). Il dibattito interno all'Organizzazione è tornato nuovamente sulla lotta ai tre mali del terrorismo, del separatismo e dell'estremismo, al centro degli interessi dei membri sin dalla fondazione. In considerazione degli attacchi terroristici delle estati 2009 e 2011 nel Xinjiang e della costante tensione che caratterizza i rapporti tra popolazione uigura e han in quell'area, il primo atto ufficiale della presidenza cinese si carica di un ulteriore significato, tutto rivolto alla sicurezza nazionale.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Sun Wei, Simons Gerald

Monetary Integration in East Asia: Evidence from Real Effective Exchange Rates

in Review of International Economics, Volume 19, Issue 5, November 2011 , 865-876

This paper investigates the feasibility of forming a monetary union in East Asia by examining the cointegration and causality of the real effective exchange rates of local currencies. A "pentagon" group of five countries is found—South Korea, the Philippines, Thailand, Indonesia, and Malaysia—which may have potential for success for further monetary



integration. Singapore is loosely tied to this group. The Greater China area—China, Hong Kong and Taiwan—does not show any significant degree of integration either internally or externally. Neither a yen bloc nor a US dollar bloc is forming in East Asia.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

A. Capling, J. Ravenhill

Multilateralising regionalism: what role for the Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement? in *Pacific Review (The)* , Volume 24, Issue 5 , 553-575

The Asia-Pacific region is home to a large and rapidly growing number of preferential trade agreements (PTAs). These agreements differ widely in design, scope and purpose. The “noodle bowl” that has resulted runs the risk of distorting investment and trade. Neither global institutions (the WTO) nor regional institutions such as the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) grouping have successfully addressed these issues. Amidst this increasingly messy situation, the proposed Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) agreement stands out for a range of important economic and political reasons, not least of which is its potential to take existing PTAs in the Asia-Pacific region in a new direction. The aim of the TPP negotiators is to produce a comprehensive, high quality, multi-party agreement to tame the tangle of PTAs and be a potential stepping stone to achieving the goal of liberalizing regional trade on a non-discriminatory basis. The economic gains from removing border barriers among the countries involved in the initial TPP negotiations are likely to be limited, however, given the small size of many of the economies and the existing PTAs among them. To date, the US has been unwilling to offer a single set of arrangements for all TPP partners, preferring to build on existing bilateral agreements. Pessimism about the immediate results from the TPP should be tempered, however, by considerations of the dynamics that it might set in train; on the other hand, it has the potential to divide the region and exacerbate China’s concerns about “containment”.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Lorena Di Placido

Quale SCO e quale Afghanistan dopo il 2014? in *CeMiSS - Osservatorio Strategico e Quarterly*, XIII, n. 11 , 75-77

Il 2014, data annunciata per il ritiro delle truppe della coalizione internazionale dall’Afghanistan, potrebbe rappresentare una sorta di spartiacque tra un “prima”, nel quale la sicurezza regionale era di fatto delegata ad attori extraregionali, e un “dopo”, nel quale, verosimilmente, dovranno essere gli stessi centroasiatici ad assumersi la responsabilità del proprio futuro, con il sostegno delle potenze regionali. Anche di questo si è discusso al vertice dei capi di governo di San Pietroburgo del 7 novembre 2011.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

D. McDougall

Responses to 'Rising China' in the East Asian Region: soft balancing with accommodation
in *Journal of Contemporary China*, Volume 21, Issue 73 , 1-17

While the strategic response to 'rising China' in the broader East Asian region has been varied, the strongest emphasis has been on 'soft balancing'. This approach is clearly evident in the strategies pursued by the most significant of the major powers, the United States, Japan and India, as well as by other powers such as Australia, Indonesia and Vietnam. However, other responses such as accommodation and hedging have also featured for various states within the region. Frequently the response of a particular state will involve a number of elements. Soft balancing is most prominent in relation to the security dimension. Economic interaction encourages other kinds of responses. Whatever the overall approach adopted, a key factor is domestic politics, particularly the perceptions of the relevant elites.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Kim Hyung Jong, Lee Poh Ping

The Changing Role of Dialogue in the International Relations of Southeast Asia
in *Asian Survey* , Vol. 51, No. 5, September/October , 953-970

ASEAN's dialogue mechanism has been evolving from consensus-seeking to strategic means, to use the Habermas distinction. This consensus norm was maintained during the Cold War because of rapport among ASEAN leaders and the presence of an external threat. However, ASEAN expansion to 10 countries, the emergence of non-traditional threats to security, and democratization have weakened this norm.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Gimet Celine

The Vulnerability of Asean+3 Countries to International Financial Crises
in *Review of International Economics*, Volume 19, Issue 5, November 2011 , 894-908

This article focuses on the reaction of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) economies to international financial shocks. The crises in emerging markets at the end of the last century underlined the significant vulnerability of the emerging ASEAN economies to international financial fluctuations and a lack of sustainability in their exchange rate regime. A structural VAR model is used to analyze the efficiency of the measures adopted by these countries after this episode of crisis in order to protect their economies against speculative attacks. The results reveal that the impact of the recent subprime crisis on emerging ASEAN countries is less significant than that observed in industrialized ones.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area



Hale Thomas

The de facto preferential trade agreement in East Asia

in *Review of International Political Economy*, Volume 18, Issue 3, 2011 , pages 299-327

East Asian countries apply lower tariffs on their neighbors' products than they are required to under the various trade agreements to which they belong, a concession they grant only rarely to countries outside the region. The result is a de facto preferential trade area in East Asia in which applied tariff rates significantly undercut the legally bound rates. This gap, termed binding overhang, is an under-studied aspect of international political economy, but provides information about the nature of East Asian regionalism. To wit, the regional bias in applied tariffs is driven by transnational production networks that must move components across borders, not geopolitics or state preferences for increased regional integration. This finding supports a 'bottom up' interpretation of East Asian regionalism.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Munro James

The relationship between the origins and regime design of the ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights (AICHR)

in *International Journal of Human Rights (The)*, Vol. 15, issue 8 , 1185-1214

The reasons why states come together and create regional or international human rights institutions have puzzled scholars of both international law and international relations. In many ways, it does not make obvious sense for states to create such institutions: their focus is not on interstate relations but instead on the domestic relationship between a state and its citizens, and they impose sovereignty costs without conferring obvious benefits. In response to this theoretical puzzle, a number of theoretical propositions have been suggested in the literature. The newly-established ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights (AICHR) offers a topical case study to test which theory can best explain the creation of interstate human rights mechanisms. Not only does this article analyse why ASEAN member states created the AICHR, but also seeks to link this 'why' question to our understanding the regime design of the AICHR. This article thus takes four major features of the AICHR and illustrates how our understanding of their efficacy depends upon how we understand the reasons why ASEAN created this body in the first instance. While this article concludes that the complex matrix of forces at play in ASEAN make it impossible in practice to advance a generalised theory for why states create interstate human rights institutions, ASEAN's intense interest in conforming to global cultural scripts illustrates how regional human rights institutions have become a 'normal' part of the regional community-building process.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Camilla Jensen, Nasra Kara

Trade Policy Review – Malaysia 2010

in *World Economy*, Volume 34, Issue 11 , 1467-9701

The paper reviews the recently completed Trade Policy Review for Malaysia. We find that in the case of Malaysia trade has been liberalised and subjected to structural changes to a very high extent over the last three decades. However, reform has been less effective when it comes to trade-related policies such as investment policies and other national



policies that de facto rather than de jure affect competition due to differential treatment of different firms, brands and individuals. This is also mirrored in the faltering levels of investment in Malaysia. An area where Malaysia has been successful is the reorientation towards services. A good example is the tourism industry which is mature and a major export industry in Malaysia today. Nascent service industries such as health, finance, ICT related services and education hold promise to become important export earners in the future. The paper shows that for this new phase of structural change to be truly successful Malaysia must prioritise trade negotiations and integration with her own region and especially ASEAN.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Chee-Heong Quaha, Patrick M. Crowley

Which country should be the monetary anchor for East Asia: the US, Japan or China?
in **Journal of the Asia Pacific Economy (The)**, Volume 17, Issue 1 , 94-112

In this paper, we apply the optimum currency area (OCA) criteria to assess the suitability of whether the US, Japan or China would best serve as the monetary anchor country for East Asian countries. The OCA criteria used are trade openness, business cycle synchronisation, real exchange rate volatility, inflation convergence and real interest rate cycle synchronisation. The 'performance' of these potential anchor countries is compared before and after the Asian financial crisis. The findings suggest an increase in the potential for China as a monetary anchor in the future but the US dollar likely still is the most obvious choice of anchor currency. From an endogenous OCA perspective, the findings also broadly support the existing currency boards in Hong Kong and Macau and the monetary union between Singapore and Brunei.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

W. Moon

Whither East Asian economic integration? Korea's regionalization cum globalization strategy
in **Asia Europe Journal**, Volume 9, Number 1 , 29-42

The recent regionalization in East Asia can be defined in terms of regionalization cum globalization. In the case of Europe, regionalization was originally intended to create a preferential and protected area. From its inception, however, regionalization in East Asia emphasized open membership and global liberalization. This so-called open regionalism was then adopted as a fundamental principle of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC). Given that APEC is an inter-regional institution, however, the concept of open regionalism is not applicable to characterize exclusively Asian integration process that gained momentum on the basis of the ASEAN's framework. For many East Asian countries, a regionalization initiative, especially after the 1997 financial crisis, was a natural response to cope with globalization. Indeed, although East Asian economies are increasingly regionalized, the global market remains crucial and exclusively Asian arrangements are still rare. Globalization and regionalization processes are mutually reinforcing. Singapore is one example that developed into a regional economic hub through the regionalization cum globalization strategy. Given that Korea concluded recently two important free trade areas with the USA and the EU, Korea is also capable of building such a regional economic hub. The first step is to strengthen a cooperation network between the three Northeast Asian countries, China, Japan, and Korea. This network, together with ASEAN, is expected to catalyze



the regional integration in East Asia and shape its future evolution.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Prabir De

Why is trade at borders a costly affair in South Asia? An empirical investigation in Contemporary South Asia, Volume 19, Issue 4 , 441-464

Through the agreement on the South Asian Free Trade Area (SAFTA), South Asian countries are now looking towards deeper integration of the region. Nevertheless, South Asia is far from realising its full potential. The econometric evidence provided in this article strengthens the existing linkage of trade costs, transit and trade flows; the higher the transaction costs between each pair of trade partners, the less they trade. The analysis given in this article shows that improved trade facilitation would enhance regional trade very much the same way tariff liberalisation does. This article also suggests that an important means of promoting regional trade could be improved trade facilitation, which will not only enhance regional trade but will also strengthen the trade capacity of the landlocked countries.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Enchelmaier Stefan

Always at Your Service (Within Limits): The ECJ's Case Law on Article 56 TFEU (2006-11)
in *European Law Review*, Vol. 36, issue 5 , 615-651

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Fabrizio MARONTA

Dall'America all'Europa: le molte facce dell'inverno occidentale
in *Limes*, n. 6, 2011

Il ricorso ai 'titoli spazzatura' nei paesi più sviluppati ha stravolto gli equilibri fra finanza ed 'economia reale'. Dal dissesto bancario a quello economico, sociale e politico. In Europa il sisma ha incrociato la crisi del progetto euro. Le carte che ci restano.

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Balaguer Callejón Francisco

Derecho y justicia en el ordenamiento constitucional europeo
in *Revista de Derecho Constitucional Europeo* , n. 16

Este trabajo visita nuevamente el problema clásico de la relación entre justicia y derecho, que no siempre supone una



composición homogénea. Concretamente atiende a esa cuestión en el ámbito del derecho constitucional europeo. Para trazar el juego de pares se centra primero en los déficit democráticos de naturaleza genética de la Unión; a continuación analiza la situación tras la reforma del Tratado de Lisboa y, finalmente, propone la necesaria profundización democrática y social.

Full text available at:

<http://www.ugr.es/~redce/REDCE16/articulos/07FBalaguer.htm#abstract>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Sergio ROSSI

L'eurocrisi vista da Berna

in *Limes*, QS - L'importanza di essere Svizzera

Aumento del potere d'acquisto, boom del commercio transfrontaliero e occasioni di shopping industriale. Ma anche contrazione dell'export, calo del turismo, minacce speculative. I travagli europei hanno pro e contro per la Svizzera.

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van der Pijl Kees, Holman Otto, Raviv Or

The resurgence of German capital in Europe: EU integration and the restructuring of Atlantic networks of interlocking directorates after 1991

in *Review of International Political Economy*, Volume 18, Issue 3, 2011 , pages 384-408

European integration is interpreted in this paper as the route by which (West) Germany, profiting from close ties with the English-speaking West, was able to restore its full sovereignty and economic pre-eminence in Europe. Yet in shaping the actual integration process, it was France which played the key role. Most of the landmark steps towards the current EU were French proposals to pre-empt Anglophone–German collusion; creating European structures in which a resurgence of Germany (politically and economically) was made subject to permanent negotiation. German unification in 1991 removed the one reason why successive governments of the Federal Republic had gone along with this. Paradoxically, sovereign Germany today finds itself bound by the dense networks of consultation and decision-making which make the EU unique in the field of regional integration. The paper shows that between 1992 and 2005, German capital has moved to the centre of the network of corporate interlocks in the North Atlantic area. This helps to explain why in the post-1991, post-Soviet era of neoliberal, finance-driven globalisation, Germany is increasingly 'speaking for Europe', as its corporations have become nodal points in the communication structures through which the responses to the challenges facing the EU and the West at large are being shaped.

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Paolo Prodi

Un'identità in movimento: l'Europa come rivoluzione permanente

in *Quaderni di sociologia*, Vol. LV, n. 55



No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Pöder Kaire, Kerem Kaie

"Social Models" in a European Comparison. Convergence or Divergence?

in Eastern European Economics, Volume 49, Number 5 / September-October 2011 , 55-74

We show that principal component analysis enables the construction of geographic divisions of European social models—Nordic, Anglo-Saxon, Mediterranean, Continental, and Postcommunist, that basically follow Esping-Andersen's (1990) welfare regime typology. Instead of Esping-Andersen's criteria of "decommodification" and "stratification," which create typologies of the welfare states—liberal, conservative-corporatist, and social democratic, we compose "social protection" and "commodification" indexes. However, as expected, social-democratic Nordic countries have relatively low "commodification" and high "social protection" scores compared to the other countries. There are some outliers relative to existing typologies—Hungary and the Czech Republic are connected to the Mediterraneans, while Portugal is grouped with the liberal Anglo-Saxons.

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Posener Alan

'Arabischer Frühling' - Europäischer Herbst? - Essay

in Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte, Band 39, 2011

The full text is free:

www.bpb.de/publikationen/9N7J9B,0,Arabischer_Fr%FChling_Europ%E4ischer_Herbst_Essay.html

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Keine gemeinsame Außenpolitik

Europa tritt gegenüber der arabischen Welt imperialistisch auf

Die Türkei ist der Schlüssel zur Zukunft der Region

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Martinico Giuseppe

'Dating Cinderella: On Subsidiarity as a Political Safeguard of Federalism in the European Union'



in *European public Law*, Volume 17 (2011) Issue 4 , 649–660

The aim of this article is to provide a brief overview of the debate on the subsidiarity principle. Subsidiarity is one of the most ambiguous and debated notions in law, and it definitively belongs to all the legal disciplines, from EU law to constitutional and administrative laws, passing through human rights law. The debate on this principle has been enriched recently by a number of articles and books focused on the new provisions concerning national parliaments included in the Lisbon Treaty.

When dealing with subsidiarity, the impression, at the first glance, is that of a Cinderella principle because of its evanescent nature (rule or principle?) and of its difficult justiciability. This article suggests that just a strong change in the European Court of Justice's (ECJ's) case law might transform our Cinderella into a real constitutional principle.

Despite the vast existing literature, I have decided to focus on a few, in my view, fundamental readings on this point by attempting to describe the noble design behind the introduction of the subsidiarity principle in EU law and the re-evaluation of the weight of this concept in the practice of courts. In doing so, I started from the recent contribution of Robert Schütze, in Chapter 5 of his book, *From Dual to Cooperative Federalism: The Changing Structure of European Law*, which defines subsidiarity as a 'political safeguard' of EU federalism.

The first part of this article thus will be devoted to the analysis of this work. As will be evident after a few lines, I share the comparative approach chosen by Schütze, but despite this methodological convergence, our conclusions are different.

In the second part of this article, I will try to show how the interpretation of subsidiarity, as followed by the ECJ, is misleading and, consequently, how the choice of the Lisbon Treaty to rely on the national parliaments as the most suitable watchdogs of subsidiarity has to be regarded as unsatisfactory.

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Colliat Rémi

A Critical Genealogy of European Macroeconomic Governance

in *European law journal*, Vol 18 Issue 1 - January , 6–23

Starting with a brief description of the underlying eco-institutional intricacies of the European Union, in the first part of this article, we will examine their early theoretical premises and the more recent developments that have dictated their form. In the second part, we will attempt to give an overview of the economic constitution of the Union, exposing its limits before concluding with some normative reflections about its mechanisms of coordination.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Keil Soeren

A Never-Ending Dream: The United States of Europe

in *Federalist Debate (The)*, Year XXIV, n. 3, November , 9-12



<http://www.federalist-debate.org/fdb/current/index.bfr>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Schroder Gerhard

A Robust Vision of Europe

in New Perspectives Quarterly, Vol. 28, Issue 4, Fall , 11-13

The sovereign debt problem in Europe, ignited by Greece, has morphed into an economic crisis challenging the solvency of major banks and countries as well as a generalized crisis of governance. Lacking the legitimacy of public support, the leaders of the European Union's fledgling institutions have been indecisive and unable to contain the looming danger of financial contagion. Along with the economic slowdown in the United States, instability and volatility in Europe threaten to derail the fragile global recovery.

In this section, several former European leaders as well as political figures from the emerging economies offer their ideas on how to fix Europe and stem the global threat.

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Priestley Julian

A chink of light in the EU's democratic gloom

in Europe's World, Issue 19, Autumn

It is useless to pretend that Europe's voters either like or respect the EU's democratic underpinnings, even though the European Parliament has made so much progress over three decades. Julian Priestley, who headed the EP's administration as Secretary General for 10 years until 2007, argues that the coming contest between its two main political groupings to secure the EU Commission's top job may open up a new era in EU democracy.

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21916/language/en-US/Default.aspx

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Jutta Joachim, Matthias Dembinski

A contradiction in terms? NGOs, democracy, and European foreign and security policy

in Journal of European Public Policy , Volume 18, Issue 8 2011 , 1151-1168

In this contribution, we use a governance lens to assess the possibilities for political participation of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in the European Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). We illustrate their engagement in the case of the European Code of Conduct/Common Position on Arms Export. We show that, while processes related to the emergence of the Code fit the description of intergovernmental approaches, developments since then, however,



more closely resemble governance. With the growing institutionalization of the CFSP in general, and that related to the Code in particular, access points for NGOs became increasingly available. Through information and symbolic politics as well as rhetorical entrapment, civil society organizations contributed not only to the tightening and widening of the Code's provisions, but also to the increasing willingness of governments to provide information to each other as well as their own publics about arms exports.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Pedrazza Gorlero Maurizio

A la búsqueda de la "forma con condicionante: Introducción a las relaciones entre Tribunales constitucionales nacionales y Tribunales europeos después del Tratado de Lisboa

in *Revista de derecho politico*, n. 81 , 289-322

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Muscатели Vito A., Natale Piergiovanna, Tirelli Patrizio

A simple and flexible alternative to Stability and Growth Pact deficit ceilings. Is it at hand?

in *European Journal of Political Economy*, Volume 28, Issue 1, March 2012 , Pages 14-26

We model a monetary union where fiscal discretion generates excessive debt accumulation in steady state and inefficiently delayed debt adjustment following shocks. By setting a debt target and raising the political cost of deviating from the optimal pace of debt reversal, institutional design induces fiscal policymakers to implement unbiased responses to shocks. This is partly achieved by increasing the transparency of the decision-making process. We therefore call for more focused supervision tasks for the European Commission and for parliamentary discussion whenever a disagreement arises between the Commission and a national government.

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Hartleb Florian

A thorn in the side of European elites: the new Euroscepticism

in *European View* , vol. 10, n. 2, December , 265-266

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Le Cacheux Jacques

A viable Eurozone?

in *Europe en formation (L')*, n. 361, 2011/3 , 39-52



The crisis of the Eurozone will not recede until the European currency union clearly demonstrates its viability. This has several implications, one of which is the sustainability of its public finances. European public finance rules could be a useful tool in the arsenal of economic governance, to make sure that governments of member states do not misbehave. But if the rules are made tighter and more automatic, they have to be accompanied by more effective policy coordination mechanisms and more financial solidarity.

Moreover, in order to promote sustained and sustainable economic growth, and to make sure that it is spread evenly enough over the Eurozone, it is necessary to coordinate economic policies, i.e. to make collective choices over the direction it should take.

To reach it, institutions have to be reformed, so that collective action may effectively emerge. Institutions for the Eurozone alone, not the EU, beyond the existing Eurogroup, would make tax cooperation possible and ambitious economic policy objectives achievable: an economic government for the Eurozone.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Gareth Davies

Activism relocated. The self-restraint of the European Court of Justice in its national context

in *Journal of European Public Policy*, Volume 19, Issue 1 2012, 76-91

Most cases involving EU law are decided in national courtrooms without a preliminary reference. The influence of the Court on these cases is often overstated by focusing on headline principles, such as mutual recognition and state liability. However, application of these principles in specific cases is often mediated by open norms such as proportionality, which allow much national court discretion. Whether national judges apply these open norms in a pro-integration way determines how far the broader principles directly impact on the national legal system, and on national regulators: these latter will condition their behaviour according to their expectations of the national judiciary, since these are the judges to which they are directly subject. The Court's role here is important, but limited. It enables and encourages pro-integration national judicial choices, but its case law does not compel them. Claims of activism need to be partly relocated from Luxembourg to national courts.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bossuyt Fabienne, Kubicek Paul

Advancing Democracy on Difficult Terrain: EU Democracy Promotion in Central Asia

in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 16, issue 5, 639-658

ABSTRACT: This article examines the substance of the EU's democracy promotion activities in Central Asia. Although agreeing with the literature that EU self-interest calculations have shaped aspects of the EU's democratization policy in Central Asia, this article argues that the importance of other explanatory factors needs to be highlighted - in particular, the importance of the 'domestic context'. In assuming that the substance of the EU's democracy promotion activities differs between regions and countries, the article asserts that the EU does so in accordance with the varying resonance in the respective target states. It hypothesizes that, ceteris paribus, the greater the targeted country's openness and commitment to political liberalization, the more the EU will aim to support externally embedded, that is, broad, liberal democracy. Conversely, the smaller the targeted country's openness and commitment to political liberalization, the less emphasis the EU will put on the core aspects of democracy and the more it will promote narrow or shallow democracy.



Using the embedded democracy framework, the article finds that the relatively varying resonance among the five countries corresponds - in some ways - to the substance promoted by the EU. While not providing a conclusive test of what matters most - that is, either strategic considerations or the advancement of democratic norms - the analysis ascertains that the EU is adjusting the substance of its democracy promotion in Central Asia with some eye to the particular context of each country. As such, the EU does more to promote 'broad' liberal democracy in Kyrgyzstan, the most open and politically liberal country in the region. In Kazakhstan and Tajikistan, the EU puts less emphasis on the core components of democracy but pays similar attention to the context conditions. In Uzbekistan, the EU tends to promote shallow democracy, as it focuses mostly on the context conditions of democracy. In Turkmenistan, the most repressive and authoritarian country in Central Asia, the EU is least assertive in pressing its democratization agenda, promoting, at best, only limited aspects of democracy.

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Hartleb Florian

After their establishment: right-wing populist parties in Europe

in *European View*, vol. 10, n. 2, December, 267-268

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Peroni Giulio

Alcune considerazioni sulla personalità giuridica dell'Unione europea dopo "Lisbona"

in *Diritto del Commercio Internazionale*, 25.3, 809-824

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

William A. Niskanen

Alternativas para el futuro político y económico de Europa (Introducción de Pedro Schwartz)

in *Cuadernos de pensamiento político*, Nr 33, Enero-Marzo

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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van Eijken H; de Vries S A

Analysis and Reflections - A New Route into the Promised Land? Being a European Citizen after Ruiz Zambrano

in *European Law Review*, Vol. 36, issue 5, 704-722



No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Alonso de León Sergio

Análisis crítico del papel de los Parlamentos regionales en el control del principio de subsidiariedad en la Unión Europea

in *Revista de Derecho Constitucional Europeo* , n. 16

Las regiones europeas han tenido una participación mínima en el proceso decisorio de la Unión Europea, a pesar de que tienen una labor importante en la transposición e implementación de los actos de la Unión. El principio de subsidiariedad, tal y como es concebido a partir del Tratado de Lisboa, presenta una importante dimensión regional que se ha traducido en la posibilidad de que los Parlamentos Regionales jueguen por primera vez un papel en el proceso legislativo en la Unión Europea, aunque dicho papel no está exento de importantes limitaciones.

Full text available at:

<http://www.ugr.es/~redce/REDCE16/articulos/08SAlonso.htm#abstract>

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Van Elsuwege Peter; Petrov Roman

Article 8 TEU: Towards a New Generation of Agreements with the Neighbouring Countries of the European Union?

in *European Law Review*, Vol. 36, issue 5 , 688-704

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Szymczak David

Arx Tarpeia Capitoli Proxima... Bref retour sur l'adhésion de l'Union européenne à la convention européenne des droits de l'Homme

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 553, décembre , 636-641

On 7th July 2010 the official talks for the accession of the European Union to the European Convention on Human Rights began. However, while many have been able to rejoice that the successive ratifications of the Lisbon Treaty and of protocol n° 14 to the ECHR have made such an accession possible, it can legitimately be thought that the latter may take time. And this notwithstanding the adoption on 20th June 2011, of "a draft of legal instruments for the accession of the European Union to the European Convention on Human Rights", which already gives useful clarifications on the future framework of relations between the two European legal orders. It must be noted that the accession of the EU to the ECHR constitutes an essential aspect of the alignment of the European social security systems, in which it will enable the Strasbourg court is not able to fully carry out today (I). Thus far, the road to accession still exposes several



difficulties; some of which have already been apprehended by the ongoing negotiations, others, by contrast, may remain even in the event of effective accession of the EU to the ECHR (II).

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Lichtenstein Dennis

Auf der Suche nach Europa: Identitätskonstruktionen und das integrative Potenzial von Identitätskrisen - Essay in Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte, Band 4, 2012

The full text is free:

www.bpb.de/publikationen/Q2EXWY,0,Auf_der_Suche_nach_Europa%3A_Identit%E4tskonstruktionen_und_das_integrative_Potenzial_von_Identit%E4tskrisen_Essay.html

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Fischer Severin

Außenseiter oder Spitzenreiter? Das 'Modell Deutschland' und die europäische Energiepolitik in Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte, Band 46-47, 2011

The full text is free:

www.bpb.de/publikationen/THRXY,3,0,Au%DFenseiter_oder_Spitzenreiter_Das_Modell_Deutschland_und_die_europ%E4ische_Energiepolitik.html#art3

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Erfolgsbedingungen der deutschen Energiepolitik in Europa

"Energiewende" europäisch denken

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Marx Ive, Nolan Brian

Bas salaires et pauvreté au travail en Europe : une préoccupation croissante ?

in *Reflets et perspectives de la vie économique*, Tome L, 2011/4

Dans cet article, nous cherchons à savoir si la pauvreté au travail est en hausse et si, du point de vue de la pauvreté, il convient de s'inquiéter d'une augmentation éventuelle des emplois faiblement rémunérés. En nous fondant sur les données de l'enquête EU-SILC, nous démontrons que le lien entre les emplois faiblement rémunérés et la pauvreté au travail est plus complexe que généralement admis. Bien que la part des travailleurs faiblement rémunérés vivant dans la pauvreté financière soit limitée dans la plupart des pays européens, leur sort constitue une véritable source de préoccupation. Compte tenu des contraintes inhérentes aux instruments politiques traditionnels, il s'avère nécessaire d'adopter des approches innovantes. Toutefois, la solution fréquemment évoquée des crédits d'impôts négatifs de type anglo-saxon n'est pas aussi évidente qu'il paraît.

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Jamart Annick

Belgique: laboratoire de l'Europe ou pays brisé?

in *Esprit*, Janvier 2012 , 153-157

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Hufeld Ulrich

Between emergency aid and Rütli Schwur: The reconstructing of the Economic and Monetary Union in times of economic crisis

in *Europe en formation (L')*, n. 361, 2011/3 , 53-72

Two abbreviations to remember are ESM und ESS. ESM stands for the European Stability Mechanism, ESS for ESM stability support. There is every reason not to discount these terms as being esoteric and to leave them to the specialists. The 'safety net' is a tool with which we are changing the foundations of the Economic and...

PLAN DE L'ARTICLE

•The Financial Rütli Oath: Solidarity against Austerity



- Through Art. 48 (6) TEU “to a new model of European governance”?
- Triple constitutional exemption
- The hybrid character of the ESM
- A - Brussels summit for the Karlsruhe judges?
- The ESM and the “ability of a constitutional state to shape itself”
- The ESM and the “core of the constitutional identity”
- The parliamentary prerogative in the system of mutual collective security
- Can the treaty amendment be allowed to fail?
- The provisional EFSM/EFSF: an anticipated constitutional amendment...
- ... or the product of an untenable emergency policy

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Stefan Bernhard

**Beyond Constructivism: The Political Sociology of an EU Policy Field
in International Political Sociology**, Volume 5, Issue 4, 426–445

This article applies a political sociology of knowledge to an EU social policy field. Taking the case of poverty and social inclusion policy, it shows that European social policy has found a *raison d'être* alongside national social policies, feeding into EU member states' national policies and producing comparative policy-relevant knowledge based on a genuine set of resources. Going beyond constructivist approaches, this article contends that the establishment of these resources can be reconstructed productively as the establishment of a transnational field in Pierre Bourdieu's sense of the term. In a process stretching over more than four decades, the EU's rudimentary policy for tackling poverty in the 1970s has evolved into a semi-autonomous field of social inclusion policy. This field encompasses monitoring capital, social capital, officializing capital, scientific capital, and informational capital, all of which EU-level actors use in different ways to position themselves against other actors in this transnational field. Thus, a complex and dynamic configuration arises that consists of actors, institutions, and ideas. The article concludes that while there are many affinities between constructivism and political sociology, the latter can go further in analyzing and theorizing phenomena such as ideas and discourses.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Pardo Sharon, Zemer Lior

**Bilateralism and the Politics of European Judicial Desire
in Columbia Journal of European Law**, Vol. 17, issue 2, 263-306

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 6. The European unification process

Waigel Theo

Bisherige Entwicklung und aktuelle Herausforderungen

in *Politische Studien*, 62, Jahrgang, Heft 440, November-Dezember , 30-34

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Martinico Giuseppe

Born to Be Together: The Constitutional Complexity of the EU

in *Review of Constitutional Studies/Revue d'études constitutionnelles*, Vol. 16, issue 1 , 63-96

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Cross Davis

Building a European Diplomacy: Recruitment and Training to the EEAS

in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 16, issue 4 , 447-464

ABSTRACT: The recent advent of the European Union (EU) External Action Service (EEAS) represents a major step towards a new kind of diplomacy in the international arena. However, while the construction of such a large, supranational corps of diplomats is wholly unprecedented, the EU's successful track record in its own internal diplomacy contains many lessons for its future external diplomacy. If these lessons are implemented well, the EEAS will be coherent and effective, transforming the EU's foreign policy landscape and catapulting it onto the world stage. If not, this new institution risks becoming a weak bureaucratic experiment that could end up working at cross purposes with the diplomatic apparatus of the Member States already in place. Specifically, this article focuses on the recruitment and training of EU diplomats and the challenges of fostering a strong esprit de corps, sense of collective identity, as well as a high level of professionalism, expertise, and flexibility. The author uses constructivist theory and argues that this approach has much to offer policymakers when it comes to understanding the nature of norms as well as how and why they change.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Hugo Dixon

Can Europe's Divided House Stand? Separating Fiscal and Monetary Union

in *Foreign Affairs*, Volume 90, Number 6

Most pundits argue the eurozone has only two options: break up or create a fiscal union to match its monetary one. In fact, there's a third, and better, path: adopt tighter market discipline, bailing out illiquid countries while letting truly



insolvent ones go bust. The result would be a collection of fitter economies and a Europe strong enough to play a big role on the world stage.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

José Enrique de Ayala

Carta de Europa. Una refundación con poco fundamento

in *Política Exterior*, 145 - Enero/Febrero

Las medidas de convergencia fiscal adoptadas por el último Consejo Europeo son pasos tímidos en la buena dirección, que no culminarán hasta que se acuerde la creación de un Tesoro común.

El Consejo Europeo del 8 y 9 de diciembre fue presentado por el presidente francés, Nicolas Sarkozy, como una "refundación de la Unión Europea", que al final ha resultado no mucho más real que la, igualmente pomposa y vacía de contenido, refundación del capitalismo que prometió hace tres años. Se trataba de que el 16º Consejo Europeo de la crisis, una última oportunidad más, abordara decididamente el asunto del gobierno económico de la zona euro, corrigiendo el error de Maastricht, y dotando así a la UE de una nueva arquitectura económica, y al euro de estabilidad definitiva, lo que exigiría en principio la modificación de los tratados.

El resultado es mucho más modesto, pero se ha logrado un acuerdo sobre un paquete de medidas de convergencia fiscal y coordinación presupuestaria, que abre tímidamente el camino hacia una mayor integración económica, imprescindible para la supervivencia de la moneda común.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

José Enrique de Ayala

Carta de Europa: Las consecuencias políticas de la crisis en la UE

in *Política Exterior*, 144 - Noviembre/Diciembre

La grave crisis económica que está viviendo Europa tiene efectos directos en el panorama político interno de muchos países de la UE. A largo plazo las repercusiones serán mucho más profundas.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Spendzharova Aneta B., Vachudova Milada A.

Catching Up? Consolidating Liberal Democracy in Bulgaria and Romania after EU Accession

in *West European Politics*, vol. 35, n. 1 , 39-58

ABSTRACT: This article investigates the most important determinants of domestic institutional change in combating corruption and reforming the judiciary in Bulgaria and Romania since EU accession in 2007. It explores how EU and domestic incentives trigger domestic institutional change, and how the two interact with one another. It argues that political leaders and parties will only continue and deepen reforms in response to the twin forces of EU and domestic influence. The EU incentives that shape elite choices stem primarily from public monitoring by the European Commission of government performance and the possibility of sanctions by the EU. The domestic incentives centre on



winning elections and holding power, with substantial variation explained in part by diverging sources of domestic support.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Weber Axel A.

Challenges for Monetary Policy in the European Monetary Union

in *Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis Review*, July/August 2011 Vol. 93, No. 4 , pp. 235-242

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Alessia Biava, Margriet Drent, Graeme P. Herd

Characterizing the European Union's Strategic Culture: An Analytical Framework

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 49, Issue 6, November 2011 , 1227-1248

This article does not question whether the EU has a strategic culture, but rather asks how one can investigate its nature. It creates and utilizes an analytical framework to demonstrate that the European Union's strategic culture is based on an extended concept of security and on a comprehensive, multilateral and internationally legitimated approach to threats, implying the use of military and civilian instruments in an integrated manner on over 20 common security and defence policy (CSDP) operations. It suggests that the analytical framework can also act as a stable reference point to compare and contrast the strategic cultures of a range of actors.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Jonathan Golub

Cheap dates and the delusion of gratification: are votes sold or traded in the EU Council of Ministers?

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 19, Issue 2 2012 , 141-160

Each year, small Member States receive a disproportionate share of the European Union's (EU's) budget. A prominent explanation for this is that Council decision-making involves a healthy dose of vote selling, whereby large Member States offer small states generous fiscal transfers in exchange for influence over policy. But nobody has investigated whether net budget contributors actually get anything for their money. In this paper I identify the vote selling model's observable implications and find virtually no evidence consistent with Council cash-for-votes exchanges. I also show that a compromise model – the leading model of EU decision-making to date – modified to incorporate vote selling does not outperform a standard one that assumes votes are traded rather than sold. Taken together, the results suggest that Council decision-making operates with little or no vote selling, and that regardless of whatever they think they might be buying, net budget contributors get little or nothing in return for their money. These findings call for further investigation into how Member States approach the issue of fiscal transfers, and into the factors other than formal voting weight that affect the power of actors engaged in EU decision-making.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Michael PETTIS

Chi paga il conto del default

in *Limes*, n. 6, 2011

La crisi europea getta un'ombra sui paesi emergenti, vanificando l'ipotesi di salvataggio esterno. Con la Grecia di fatto fuori dall'euro, aumenta il rischio di un effetto domino. Ci attendono duri sacrifici. I governi brancolano nel buio.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Stockemer Daniel

Citizens' support for the European Union and participation in European Parliament elections

in *European Union Politics*, Vol. 13, n. 1, March, 26-46

The dominant paradigm characterizes European Parliament (EP) elections as second-order national elections. Scholars adhering to this view (for example, Marsh, 2008; Reif and Schmitt, 1980; Schmitt, 2005) not only identify these elections as less important, but also emphasize that low turnout in EP elections is unrelated to citizens' support for the European Union (EU). In this article, I challenge this latter proposition. Analyzing all EP elections since 1979, I first find that higher macro-level support for EU membership leads to higher turnout. Second, I discover that changes in aggregate EU support directly trigger changes in turnout rates. Third, a multilevel analysis of Eurobarometer data confirms these macro-level trends at the micro level and finds that citizens who consider their country's membership in the EU 'a good thing' have a higher likelihood of voting in EP elections than those who reject it. These findings have both empirical and theoretical implications. Empirically, the low turnout in EU elections is directly linked to citizens' rejection of the EU project. Theoretically, the second-order national election thesis needs to be altered. Turnout in EP elections is driven by not only national-level factors but also citizens' satisfaction with the EU.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Kumlin Staffan

Claiming blame and giving credit? Unintended effects of how government and opposition frame the Europeanization of welfare

in *European Union Politics*, Vol. 12, n. 4, December, 575-595

A framing experiment on the Europeanization of health care supports two assumptions derived from the 'blame avoidance' literature. The constrained perceptions assumption states that performance evaluations at different political levels have 'zero-sum' implications for each other. Empirically, those receiving positive integration frames become not only more positive about the European Union (EU) level, but also more negative about domestic performance (even though frames about such a performance were not provided). The opposite is found for negative frames. Further, the



negative bias assumption implies that zero-sum adjustments are best triggered by negative blame frames rather than by positive 'credit' frames. Finally, in contrast to standard blame avoidance assumptions, the experiment mimics the realistic situation in which the opposition attacks integration and the government defends it. This reverses the prototypical blame avoidance situation and opens the way for unintended effects. Governments may paint EU-induced conditions in rosy colours, reflecting negatively on its domestic performance. Conversely, the opposition runs the risk of being too gloomy about integration for its own good, as negative EU welfare frames reflect positively on domestic performance.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Varga Janos, Veld Jan in't

Cohesion Policy Spending in the New Member States of the EU in an Endogenous Growth Model
in *Eastern European Economics*, Volume 49, Number 5 / September-October 2011 , 29-54

European Union Cohesion Policy supports investment in infrastructure, research and development, and human capital in Europe's poorer regions. This paper provides a model-based assessment of the potential macroeconomic impact of these fiscal transfers using a microfounded dynamic general equilibrium model with endogenous growth and endogenous human capital accumulation. The simulations show the potential benefits of Structural Funds with significant output gains in the long run due to sizable productivity improvements. The condition that recipient countries cofinance part of the funding is found to raise the long-term output effects. Delays in spending due to slow absorption of available funding reduce potential gains.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Trichet Jean-Claude

Construire l'Europe, bâtir ses institutions

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 552, octobre-novembre , 557-562

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Wendler Frank

Contesting Europe, or Germany's Place in Europe? European Integration and the EU Policies of the Grand Coalition Government in the Mirror of Parliamentary Debates in the Bundestag

in *German Politics*, Volume 20, Issue 4, December , 486-505



This article explores how European integration is contested between political parties in debates of the German Bundestag. Distinguishing between 'domestic' debates about the conduct of EU policy-making by the German government and 'supranational' debates about the institutions and policies of the European Union, the article asks for thematic objects and patterns of polarisation between parties within these debates. Presenting empirical evidence from the manual coding of 23 plenary debates during the second 'Grand Coalition' government, it is shown that the polarisation between parliamentary parties differs greatly at both levels of discussion. Whereas the antagonism between government and opposition appears to determine the polarisation of parties in 'domestic' debates, more ambiguous and atypical position patterns emerge on behalf of supranational issues. Therefore, the article suggests that a differentiation of various levels of debate is helpful in capturing the polarisation of political parties over the issue of European integration.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Cassen Bernard

Contorsions pour sauver la monnaie unique

in *Monde Diplomatique (Le)*, Janvier

<http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/2012/01/CASSEN/47204>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Robert Bideleux

Contrasting Responses to the International Economic Crisis of 2008–10 in the 11 CIS Countries and in the 10 Post-Communist EU Member Countries

in *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, Volume 27, Issue 3-4 , 338-363

Far from being uniform and amenable to broad generalizations, the consequences of the international economic crisis of 2008–10 for the post-communist states have been strikingly diverse, and the policy responses of these countries to those crises have been correspondingly varied. The 11 Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) countries, and the 10 post-communist states admitted into the EU in 2004 or 2007, were affected in different ways by the economic crisis and offered different responses to it. These widely differing impacts and responses can be satisfactorily explained and conceptualized in terms of relatively concrete and tangible differences in the structures of power, resources, opportunities, incentives and constraints that have emerged in these two broad groupings of countries. The economic systems that have emerged in most of the CIS countries have diverged substantially from those of the post-communist states that joined the EU, with significant cautionary implications for future attempts to integrate or associate CIS countries with the EU.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Andrea GARNERO, Luca MARCOLIN

Cosa succedrebbe se l'Italia tornasse alla lira?

in *Limes*, n. 6, 2011



Pro e contro di un fallimento pilotato. Alla fine, i costi (tra cui corsa alle banche, contagio e rischi geopolitici) parrebbero superare i vantaggi (sovranità e forse più competitività). Secondo l'Ubs, il pil calerebbe di quasi la metà. Il paradigma argentino.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

a cura di Emanuela C. DEL RE

Crisi economico-finanziaria voci dall'Europa ed oltre
in **Gnosis**, n°3/2011

Questo forum riporta le opinioni di Jacek Rostowski, Ministro delle Finanze della Polonia dal 2007; Valdo Spini, attualmente Presidente della Fondazione Circolo Rosselli, già Ministro dell'Ambiente e sottosegretario agli Affari Esteri; José María Gil-Robles Gil-Delgado, Presidente del Parlamento Europeo dal 1997 al 1999, attualmente Presidente della Fondazione Jean Monnet per l'Europa; Mark Allen, Senior Regional Representative del Fondo Monetario Internazionale dal 2009; Markus Meckel, Consigliere, ex Ministro degli Affari Esteri della Repubblica Democratica Tedesca, membro del Bundestag tedesco dal 1990 al 2009; Nicolas Tenzer, Presidente dell'Iniziativa per lo Sviluppo dell'Expertise francese in Europa e nel Mondo (IDEFIE), Direttore della nota rivista *Le Banquet* e autore del volume *Le monde à l'horizon 2030. La règle et le désordre* (Paris, Perrin, 2011); Daniel Hamilton, Direttore esecutivo del Centro per le Relazioni Transatlantiche, docente alla Johns Hopkins University. È autore del volume *Europe 2020: Competitive or Complacent* (Center for Transatlantic Relations, 2011); Emmanuel Dupuy, Direttore dell'Institut Prospective et Sécurité en Europe (IPSE).

(Si ringrazia per la collaborazione il giornalista dei GR-RAI Giancarlo Rossi).

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Franco Bruni, Paolo Guerrieri

Crisi europea
in **Mulino (il)**, n. 6, novembre-dicembre, 2011 , 1033-1048

I due autori discutono di crisi europea.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

P. Halmai, V. Vásáry

Crisis and economic growth in the EU
in **Acta Oeconomica**, Volume 61, Number 4

The study analyses the impacts of the financial and economic crisis on potential growth in the European Union. It identifies the main channels of impact mechanism and carries out quantitative estimations in order to reveal the medium and long-term trends. According to our findings the impacts of the crisis are significantly different in the main country-groups of the EU. The basic structural problem of the EU is considered the decreasing trend in potential growth



which might be further strengthened through the lasting consequences of the crisis.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Christopher J. Bickerton

Crisis in the Eurozone: Transnational governance and national power in European integration

in *Political Geography*, Volume 30, Issue 8 , 415–416

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Raj Isar Yudhishtir

Cultural Organisations and Intercultural Dialogue

in *Pace Diritti Umani*, anno 8, n. 2, maggio-agosto , 41-50

ABSTRACT: Questo articolo decostruisce alcuni degli usi, abusi e limiti dell'espressione «dialogo interculturale» nell'attuale contesto europeo e, sulla base di questo contesto, sottolinea il ruolo chiave che i network e le organizzazioni culturali possono giocare nei processi di mutua comprensione e scambio dialogico attraverso frontiere culturali e differenze. Come esempio emblematico, l'articolo approfondisce gli obiettivi, i risultati e le sfide della Piattaforma per l'Europa Interculturale (Platform for Intercultural Europe). Esso analizza inoltre il contributo che le organizzazioni e le istituzioni culturali urbane sono in grado di apportare alla convivialità interculturale.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Busch Berthold, Grömling Michael, Matthes Jürgen

Current account deficits in Greece, Portugal and Spain — origins and consequences

in *Intereconomics*, Volume 46, Number 6 / December 2011 , 354-360

In light of the shortcomings of the Stability and Growth Pact, there has been a recognition that a surveillance framework is needed which goes beyond fiscal issues to cover wider macroeconomic factors. The question arises whether the surveillance and connected reform criteria should be applied symmetrically, to all members of the eurozone, or whether they should specifically target countries with current account deficits.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Majocchi Alberto

Dalla crisi del debito sovrano all'unione fiscale

in *Critica liberale*, Volume XVIII, n. 192 - ottobre

No abstract available



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Datler Georg

Das Konzept der 'europäischen Identität' jenseits der Demos-Fiktion - Essay

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 4, 2012

The full text is free:

www.bpb.de/publikationen/WOM4DS,0,Das_Konzept_der_europ%E4ischen_Identit%E4t_jenseits_der_DemosFiktion_Essay.html

Inhalt:

Einleitung

Prominenz des Konzepts "europäische Identität"

Problematik: die falsche Frage

Bessere Fragen

Demos-Fiktion und soziale Realität

Welche europäische Identität? Ein Vorschlag

Brauchen wir den Begriff "europäische Identität"?

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Constantinesco Vlad

De la pluralité des présidences dans l'Union européenne

in *Europe en formation (L')*, n. 362, 2011/4 , 71-80

This article aims to analyse the new institutional EU system, as brought by the Lisbon treaty. It focuses on the increasing number of presidencies from the new Treaty. The multiplication of these presidencies could undermine the effectiveness and the image of the EU in the public opinion, because each presidency operates on a different logic, legitimacy and speed. This can blur the image of the EU, an image already challenged by the crisis, echoing the crisis diagnosed in early 1930's by all those who joined later the integral federalism.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Cutileiro José



**Death of the WEU – How Brussels shot itself in the foot
in Europe´s World**, Issue 19, Autumn

“Be careful what you wish for,” warns the WEU's former Secretary General José Cutileiro. He charts the many problems created by the WEU's demise and by the creation of the EU's External Action Service.

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21911/language/en-US/Default.aspx

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Craig Paul

**Delegated Acts, Implementing Acts and the New Comitology Regulation
in European Law Review**, Vol. 36, issue 5 , 671-688

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

De Ridder Eline, Kochenov Dimitry

**Democratic Conditionality in the Eastern Enlargement: Ambitious Window Dressing
in European Foreign Affairs Review**, vol. 16, issue 5 , 589-605

ABSTRACT: This article addresses the promotion of democracy in the enlargement process of the central and eastern European countries (CEECs). We start by outlining EU democracy promotion during accession, with a particular focus on political conditionality. In a subsequent part, we argue that the European Commission did not make a clear substantive distinction between the concepts of rule of law and democracy. In addition, various drawbacks are identified, which demonstrate the vagueness and inconsistencies that characterize the EU's application of democratic conditionality. A final part illustrates these points by focusing on the EU's democratic conditionality towards the Czech Republic and Slovakia. The conclusion reads that the EU did not have a well-defined view and approach to the promotion of democracy and the rule of law in the eastern enlargement.

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Staeher Karsten

**Democratic and Market-Economic Reforms in the Postcommunist Countries. The Impact of Enlargement of the
European Union**

in Eastern European Economics, Volume 49, Number 5 / September-October 2011 , 5-28

This paper examines the impact of European Union (EU) enlargement on the process of political and economic reforms in postcommunist countries. The main result is that both prospective and actual membership have advanced democratic



reforms, while the effect on market-economic reforms has been nonexistent or even negative. A measure of the intensity of negotiation of the *acquis communautaire* chapters shows no effect on political reforms, but likely a negative effect on market-economic reforms. The overall conclusion is that enlargement of the EU has borne out its promise of strengthening democracy in the postcommunist countries, but possibly at the expense of market-oriented economic reform.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Ben Tonra

Democratic foundations of EU foreign policy: narratives and the myth of EU exceptionalism

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 18, Issue 8 2011 , 1190-1207

How can we better understand weaknesses in the democratic legitimacy underpinning European Union (EU) foreign, security and defence policy? The argument presented here is that this weakness can in part be seen as a function of poor narrative construction in Europe. The nascent European public space does not yet provide a solid foundation from which such narratives might be established, contested and developed and from which they might aspire to some hegemony. Instead, the Union remains reliant upon an unstable intersection of national foreign policy narratives and the weak instantiation of an élite European narrative based on exceptionalism. This fails to create a sense of ownership and legitimacy over the international actions of the Union, adversely impacting its effectiveness and credibility. The élite narrative has solid roots in policy, academic and specialist constituencies but is weakly disseminated and vigorously contested.

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Seehofer Horst

Der Euro hat Zukunft, das Casino nicht

in *Politische Studien*, 62, Jahrgang, Heft 440, November-Dezember , 19-29

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Fahrenschon Georg

Der Euro in der Krise?

in *Politische Studien*, 62, Jahrgang, Heft 440, November-Dezember , 35-43

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Cuesta López Víctor



Derechos de conciliación de la vida personal, familiar y profesional: fundamentos constitucionales y avances normativos en el ámbito de la Unión Europea

in *Revista de Derecho Constitucional Europeo* , n. 16

El derecho a la conciliación de la vida personal, familiar y profesional no ha sido reconocido tradicionalmente como un derecho subjetivo autónomo en los textos constitucionales. No obstante, las distintas disposiciones de rango legal que se integran en el ordenamiento jurídico español y de la UE en aras de la conciliación de la vida familiar y profesional si tienen sólidos fundamentos dogmático-constitucionales. La proyección constitucional de la conciliación es todavía más intensa si tenemos en cuenta que la Carta de Derechos Fundamentales de la Unión Europea declara expresamente los derechos subjetivos conciliatorios que se habían ido incorporando progresivamente al «acquis» comunitario: el derecho a la protección del despido por una causa relacionada con la maternidad, el derecho a un permiso de maternidad retribuido y el derecho a un permiso parental con motivo del nacimiento o de la adopción de un niño. Además, conviene tener presentes los avances del ordenamiento jurídico de la Unión Europea en la consecución del objetivo de la corresponsabilidad de mujeres y hombres frente a sus responsabilidades familiares tras la actualización del régimen de permiso parental y la propuesta de modificación de las disposiciones relativas a la maternidad incluidas en la Directiva 92/85/CEE.

Full text available at:

<http://www.ugr.es/~redce/REDCE16/articulos/09VCuesta.htm#abstract>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Konstadinides Theodore

Destroying Democracy on the Ground of Defending It? The Data Retention Directive, the Surveillance State and Our Constitutional Ecosystem

in *European Law Review*, Vol. 36, issue 5 , 722-737

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Deutschland in der Europäischen Union. Wie schätzen Sie das Auftreten Deutschlands innerhalb der Europäischen Union in der derzeitigen Schuldenkrise ein?

in *Internationale Politik* , 67. Jahrgang, n. 1-2, Januar-Februar

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Schilling Walter

Deutschlands Integrationspolitik auf dem Prüfstand



in *Europäische Rundschau*, Heft 4, 2011

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Toulemon Robert

Deux ans après Lisbonne, l'Europe dans la crise
in *Europe en formation (L')*, n. 362, 2011/4, 131-146

Entered into force on 1 December 2009, the Lisbon Treaty marked some progress in the way of functioning of the Union: strengthening the powers of Parliament, expanding the fields where the Council can decide at the majority, procedure of appointment of the President of the Commission. But the treaty has left many of the main weaknesses of the earlier texts (revision, budget resources, taxation). However, it has weakened the executive and representative power of the Union by dividing it, while also not mentioning its symbols.

Internally, the Union has gone through its worst banking, financial, monetary, economic and social crisis. It imposed on the Member States in crisis, belated safeguard measures shaped more by severity rather than solidarity. It has taken a significant step towards a coordination of national policies by giving priority to fiscal consolidation over supporting growth and employment. The role of the Central Bank has proved decisive in preserving the monetary union.

In foreign affairs, the Libyan case shows the limits of the Common Foreign and Security Policy. Faced with the revolts in the Arab world and the Palestinian problem, the recently established European External Action Service failed to achieve a common attitude of national diplomacy. The future of the new Union for the Mediterranean is uncertain.

Starting from this confusing situation, several scenarios are possible.

The most likely one is continuity. The single market and monetary union are preserved at the cost of difficulties and tensions. The Union has problems to emerge as a major player in the international arena. It continues a slow process of enlargement limited to the Balkans, without further institutional reforms.

A second more gloomy scenario cannot be excluded. The primacy of the intergovernmental method and the concomitant effacement of the Commission lead to increasing tensions both between the 'big' and the 'small' states and among the 'big' states as well. Insufficient solidarity threatens the integrity of the euro zone.

The most positive scenario is not likely to happen. It assumes that the desire to save the euro, coinciding with a revival of interest in Europe on the part of the political leaders of Germany, would lead to a step towards more discipline and solidarity, that is to say towards a more political Europe. Thus, the Union would emerge stronger from the crisis, but limited to the eurozone. In a changed environment and thanks to advances likely to show the purpose of Europe, the centenary of the great European civil war, coinciding with the renewal of the Parliament and the Commission, could be an opportunity to reopen the institutional process. It remains to define the sources of legitimacy of a government both close and separate from the national governments, and to operationalise the differentiation between those states ready to take the next step and the others.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Müller-Brandeck-Bocquet Gisela

Die EU-Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik nach Lissabon: Wann wird der Startknopf endlich gedrückt?
in *Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft*, 21. Jahrgang (2011), Heft 2



No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Rohan Alexander

Die Europäische Union darf im Kosovo nicht versagen!

in *Europäische Rundschau*, Heft 4, 2011

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Beckert Jens, Streeck Wolfgang

Die Fiskalkrise und die Einheit Europas

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 4, 2012

The full text is free:

www.bpb.de/publikationen/URQO77,0,Die_Fiskalkrise_und_die_Einheit_Europas.html

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Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Pabel Katharina

Die Kontrolle des Subsidiaritätsprinzips durch die Parlamente der Mitgliedstaaten

in *Journal für Rechtspolitik*, vol. 19, n. 3-4, december , 287-300

ABSTRACT: Durch den Vertrag von Lissabon erhalten die nationalen Parlamente Instrumente zur (präventiven sowie repressiven) Überprüfung der Einhaltung des primärrechtlich verankerten Subsidiaritätsprinzips bei der Rechtsetzung



der Europäischen Union. Die „Subsidiaritätsrüge“ und „Subsidiaritätsklage“ werden im folgenden Beitrag verfahrensrechtlich sowohl auf Unions- wie auch auf mitgliedstaatlicher Ebene beleuchtet und rechtspolitisch bewertet.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Galiciani Bernard

Die Stärkung der Mitwirkungsrechte des Nationalrates und Bundesrates durch die Lissabon-Begleitnovelle in Journal für Rechtspolitik, vol. 19, n. 2, november , 173-183

ABSTRACT: Die vorliegende Arbeit befasst sich mit der Implementierung der parlamentarischen Kontrollrechte, die durch den Vertrag von Lissabon unionsrechtlich eingeführt wurden, in Österreich. Die Ausführungen konzentrieren sich dabei auf die Ausgestaltung der Subsidiaritätsrüge, der Subsidiaritätsklage und der Mitwirkung von Nationalrat und Bundesrat bei den sog Passerelle (Brückenklauseln).

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Walter Norbert

Die Zukunft der Gemeinschaftswährung in Politische Studien, 62, Jahrgang, Heft 440, November-Dezember , 54-57

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Zimmermann Hubert

Die gnadenlose Euro-Logik in Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik, Januar, 2012 , 59-65

In den letzten Wochen wurde eine neue Eskalationsstufe in der Eurokrise erreicht. Das bisher Udenkbare ist jetzt vorstellbar: der Zusammenbruch des Euro. Seit nunmehr zwei Jahren sind alle Bemühungen gescheitert, diese Krise zu bewältigen. Wie konnte Europa in einen Zustand derartiger Hilflosigkeit geraten? Ein Zustand, der dazu führt, dass die gesamte europäische Konstruktion scheinbar von den innenpolitischen Wirren und Reformblockaden eines Landes abhängig wurde, dessen Wirtschaftskraft gerade einmal etwas mehr als zwei Prozent der Eurozone ausmacht? ...

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Schulmeister Paul

Die neue Führung Deutschlands in Europa in Europäische Rundschau, Heft 4, 2011



No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Falkowski Christian D.

Die Überwindung nationalstaatlichen Denkens. Begründungen für Europa

in *Zeitschrift für Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik* , vol. 4, n. 4, november , 693-713

ABSTRACT: The European Union (EU) has enabled Europe's peaceful unification by helping to surmount rivalries between nation states. Individual states cannot successfully manage today's challenges such as the scarcity of resources, the consequences of global warming or migration. The voluntary bundling of national sovereignty in the EU has created a common area of democracy and freedom. The Union is the guarantor of security and prosperity in the new multipolar world, which is characterised by new emerging powers. In order to secure a sustainable future, it has to develop into a political union.

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Vincenzo CAMPORINI

Difesa europea: la crisi è l'ultima occasione

in *Limes*, n. 6, 2011

I tagli ai bilanci militari nazionali dovrebbero spingere gli Stati dell'Ue a integrare maggiormente le rispettive Forze armate. Invece, ognuno sembra preoccupato solo di difendere il proprio orto. Come la Libia dimostra, così si diventa irrilevanti. L'alternativa possibile.

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Obholzer Lukas

Different Lenses, one Objective: Towards a Sharper Picture of Policy-making in the European Union

in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 34, Issue 1 , 93-100

<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/07036337.2011.621355>

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Katharina Holzinger, Frank Schimmelfennig

Differentiated integration in the European Union: many concepts, sparse theory, few data

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 19, Issue 2 2012 , 292-305

Differentiated integration has been the subject of political discussion and academic thought for a long time. It has also



become an important feature of European integration since the 1990s. By contrast, it is astonishing how poor our research and knowledge about the phenomenon is. Whereas there is an abundance of conceptual work and some normative analysis, positive theories on the causes or effects of differentiated integration are rare. Empirical analysis has concentrated on a few important cases of treaty law (such as EMU and Schengen) while there is no systematic knowledge about differentiated integration in secondary law. The aim of this article is therefore twofold: to review the existing typological and theory-oriented research and to outline a research agenda striving for systematic empirical and explanatory knowledge.

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Alecu de Flers Nicole, Müller Patrick

Dimensions and Mechanisms of the Europeanization of Member State Foreign Policy: State of the Art and New Research Avenues

in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 34, Issue 1 , 19-35

The concept of Europeanization is relevant also to the foreign policy realm, as it facilitates an exploration of the distinctiveness of the foreign policies of states which are members of the European Union (EU). Reviewing the state of the art in the Europeanization of foreign policy, this article illustrates that the concept of Europeanization, albeit in a refined form, is a useful tool for examining the complex interactions and linkages between the EU and national levels in European foreign policy-making. Considering policy-learning and socialization as key mechanisms that drive the Europeanization of foreign policy in both its uploading and its downloading dimensions, this article provides a further clarification of how the Europeanization of foreign policy works and can be analyzed. It highlights particularly interesting avenues for future research by elaborating on important issues such as operationalization and the scope conditions for learning and socialization.

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Jan Spurk

Divenire europeo, divenire europei: cambiamenti sociali e ricerche d'identità in Europa teoria e ricerca

in *Quaderni di sociologia*, Vol. LV, n. 55

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Michael Malecki

Do ECJ judges all speak with the same voice? Evidence of divergent preferences from the judgments of chambers

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 19, Issue 1 2012 , 59-75



A considerable body of scholarly work has asserted that the ECJ's institutional independence has implied behavioural independence: in short, that the ECJ has pursued a pro-integration agenda perhaps at odds with national governments' preferences. But, inside the black box of the court's collective decisions, do judges share a common preference for expanding the authority of the Court and EU generally? While individual behaviour is not directly observable, the ECJ's system of chambers provides a potentially valuable window on the impact of individual decisions by subsets of the judges. I develop a statistical model, extending the item-response model to account for selective participation in decisions, to provide evidence of individual behaviour in the collective judgments. Results for ECJ cases show that judges do not share uniform preferences, suggesting that institutional independence has provided cover for the court, and that judges' preferences lie on a continuum from Europhilia to Euroscepticism.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Laura Cram

Does the EU Need a Navel? Implicit and Explicit Identification with the European Union
in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 50, Issue 1, January 2012 , 71-86

Analysts should expect neither too much from European Union identity and its causal role in driving the integration process, nor too little, by underestimating the stabilizing force of implicit identification with the EU. Daily transactions in an EU institutional context embed an acceptance of the EU as a legitimate political authority and underpin passive consent to the continued functioning of the EU. The emergence of explicit EU identification is contingent upon the value (real and symbolic) attached to transactions, the extent to which valued goods are perceived to be under threat and whether competing political authorities are viewed as legitimate.

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Henrard Kristin

E.U. Perspective on New versus Traditional Minorities: On Semi-Inclusive Socio-Economic Integration and Expanding Visions of European Culture and Identity
in *Columbia Journal of European Law*, Vol. 17, issue 1 , 57-100

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Kochenov Dimitry

EU Citizenship, Naturalisations, and Mythical Cultural Exceptionalism in Europe Today
in *Perspectives on federalism*, Vol. 3, issue 2 , E- 106-127

This essay discusses the dubious premises of 'repressive liberalism' underlying the policies of cultural 'integration' that have been adopted by a number of otherwise liberal democracies around the world. The author uses his own first-hand experience of naturalisation in the Kingdom of the Netherlands, the pioneering jurisdiction with regards to the introduction of 'cultural integration', in order to expose the counterproductive nature of the 'integration' approach to the



absorption of non-citizens. The essay claims that there is no such thing as a 'nation-specific' culture to be tested and that the creation and consolidation of EU citizenship changed the whole framework of reference within which any Member State nationality operates and should be discussed. The argument is that, particularly in the EU context, culture and language testing before naturalisation is built on false assumptions and does not serve any identifiable goal that would go beyond the perpetuation of prejudice. Since testing stigmatises a large number of Europeans and potentially undermines social cohesion in the Member States, it should be abolished.

Full text available at:

<http://www.on-federalism.eu/index.php/essays/101-eu-citizenship-naturalisations-and-mythical-cultural-exceptionalism-in-europe-today>

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Savino, M.

EU Citizenship: Post-national or Post-nationalist? Revisiting the Rottmann Case through Administrative Lenses
in *Revue européenne de droit public*, vol. 23 - n. 1 , 39 - 50

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Stewart Susan

EU Democracy Promotion in the Eastern Neighbourhood: One Template, Multiple Approaches
in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 16, issue 5 , 607-621

ABSTRACT: The article sketches the EU approach to democracy promotion in the eastern neighbourhood, including the six countries involved in the Eastern Partnership (EaP) and Russia. A comparison of the relevant documents reveals that issues of democratic development are much more present in the EU approach towards the six EaP partners than in its dealings with Russia. The remainder of the article presents a detailed account of EU democracy promotion efforts in Russia and Ukraine. The interactions with Russia in the realm of democracy promotion are found to be superficial and unsystematic, concentrating on individual cases without much depth or consistency. In the case of Ukraine, the approach is much more holistic, with a variety of aspects of democracy being addressed over time through projects and dialogue, even if these have not had a high priority in EU-Ukraine relations until recently. There are two key reasons for these differing approaches. First, Ukraine under Yushchenko (January 2005-February 2010) was amenable to democracy promotion offerings from the EU, whereas Russia under both Putin and Medvedev has clearly rejected such efforts. Second, the perceived importance of the Russian Federation in the energy and security realms has made key EU Member States unwilling to alienate Russian elites by insisting on implementing projects related to democracy promotion.

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Jamet Jean-François, Mussler Werner, De Corte Stefaan

EU economic governance: the French and German views

in *European View*, vol. 10, n. 2, December, 259-260

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Nenovsky Nikolay, Villieu Patrick

EU enlargement and monetary regimes from the insurance model perspective

in *Post communist economies*, Volume 23, Issue 4, 2011, pages 433-447

It is widely observed and recognised that economic behaviour in the post-communist countries changed after these countries joined the European Union. The insurance model of currency crises proposed by Dooley, after being modified and interpreted within a broader conceptual meaning, provides good possibilities for analysing the whole process of post-communist transformation and EU accession. This article offers an empirical illustration of the theoretical model using the examples of Bulgaria and Romania. These two Balkan countries, the latest members of the EU (since 2007), have radically different monetary regimes – respectively a currency board and inflation targeting.

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Umland Andreas

EU-Ukraine-Russland: Dreiecksbeziehung im Dauerstress

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, Dezember, 2011

Nicht nur die soeben eröffnete Ostseepipeline Nord Stream wirft ein Schlaglicht auf die bedeutsame Beziehung der Europäischen Union zu den beiden territorial größten Staaten Europas: Russland und der Ukraine. Auch die kurz vor dem Abschluss stehenden Verhandlungen über ein Assoziierungsabkommen zwischen der EU und der Ukraine rücken die komplizierte Dreiecksbeziehung Brüssel-Moskau-Kiew erstmals ins Bewusstsein einer breiteren europäischen Öffentlichkeit.

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Schwarzer Daniela

Economic Governance in der Eurozone

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 4, 2012

The full text is free:

www.bpb.de/publikationen/PAF3V4,0,Economic_Governance_in_der_Eurozone.html

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Europäische Semester

Schaffung eines permanenten Krisenmanagementmechanismus

Härterer Euro-Kern in der EU-27

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Brou Daniel, Ruta Michele

Economic Integration, Political Integration or both?

in Journal of the European Economic Association, Volume 9, Issue 6 – December 2011 , 1143-1167

We study the effects of economic and political integration by presenting a model in which firms compete with each other in both an economic market—where they produce a good and compete for market share—and in a political (rent seeking) market—where they compete for transfers from the government. Growth is driven by firms' cost-reducing innovation activity and economic and political integration affect firms' incentive to innovate differently. In this setting, economic and political integration can be seen as complementary. Economic integration, when not accompanied by political integration, can lead to less innovation and slower growth as firms respond to increased competition in the economic market by focusing more on rent-seeking activity. When economic integration is accompanied by political integration, innovation and growth will be stronger and welfare higher.

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Heribert Dieter

Eigenverantwortung statt Zentralismus. Dem Euro hilft weder eine Transferunion noch eine gemeinsame Finanzpolitik

in Internationale Politik , 66. Jahrgang, n. 11-12, November-Dezember



ABSTRACT: Eine Lösung der Euro-Krise zieht sich hin, auch weil sich die zuletzt häufig ins Feld geführte Transferunion oder die Errichtung einer gemeinsamen EU-Finanzpolitik bei näherer Betrachtung als untauglich erweisen. Dabei ist im Vertrag von Maastricht eine funktionstüchtige Währungsunion angelegt – es fehlt nur ein Austiegsmechanismus.

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Cotino Hueso Lorenzo

El Reglamento de la Iniciativa Ciudadana Europea de 2011: Su especial regulación de la recogida de apoyos vía internet y de la protección de datos de los ciudadanos

in *Revista de derecho politico*, n. 81 , 323-378

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Lecomte Franck

Embedding Employment Rights in Europe

in *Columbia Journal of European Law*, Vol. 17, issue 1 , 1-22

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Jacques Mistral

Enfin une gouvernance économique de la zone euro ?

in *Politique Etrangère*, Vol. 76, n°4 hiver

Confrontée à la crise de la dette grecque, l'Union monétaire a su franchir des étapes décisives : accord pour un règlement collectif ; mise sur pied d'un dispositif financier pérenne ; implication du secteur privé dans le traitement de la dette ; resserrement de la solidarité politique autour de la monnaie commune. Il reste à dépasser ces avancées dans une nouvelle percée institutionnelle allant dans une direction fédéraliste. Le débat est ouvert en Allemagne, on doit s'y préparer en France.

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Borja García, Stephen Weatherill

Engaging with the EU in order to minimize its impact: sport and the negotiation of the Treaty of Lisbon

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 19, Issue 2 2012 , 238-256

The absence of explicit reference to sport in the European Union (EU) treaties has allowed the Court and the



Commission room to require sport to adjust to the standards required by EU law. Sporting federations typically assert a need for a wider zone of autonomy than the Court and Commission have been prepared to grant, but, unable to persuade the Member States that they deserve exemption from the application of the Treaty, sports bodies have increasingly been induced to develop strategies of co-existence with the EU. This paper shows how they were able to exert influence in both the Convention on the Future of Europe and the subsequent intergovernmental conference in order to secure recognition of sport's special characteristics within the Treaty, albeit in ambiguous form. Sports bodies engage with the EU precisely in order to minimize its impact. The relevant provisions of Treaty of Lisbon dealing with sport are examined to show that they leave open scope for future contestation about the interaction between EU law and policy and the systems of sports governance.

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Charlotte Burns, Neil Carter, Nicholas Worsfold

Enlargement and the Environment: The Changing Behaviour of the European Parliament
in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 50, Issue 1, January 2012 , 54-70

It was widely anticipated before European Union enlargement that the accession states would have a negative impact on EU environmental governance. By extension, the European Parliament's (EP) reputation as an environmental champion might be threatened by the influx of MEPs from accession states. An analysis of all EP amendments to environmental legislation between 1999 and 2009 reveals that post-enlargement the EP was more successful at securing the adoption of its amendments into law but that these amendments were less radical. These changes arise from the institutional adaptation prompted by enlargement and a broad ideological shift to the right within the EP.

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Entretien avec Jacqueline Lastenouse, directeur honoraire de la Commission Européenne

in *Histoire@Politique. Politique, culture, société*, n°15 , 177-198

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Lastenous Jacqueline, Dulphy Anne, Manigand Christine

Entretien avec Jacqueline Lastenouse, directeur honoraire de la Commission européenne
in *Histoire@Politique*, n. 15

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process



Michael Pettis

España, el euro y las políticas alemanas

in *Política Exterior*, 145 - Enero/Febrero

La crisis de España y del resto de países europeos con problemas de deuda no podrá resolverse a menos que Alemania lleve a cabo un ajuste de su política económica. Obligar solo a los primeros es una receta para el estancamiento, la inestabilidad y el extremismo.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Jacob Antoine

Estonie: l'euro pour le meilleur et pour le pire

in *Politique internationale*, n. 132 - Ete, 2011

Entretien avec Andrus ANSIP Premier ministre d'Estonie depuis 2005, conduit par Antoine JACOB

Of all the prime ministers who have left their mark on the political life of the Baltic states since their return to independence two decades ago, Estonia's Andrus Ansip stands out as the only one to have secured a degree of stability. Prime minister since 2005, Mr. Ansip succeeded in gaining eurozone membership for Estonia on January 1, 2011, in return for a level of budgetary rigor that could serve as a model for many other European states... Symbolic implications aside, Andrus Ansip is banking on the euro to make Estonia a more attractive option for foreign investors, to boost trade with the rest of the continent and to stabilize the currency. However, membership in the EU also carries a political dimension: Estonians are eager to be part of Europe mainly to escape the domination of their imposing neighbor to the east, Russia, under whose yoke they have been for half a century. The cyber attacks that hit Estonia in 2007 served as a timely reminder of this threat.

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Editorial

Euro, gare au court-circuit démocratique!

in *Esprit*, Janvier 2012 , 5-6

The full text is free:

www.esprit.presse.fr/archive/review/article.php?code=36573&folder=0

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Kuhn Theresa

Europa ante portas: Border residence, transnational interaction and Euroscepticism in Germany and France

in *European Union Politics* , Vol. 13, n. 1, March , 94-117



This article builds on previous findings that border residents are less prone to be Eurosceptic. First, it enhances measurement by using a more exact distinction between border and core districts. Second, it extends theory by arguing that the lower propensity towards Euroscepticism among border residents is the result of their greater involvement in transnational networks and interactions. Third, the article adds to the interest-or-identity discussion in Euroscepticism research by distinguishing between goal-oriented and sociable forms of transnational interactions and testing their impact on Euroscepticism. Multilevel analyses of Eurobarometer data for France and Germany show that (1) the border effect holds only in Germany, (2) it is mediated by individual transnationalism, and (3) sociable forms of interaction are key to structuring attitudes towards European integration.

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Kaufmann Stephan

Europa unter deutscher Fuchtel

in **Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik**, Januar, 2012 , 5-8

The full text is free:

www.blaetter.de/archiv/jahrgaenge/2012/januar/europa-unter-deutscher-fuchtel

Mit den Beschlüssen des EU-Gipfels vom 8. und 9. Dezember hat Europa seine Bemühungen um die „Rettung“ seiner Kreditwürdigkeit fundamental erweitert – was die britische Regierung prompt zum Ausstieg veranlasste. Beschlossen wurden nicht mehr neue Rettungsschirme, Kredite und Auflagen für angeschlagene Euroländer. Im Kern ging es um ein neues Design der europäischen Finanzpolitik – also um die Regeln, nach denen EU-Staaten künftig Geld ausgeben dürfen.

Durchgesetzt – und zwar auf der ganzen Linie – hat sich dabei Bundeskanzlerin Angela Merkel. „Man kann sagen, es ist der Durchbruch zu einer Stabilitätsunion“, und das „ohne faule Kompromisse“, verkündete sie.

Wie eine derartige Politik „ohne faule Kompromisse“ zukünftig aussehen wird, lehrt ein kurzes Beispiel. Im Herbst 2011 überlegte die irische Regierung, wie sie die Staatseinnahmen künftig steigern kann, um ihre Schulden zu senken. Geplant war, die Mehrwertsteuer zu erhöhen und Staatsbetriebe zu verkaufen. Bevor die Regierung jedoch den Gesetzesentwurf dem irischen Parlament vorlegte, zeigte sie ihn einer anderen Institution: dem deutschen Bundestag. Er sollte die Pläne abnicken – schließlich vergibt Deutschland Hilfskredite an Irland. Dieser laut irischer Opposition „beispiellose Vertrauensbruch“ produzierte in Dublin einen kleinen Skandal. Gleichzeitig jedoch zeigt die Episode, wie sich die Bundesregierung das künftige Europa wünscht...

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Eduard Soler i Lecha

Europa y el Mediterráneo: ¿año cero?

in **Política Exterior**, 145 - Enero/Febrero



Crisis económica y política en la orilla norte. Revueltas ciudadanas y cambios de régimen en la orilla sur. El Mediterráneo ha mostrado en el último año su potencial de conflicto, poniendo en entredicho la credibilidad de la UE, sus alianzas y la política euromediterránea.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Weidenfeld Werner

Europa – Ein Kontinent auf der Suche nach seiner Identität

in *Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft*, 21. Jahrgang (2011), Heft 2

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Jan Krzysztof Bielecki

Europa: el camino se hace al andar

in *Cuadernos de pensamiento político*, Nr 32, Octubre-Diciembre

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Iersel Joost P. Van

Europe 2020 and the Future of the European Union

in *Europe en formation (L')*, n. 362, 2011/4, 147-168

In this paper, the author gives a picture of Europe 2020 and of its possible beneficial impact in the current political and economic context. As a follow-up of the failed Lisbon Strategy, Europe 2020—National Reform Programmes, Flagships, Single Market—is conceived as an overarching method and programme for the EU for the next decade, connecting Member States closer to the EU, thus deepening integration. In the framework of Europe 2020 sound fiscal and financial policies should be interlinked with a much needed growth strategy, in which fields that are subject to the Community-method and areas which are reserved to the Member States are coordinated effectively. The role of the Commission should be fostered. Governance is a central issue. In a political perspective Europe 2020 can be seen as an overture to an economic government. Under the strict condition that it is carried out according to the Council decisions in 2010, Europe 2020 can promote decisively economic resilience and a more stable and future-oriented environment. Non-governmental actors as business, organisations and organised civil society should be accepted as committed stakeholders in the process.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

J. Oerstroem Moeller



Europe after the debt crisis

in *Asia Europe Journal*, Volume 9, Number 1 , 67-72

The Euro zone was caught unprepared by the financial crisis originating in the USA followed by the recession. Severe flaws in the designs hidden by the “good” years surfaced calling for action. After a good deal of fumbling, the Euro zone moves towards a fiscal union anchored in acceptance of a “German” economic model—low inflation, low deficits, and debts. The Euro will survive with two major changes. The integration will be stronger and the core countries in the Euro zone will exercise stronger leadership raising awkward policy decision for the skeptical members of the EU, but outside the Euro.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Alain Richard

Europe politique : un espoir est-il raisonnable ?

in *Politique Etrangère*, Vol. 76, n°4 hiver

La crise européenne est d’abord le fruit des difficultés économiques et de leurs effets sociaux. Le projet européen d’une prospérité croissante et partagée est désormais vu avec défiance par les opinions publiques. À cela s’ajoute une gouvernance complexe depuis les élargissements de la précédente décennie. Un esprit collectif européen peut renaître du désir d’un rebond économique mais cette revitalisation dépendra beaucoup des élites médiatiques et politiques, ainsi que des nouvelles générations de citoyens européens.

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Uwe Puetter

Europe's deliberative intergovernmentalism: the role of the Council and European Council in EU economic governance

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 19, Issue 2 2012 , 161-178

The European Union's (EU's) responses to the economic and financial crisis provided a vigorous illustration for how the role of the Union's core intergovernmental bodies – the European Council and the Council – has evolved in recent years. The European Council has emerged as the centre of political gravity in the field of economic governance. The Council and the Eurogroup fulfil a crucial role as forums for policy debate. The emphasis on increased high-level intergovernmental policy co-ordination is the reflection of an integration paradox inherent to the post-Maastricht EU. While policy interdependencies have grown, member state governments have resisted the further transfer of formal competences to the EU level and did not follow the model of the Community method. Instead, they aim for greater policy coherence through intensified intergovernmental co-ordination. Given its consensus dependency, this co-ordination system can best be conceptualized as deliberative intergovernmentalism.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Mai'a K Davis Cross



Europe, a smart power?

in *International Politics* , Volume 48, Issue 6 , 691–706

Smart power is defined as the effective combination of both hard and soft power. The concept is increasingly used in policy and academic debates, yet a clear understanding of what it actually means is still lacking. As a result, there is little serious consideration of how smart power can contribute to long-standing debates about power in international relations. This article seeks to clarify the meaning of smart power through first analyzing its main components – hard and soft power – separately; and second bringing these components together to re-conceptualize smart power. The aim is to make smart power more analytically useful, and to outline the various ways in which hard and soft power can be combined effectively. The author considers the case of Europe to argue that it is mainly a soft power and sometimes a smart power.

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Szewczyk Bart M. J.

European Citizenship and National Democracy: Contemporary Sources of Legitimacy of the European Union

in *Columbia Journal of European Law*, Vol. 17, issue 2 , 151-230

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Sen Amartya

European Democracy is Valuable Too, not Just the Monetary Union

in *Federalist Debate (The)*, Year XXIV, n. 3, November , 6-8

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

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André Sapir

European Integration at the Crossroads: A Review Essay on the 50th Anniversary of Bela Balassa's Theory of Economic Integration

in *Journal of Economic Literature*, Vol. 49, No. 4 , 1200–1229

Bela Balassa's Theory of Economic Integration, published fifty years ago, is a remarkable, yet little known book. This essay reviews developments in the economic literature and in the process of European integration since the book's publication, showing that it was incredibly prescient. It anticipated by more than twenty years the modern literature on economic integration that emphasizes scale economies, imperfect competition, and economic geography. It also predicted that monetary union cannot function properly without political unification, a condition well illustrated by the recent euro-debt crisis that is likely to be a watershed in the history of European integration.



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Trondal Jarle, Marcussen Martin, Larsson Torbjörn, Veggelan Frode

**European administrative centre formation. Lessons from international bureaucracies
in *Comparative European Politics*, vol. 10, n. 1, January, 86-110**

ABSTRACT: The strengthening of administrative powers is comprehensively documented within national governments. This article asks to what extent centre formation also happens within international bureaucracies. Based on a large body of data (N=121) within three international bureaucracies, this study adds two new observations: First, administrative centre formation is primarily observed inside the European Commission and only marginally within other international bureaucracies – such as the OECD and WTO Secretariats. Moreover, within the Commission, centre formation is primarily observed at the administrative centre (the General Secretariat) and only marginally within bureaucratic sub-units. Concomitantly, administrative centre formation, when observed, does not seem to profoundly penetrate and transform international bureaucracies writ large. Second, variation in centre formation both across and within international bureaucracies is associated with two often neglected variables in comparative government literature: (i) first, the accumulation of relevant organisational capacities at the executive centre, and second, the vertical and horizontal specialisation of international bureaucracies.

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Ivic Sanja, Lakicevic Dragan D.

**European identity: between modernity and postmodernity
in *Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research*, Volume 24, Issue 4, 395-407**

The purpose of this inquiry is to rethink the concept of European identity within the framework of the Declaration on European Identity and the Charter of European Identity. It will be argued that those documents employ the modernist notion of a centered, rational, stable, autonomous and unified self. However, this idea of the self leads to exclusion and essentialism. In this way, European identity cannot embrace the multiculturalism of European societies. Thus, it should be replaced by a more flexible, dynamic and shifting concept of identity

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Peglis Michalis

**European parties in the post-Lisbon reality
in *European View*, vol. 10, n. 2, December, 221-230**

European elections have long been considered 'second-order national elections'. However, the Treaty of Lisbon brings about a window of opportunity, particularly when it comes to reinforcing democratic legitimacy and political participation in the EU. This article tries to shed light on potential ideas to make European Parliament elections more comprehensible and attractive for the citizens of the EU. Two steps in this direction are to establish a clear-cut link between the European Commission (both the president and its members) and the European elections, and a proposal for a new type



of European manifesto. Successful implementation of these ideas requires reform in the content of the work of European parties.

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Gruber Joachim

European schools: A subject of International Law Integrated into the European Union
in *International Organizations Law Review*, vol. 8, n. 1 , 175-196

ABSTRACT: The European Schools were established on the basis of the Statute of the European School of 12 April 1957 and the Protocol of 13 April 1962 on the setting up of the European Schools with reference to the Statute of the European School. The Statute of 12 April 1957 and the Protocol thereto of 13 April 1962 were cancelled and replaced by the Convention of 21 June 1994 defining the Statute of the European Schools. The author describes the application by the courts of these agreements. He further explains the convergence process of the European Schools in the European Union.

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Cincera Michele, Veugelers Reinhilde

Europe's missing Yollies
in *Reflets et perspectives de la vie économique*, Tome L, 2011/3

Europe's lack of capacity to generate growth and particularly productivity growth is for a significant part attributable to a subdued capacity to innovate. Policies aimed at boosting growth through research and development have not delivered. Private R&D intensity remains to date low (and productivity growth has declined). Looking at potential causes for this poor performance, analysis has looked at the importance of sector specialization as well as churning problems and firm demography. In this paper we go further by linking the two dimensions. We show that the EU's business R&D deficit with the US can be almost entirely explained by the EU having fewer young leading innovators and, even more importantly, having fewer of these in new high-R&D intensive sectors. It addresses the implications of this finding for EU's research and innovation policy design.

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Limbach Jutta, Gerhards Jürgen

Europäische Sprachenpolitik
in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 4, 2012

The full text is free:

www.bpb.de/publikationen/7WGR8I,0,Europ%E4ische_Sprachenpolitik.html



Inhalt:

Jutta Limbach: Plädoyer für die Mehrsprachigkeit in der Europäischen Union

Zukunft der deutschen Sprache

Sprachenregime der Europäischen Union

Ein neues Sprachenregime der Europäischen Union

Bildungsziel Mehrsprachigkeit

Jürgen Gerhards: Plädoyer für die Förderung der Lingua franca Englisch

Sprachpolitik der EU

Vier Argumente für eine veränderte Sprachpolitik

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Knelangen Wilhelm

Euroskepsis? Die EU und der Vertrauensverlust der Bürgerinnen und Bürger

in **Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte**, Band 4, 2012

The full text is free:

www.bpb.de/publikationen/W3YRES,0,Euroskepsis_Die_EU_und_der_Vertrauensverlust_der_B%FCrgerinnen_und_B%FCrger.html

Inhalt:

Einleitung

Zunahme der Euroskepsis?

Vorteile durch die Mitgliedschaft?

Europäische Projekte im Urteil der Bevölkerung

Ausblick: Fragile Stabilität der EU

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Louise Van Schaik, Simon Schunz



Explaining EU Activism and Impact in Global Climate Politics: Is the Union a Norm- or Interest-Driven Actor?

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 50, Issue 1, January 2012 , 169-186

This contribution examines the driving factors behind the European Union's activism in global climate politics since the mid-1990s. Two alternatives are considered: norms and interests. Norms underlying the EU's stance include its belief in multilateralism, sustainable development and the precautionary principle. Interests comprise economic opportunities and the climate change–security nexus. It is argued here that the normative orientation has dominated the EU's 'leading by example' strategy in global negotiations. In Copenhagen, it yielded little influence as it was insufficiently geared towards the context of the negotiations. This challenges the notion of 'normative power' Europe and makes a review of the Union's external climate policy necessary.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bell Mark, Wadington Lisa

Exploring the boundaries of positive action under EU law: A search for conceptual clarity

in *Common Market Law Review*, vol. 48, issue 5 , 1503-1526

ABSTRACT: Positive action is a central element of EU anti-discrimination legislation. It allows measures to be taken to further the realization of full equality in practice by redressing past or present disadvantages experienced by groups such as women, ethnic minorities, etc. With the expansion of EU anti-discrimination law, additional methods of promoting equality have been introduced, such as reasonable accommodation duties, mainstreaming and equality data collection. This has given rise to some terminological and conceptual confusion as to the distinction between these measures and positive action, including within court judgments. This article argues that positive action can be separated from other techniques for promoting equality and that maintaining this distinction is important. In particular, there are a specific set of requirements for positive action measures to be lawful, including respect for the principle of proportionality. Applying these requirements in an over-inclusive manner could have the effect of imposing unnecessary restrictions, as well as generating confusion for organizations and individuals with regard to what positive action entails.

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Jones Shannon, Subotic Jelena

Fantasies of power: Performing Europeanization on the European periphery

in *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, Volume 14, No. 5, October 2011 , 542-557

This article offers a fresh look at contemporary processes of Europeanization. Using the Eurovision Song Contest as empirical illustration of how states perform Europeanization, this article makes three principal arguments. First, it challenges optimistic accounts of cultural Europeanization and identifies the limits that the Europeanization project faces. Second, it proposes that the process of Europeanization is fundamentally a process of political imagination. How states choose to Europeanize, which attributes of Europe they accept and which ones they reject are shaped by what they imagine Europe to be and what they imagine their role in Europe is. Third, it argues that European states with uncertain or transitional identities on the European 'periphery' use performative symbols, such as carnivals, festivals or cultural events to express their fantasies about power and equality within the international system.



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Munin Nellie

Female Employment and Turkey's EU Accession Process

in Mediterranean Politics, Volume 16, Issue 3, November , 449-457

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Il grillo parlante

Focus: Export Difesa - un passo avanti (europeo) e due indietro (italiani)

in Rivista Italiana Difesa, n. 12, anno 2011 , 25

Alcuni commenti sulle nuove disposizioni italiane in fatto di esportazione di materiali per la Difesa nell'ambito dei Paesi europei, disposizioni che penalizzano ulteriormente le aziende nazionali.

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Christine Mahoney, Michael J. Beckstrand

Following the Money: European Union Funding of Civil Society Organizations

in Journal of Common Market Studies, Volume 49, Issue 6, November 2011 , 1339-1361

This article presents analyses from an original database of 1,164 civil society groups that received funding from the European Commission from 2003 to 2007, compiled from funding documents recently released through the European Transparency Initiative, and identifies the empirical patterns behind Commission funding behaviour. Based on the literature on input legitimacy, one would expect the Commission to seek to achieve balance across Member States and across diffuse and specific interests. Based on the literature on European integration which argues the EU has preferentially supported Euro groups, one would expect the Commission to support groups that promote pan-Europeanism and are organized at the European Union (EU) level. The data analysis shows that groups which promote a European identity, democracy and civic engagement and intercultural exchange, as well as those that are organized at the EU level, receive stronger support from the Commission. Additionally, groups based in the old Member States of western Europe receive significantly more funding than those in central and eastern Europe. The database is freely available to scholars online.

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Kaufmann Bruno

For a strategic thinker, it's a short-sighted suggestion

in Europe's World, Issue 19, Autumn



http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21917/language/en-US/Default.aspx

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Padis Marc-Olivier

France-Allemagne: qui esquivent ses responsabilités?

in *Esprit*, Novembre 2011 , 127-133

Crise grecque, sauvetage de l'euro, innovations européennes, intervention en Libye : les désaccords entre Paris et Berlin se sont multipliés cette année. Cette difficile coordination relève moins d'un désaccord global sur l'avenir européen que d'une série de décalages ponctuels. Mais quand il faut coopérer plus étroitement, les particularités politiques et économiques se tendent et les malentendus se font plus criants.

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Börzel Tanja A., Risse Thomas

From Europeanisation to Diffusion: Introduction

in *West European Politics*, vol. 35, n. 1 , 1-19

ABSTRACT: This special issue explores to what extent policies and institutions of the European Union spread across different contexts. Are the EU's attempts to transfer its policies and institutions to accession and neighbourhood countries sustainable and effective? To what degree do other regions of the world emulate the EU's institutional features; what are the mechanisms of, and scope conditions for, their diffusion? This introduction provides the conceptual framework of the special issue. First, it specifies EU-related institutional change as the 'dependent variable'. Second, it discusses how Europeanisation research and diffusion studies relate to each other and can be fruitfully combined to identify processes and mechanisms by which ideas and institutions of the EU spread. Third, we introduce scope conditions which are likely to affect domestic (or regional) change in response to the promotion or emulation of EU ideas and institutions.

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Marianne Riddervold

From reason-giving to collective action: Argument-based learning and European integration

in *Cooperation and Conflict*, 46 (4) , 563-580

The aim of this article is to contribute to the further development of deliberative theory—to make it more applicable to research on EU integration—by establishing alternative and more concise micro-mechanisms to those of the rationalist bargaining perspectives. It is suggested that the micro-mechanism through which deliberation has an effect on outcomes is what is termed argument-based learning, which means that an actor accepts the validity of a presented argument so that (s)he acts upon it. Moreover, the article differentiates between three types of argument-based learning considered relevant in the EU context. On this basis, it suggests a two-step analytical approach for studies of EU



decision-making processes. In trying out the empirical relevance of the framework, it is applied to a case where one would not expect agreements on common EU policies to have been reached due to argument-based learning, namely EU coordination towards the Maritime Labour Convention (MLC). The framework proved helpful in accounting for agreements that are puzzling from a rationalist perspective.

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Somek Alexander

From the Rule of Law to the Constitutionalist Makeover: Changing European Conceptions of Public International Law

in *Constellations*, Vol. 18, Issue 4, December , 567-588

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1467-8675.2011.00659.x/abstract>

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Erik Oddvar Eriksen

Governance between expertise and democracy: the case of European Security

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 18, Issue 8 2011 , 1169-1189

The European Union (EU) constitutes a multifarious security environment in which the demand for expert knowledge is on the rise. The objective of securing the sound specialized knowledge required for the EU's so-called comprehensive security strategy may not meet the requirement of being democratically accountable. There is hardly any objective knowledge basis for 'experts' in this field and different knowledge systems are connected to different validation and accountability procedures. A comprehensive security policy would blur the institutional and legal boundaries of the constitutional state. The deliberative approach to democratic governance offers some prescripts for achieving a comprehensive security policy involving humanitarian and civilian aspects alongside the military and technological ones. But deliberation cannot bear the burden of democratic legitimation.

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Zimmermann Ann, Favell Adrian

Governmentality, political field or public sphere? Theoretical alternatives in the political sociology of the EU

in *European Journal of Social Theory*, Volume 14, Number 4, November 2011 , 488-515

The call for a more sociological approach to the study of the European Union, reflected in a number of recent survey works by sociologists and political scientists, offers exciting new prospects for rethinking the empirical terrain of 'Europeanized' politics beyond the nation state – whether in terms of governance, policy-making, parliamentary and legal politics, mobilization, or political communication. Via a survey of three kinds of leading sociological work on the EU, broadly split between three camps working with the distinctive legacies of 'Habermasian', 'Bourdiesian' and 'Foucauldian' thinking, this article details the strengths and weaknesses of these paradigms. Focusing on a number of exemplary studies on the question of democratic legitimacy in the EU using each of these approaches, it offers a



preliminary attempt to map their agendas, contributions, and blind spots, moving towards a synthesis that might identify commonalities and streamline a more coherent agenda for the political sociology of the European Union. The most promising line would appear to be one that moves away from purely theoretical/conceptual debates towards specific operationalizations able to combine elements of the various sociological approaches.

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Chen Natalie, Novy Dennis

Gravity, trade integration, and heterogeneity across industries

in *Journal of International Economics*, Volume 85, Issue 2, November 2011 , Pages 206-221

We derive a micro-founded measure of bilateral trade integration that is consistent with a broad range of leading gravity models. This measure accounts for cross-industry heterogeneity by incorporating substitution elasticities estimated at the industry level. We then use it to provide a theory-based ranking of trade integration across manufacturing industries in European Union countries. In addition, we explore the determinants of trade integration, finding that substantial Technical Barriers to Trade in certain industries as well as high transportation costs associated with heavy-weight goods are the most notable trade barriers.

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Kotios Angelos, Pavlidis George, Galanos George

Greece and the Euro: The chronicle of an expected collapse

in *Intereconomics*, Volume 46, Number 5 / October 2011 , 263-269

Ten years after Greece's accession to EMU, the venture has proved to be almost a complete failure. Obviously, the country joined EMU disappointingly unprepared. After EMU accession, Greece failed to seek the necessary adaptations. Its economic policy was inconsistent with the economic logic and rules of the game of a monetary union. EMU did not in itself lead to the Greek crisis. Nevertheless, the supervisory arrangements clearly failed to work. Moreover, the unfolding of the crisis was assisted by EMU's inherent weakness in managing asymmetric disturbances and the absence of early warning and rapid intervention mechanisms.

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Prévélakis Georges

Grèce : les raisons historiques de la faillite

in *Esprit*, Novembre 2011 , 18-29

La crise grecque a surpris, a choqué, comme si l'Europe ne s'attendait pas à se voir ainsi frappée dans sa source même, dans le pays symbole de la démocratie. Il faut alors revenir en arrière, sur les faiblesses de l'État grec et les aveuglements des partenaires européens, mettre en perspective longue ce que les Grecs attendent de l'Europe. Reprendre une analyse politique et historique de la relation entre la Grèce et l'Europe, c'est éviter de se laisser enfermer dans un formalisme qui a contribué à la crise actuelle.



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Bronzini Giuseppe

Happy birthday; il primo anno di 'obbligatorietà' della Carta di Nizza nella giurisprudenza della Corte europea di giustizia

in *Cittadinanza europea (La)*, Fascicolo 2 - 2011

Il saggio, muovendo da una prospettiva metodologica che cerca di superare le contraddizioni dell'approccio nazionalistico sull'Europa e proponendo di guardare ad essa da un punto di vista globale per cogliere insieme gli elementi 'federali' e 'inter-governativi' del processo di integrazione, intende offrire, alla luce in particolare delle innovazioni introdotte dal trattato di Lisbona, una interpretazione sistematica della cittadinanza europea, come istituto autonomo di carattere potenzialmente federale a base della legittimazione dell'Unione e del modello europeo di società aperta e inclusiva.

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Van Aelst Peter, Lefevere Jonas

Has Europe got anything to do with the European elections? A study on split-ticket voting in the Belgian regional and European elections of 2009

in *European Union Politics*, Vol. 13, n. 1, March, 3-25

This study explains why people voted differently in the 2009 regional and European elections in Belgium. By comparing loyal voters and voters who split their ticket, the article shows that a part of the electorate is driven by Euro-specific motivations. The proportion of people who truly vote 'European' depends on the political context, and more precisely on what parties offer the voters in terms of candidates and issues. However, the European dimension is not the only mechanism that underlies voters' electoral choices at the European level. In particular, uncertain voters, who lack a clear preference for one party at the national level, are likely to split their ticket between the regional and European elections.

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Mikosch Heiner, Sturm Jan-Egbert

Has the EMU reduced wage growth and unemployment? Testing a model of trade union behavior

in *European Journal of Political Economy*, Volume 28, Issue 1, March 2012, Pages 27-37

Grüner (2010) argues that the introduction of the European Monetary Union (EMU) led to lower wage growth and lower unemployment in participating countries. According to Grüner, monetary centralization increases the amplitude of national business cycles, which leads to higher unemployment risk. In order to counter-balance this effect, trade unions lower their claims for wage mark-ups, resulting in lower wage growth and lower unemployment. This paper uses macroeconomic data on OECD countries and a difference-in-differences approach to empirically test the implications of



this model. Although we come up with some weak evidence for increased business cycle amplitudes within the EMU, we neither find a significant general effect of the EMU on wage growth nor on unemployment.

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Thomas Rixen, Peter Schwarz

How Effective is the European Union's Savings Tax Directive? Evidence from Four EU Member States
in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 50, Issue 1, January 2012 , 151-168

This article examines the strategies employed by individual investors to evade cross-border capital income taxation, and evaluates the effectiveness of the European Union Savings Tax Directive (STD). Using data for four European countries, the results are, first, individual investors adapted to the institutional changes implemented by the STD before it became effective in 2005; second, the strategy of reallocating assets from debt to equity products in the same country is more important than shifting portfolio capital out of co-operating countries into third countries; third, countries opting for a retention tax did not experience an outflow of portfolio capital, whereas countries engaged in information exchange lost capital relative to third countries outside the scope of the STD; and finally, there is considerable heterogeneity across countries. While there are strong behavioural responses by French investors, no evidence was found of cross-border tax evasion by Italian investors, which may be explained by the absence of a national automatic reporting system on capital income in Italy. Overall, the findings show that the STD does not effectively prevent tax evasion and thus lend support to calls for tightening the directive.

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Schimmelfennig Frank

How Substantial Is Substance? Concluding Reflections on the Study of Substance in EU Democracy Promotion
in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 16, issue 5 , 727-734

ABSTRACT: These concluding reflections deal with three arguments that could be put forward against the research agenda of this special issue: that substance is either trivial or non-existent or not consequential. The article argues that, whereas substance has clearly been shown to be non-trivial, the 'substance of substance' and its effects are open issues. It also suggests areas for further research: subtypes of liberal democracy and alternative templates such as democratic governance, the inputs and processes that generate the substance of democracy promotion, and the link between substance and instruments.

The contributions to this special issue tackle an important dimension of EU democracy promotion. As Anne Wetzel and Jan Orbie rightly point out in their introductory article, research on EU democracy promotion has focused predominantly on strategies and instruments, on the one hand, and effects and results, on the other. Substance has mainly played a role with regard to the consistency, or rather inconsistency, of EU democracy promotion but has not been an important research area in its own right. This special issue goes a long way in filling this gap. By disentangling the broad notion of democracy according to several partial regimes and by studying the content of EU democracy promotion at the level of regions and even individual countries, the contributors provide a nuanced and differentiated picture of what the EU promotes.



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Brown Gordon

How to Save Europe

in *New Perspectives Quarterly*, Vol. 28, Issue 4, Fall , 7-10

The sovereign debt problem in Europe, ignited by Greece, has morphed into an economic crisis challenging the solvency of major banks and countries as well as a generalized crisis of governance. Lacking the legitimacy of public support, the leaders of the European Union's fledgling institutions have been indecisive and unable to contain the looming danger of financial contagion. Along with the economic slowdown in the United States, instability and volatility in Europe threaten to derail the fragile global recovery.

In this section, several former European leaders as well as political figures from the emerging economies offer their ideas on how to fix Europe and stem the global threat.

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Calchi Novati Gian Paolo

I confini d'Europa. Il mediterraneo e i resti degli imperi

in *Lettera Internazionale*, n. 110, 2011

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Georg Mader

I nuovi velivoli da combattimento europei alla prova del fuoco

in *Rivista Italiana Difesa*, n. 12, anno 2011 , 30-36

Resoconto dell'attività svolta dai velivoli da combattimento europei dell'ultima generazione (RAFALE, TYPHOON, GRIPEN) nel corso delle operazioni in Libia con analisi dell'attuale situazione in cui si trovano i relativi programmi di sviluppo e produzione.

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Roose Jochen

Identifikation mit Europa im außereuropäischen Vergleich. Ein Niveau- und Strukturvergleich zu einer Dimension europäischer Integration

in *Zeitschrift für Soziologie*, Jahrgang 40, Heft 6, 2011 , 478-496



Zusammenfassung: Die Identifikation mit Europa ist ein wesentlicher Aspekt der sozialen Integration Europas. Bisher wurde europäische Identifikation vornehmlich mit Bezug auf den Integrationsprozess im Kontext der EU erklärt. So sollen wirtschaftliche Vorteile der EU, transnationale Erfahrungen und die Verbreitung europäischer Symbole die europäische Identifikation stärken, wobei entsprechende Effekt bei sozioökonomisch besser gestellten Personen stärker ausfallen sollen. Mit Daten des ISSP wird geprüft, inwieweit Ausmaß und sozialstrukturelle Verteilung der Identifikation mit Europa in EU-Mitgliedsländern diese Annahmen bestätigen. Entgegen der Annahmen zeigt sich kein höheres Niveau der kontinentalen Identifikation in Europa im Vergleich mit außereuropäischen Ländern und keine Zunahme dieser Identifikation im Zeitverlauf. Ein gruppenvergleichendes Pfadmodell belegt einheitliche sozialstrukturelle Einflüsse auf kontinentale Identifikation über Länder und Kontinente hinweg. Im Ländervergleich zeigen sich auch keine Zusammenhänge transnationaler Erfahrungen (gemessen durch Immigranten aus anderen Ländern desselben Kontinents) bzw. innerkontinentalen Handels mit kontinentaler Identifikation. Die Identifikation mit dem Kontinent fällt in Europa insgesamt nicht außergewöhnlich aus. Diese Ergebnisse ziehen EU-bezogene Erklärungen der Identifikation mit Europa und die Plausibilität entsprechender politischer Programme in Zweifel.

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Lorenzo Striuli

**Il Border Control europeo: tempo di proposte o di polemiche
in CeMiSS - Osservatorio Strategico e Quarterly**, XIII, n. 9 , 47-49

Crescita della tematica del border control a livello comunitario.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Piroddi Paolo

**Il Parlamento europeo nel Trattato di Lisbona tra democrazia rappresentativa e democrazia partecipativa
in Rivista italiana di diritto pubblico comunitario**, n. 3-4 , 801-838

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Luther Jorg

**Il Processo di Karlsruhe al Trattato di Lisbona: alla ricerca di interpretazioni ragionevoli
in Giurisprudenza Costituzionale**, fasc. 1 , 925-946

No abstract available

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Daniele Luigi

Il dialogo tra Corte di giustizia e Corti supreme degli Stati membri: il caso del mandato di arresto europeo
in *Studi sull'integrazione europea*, Anno VI, n. 3, settembre-dicembre , 433-456

Does a dialogue between the Constitutional and Supreme Courts of the Member States, on one hand, and the Court of Justice of the European Union, on the other hand, really exist or is it no more than a "myth", of which a lot is talked about only to disguise the intention of each of the stake-holders not to wave their own competence? The present article aims at testing whether such a dialogue exists and what its scope is by confronting the numerous rulings issued during a relatively short stretch of time by the Constitutional and Supreme Courts of a number of Member States on the framework decision on the European Arrest Warrant and the case-law which the Court of Justice has produced in the same period.

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Ferraro Fabio

Il diritto di iniziativa dei cittadini europei: uno strumento efficace di democrazia partecipativa?
in *Rivista italiana di diritto pubblico comunitario*, n. 3-4 , 727-746

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Alessandro POLITI, Claudia BETTIOL

Il gioco di Scrat e Sid

in *Limes*, n. 6, 2011

Una guerra economica sta dilaniando l'Eurozona. Dieci attori e quattro 'arbitri' (venduti?): altro che mercato. Due risposte: unire i debitori e creare un'Agenzia europea dei beni comuni fondata sull'azionariato popolare. In alternativa, il suicidio.

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Mura Loredana

Il principio di eguaglianza nel diritto dell'Unione europea alla luce della più recente giurisprudenza della Corte di giustizia in materia di assicurazioni

in *Studi sull'integrazione europea*, Anno VI, n. 3, settembre-dicembre , 555-584

The principle of equality has not an unlimited content: it is conditioned by two other principles, non discrimination and diversity, the first preventing non legitimate discrimination and the second allowing for legitimate discrimination. These three principles and their interactions play an important role in the defence of fundamental human rights, such as those related to gender



protection: these principles – in giving origin to a complex and articulated protection, as it is based on norms adopted in execution and in derogation of them
– are suitable to satisfy all the general interests involved in that field. The coexistence of the principle of equality with two other different and autonomous principles, as quoted above, and the relations among the kind of norms to which they give origin, is not taken into due account by the judgment of March 1st 2011, case C-236/09, of the EU Court of Justice. In fact, in order to establish the effective adaptation to Directive no. 2004/113/EC, the Court overlaps two distinct categories of norms: those in derogation and those in execution of the principle of equality; furthermore, it merges the principle of equality that regulates the relationships among individuals with the principle of equality that regulates the relationships among Member States in the EU. In this sense, the decision of March 1st 2011 is in contradiction with the preceding jurisprudence of the Court of Justice and it has no foundation in the (primary and secondary) EU law.

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Favilli Chiara

Il principio di sussidiarietà nel diritto dell'Unione europea
in *Archivio giuridico*, n. 3 , 257-285

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Il Federalista

Il progetto europeo alla resa dei conti

in *Federalista (Il)/Federalist (The)*, Anno LIII, n. 2 , 75-84

<http://www.thefederalist.eu/files/PDF/IT/2000/2011-2-IT.pdf>

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Guidobono Cavalchini Luigi

Il ruolo dell'Europa in un mondo globale

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLIII, numero speciale, n. 165 , 39-61

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Marcello Messori

Il vaso di coccio. L'Italia alla prova dei conti



in **Mulino (il)**, n. 5, settembre-ottobre, 2011 , 753-760

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Liesbet Hooghe

Images of Europe: How Commission Officials Conceive Their Institution's Role

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 50, Issue 1, January 2012 , 87-111

How do Commission officials conceive the Commission's role in the European Union? Should the Commission be the government of Europe or the servant of Member States? Is there a third possibility – that of institutional pragmatism, whereby Commission and Member States share authority? This article lays out jurisdictional options and role conceptions adopted by Commission officials, and estimates their relative incidence using a 2008 large-scale survey among Commission officials (N = 1,901). There is a plurality of views, though within relatively narrow parameters. In explaining variation, national background shapes views more than professional background.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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O'Farrell Rory

Inequality and Europe 2020

in **Social Europe Journal**, Volume 6, Issue 1, Summer/Autumn , 19-21

<http://www.social-europe.eu/wp-content/uploads/2011/07/SocialEurope-19.pdf>

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Muñoz Jordi, Torcal Mariano, Bonet Eduard

Institutional trust and multilevel government in the European Union: Congruence or compensation?

in **European Union Politics** , Vol. 12, n. 4, December , 551-574

Does trust in national institutions foster or hinder trust in the institutions of the European Union (EU)? There is no agreement in the literature on popular support for the EU about the direction of the relationship between trust in national and European institutions. Some scholars argue that both will be positively related, others have proposed the opposite hypothesis: low levels of trust in national institutions will lead citizens to higher levels of support for the EU. We argue that both hypotheses are true but operate at different levels: whereas more trusting citizens tend to be so in both the national and the European arenas, we also find that at the country level the relationship is negative: living in a country with highly trusted and well-performing institutions hinders trust in the European Parliament. We test our hypotheses using data from the European Social Survey and Hierarchical Linear Modeling.



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Hilion Christophe

Integrating an Outsider: An EU Perspective on Relations with Norway
in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 16, issue 4 , 489-520

ABSTRACT: Through a dense network of agreements covering a wide range of policy areas, the multilayered association between the EU and Norway has led to a high degree of integration that, at least in substantive terms, brings Norway close to EU membership. Viewed as an effective tool for EU norm projection and a vector of generous external support for the Union policies at a relatively modest institutional cost, the specific EU Norway formula of integration without membership, with the EEA as its cornerstone, is often referred to by the Union as a template for the development of its neighbourhood policy. Several factors, not least the entry into force of the Treaty of Lisbon, have, however, led the Union to call for a review of that formula, with a view to crafting a new 'comprehensive approach'. This article locates the specific EU-Norway arrangement in the broader context of the Union's relations with its European neighbours. In particular, it attempts to expose the main driving force of the EU's policy towards states in its vicinity and how Norway fits into the wider process of European integration, as seen from the Union. It then analyses the main challenges to the current EU-Norway arrangement from an EU perspective and discusses how those could be addressed.

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Rasmussen Anne

Interest group-party interaction in EU politics

in *Party Politics*, Volume 18, Number 1, Special issue: "Political parties and interest groups: Qualifying the common wisdom", January , 81-98

Europe has brought about important changes in representation by strengthening the ability of national interest groups to influence policy at the expense of national political parties. Nevertheless, results from a project on the relationship between interest groups and political parties in Denmark, The Netherlands and the United Kingdom show that interest groups still attach high priority to interacting with national political parties in EU politics and that their party contacts have not moved to Brussels. Instead, national and European party contacts strengthen each other. Moreover, it is not the most but the least Europeanized groups that attach the lowest priority to interacting with national political parties in EU policy. Thus, the strategic adaptations in representation to the new EU opportunity structure may not be as serious as feared by some of the critics of EU democracy.

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Cross James P.

Interventions and negotiation in the Council of Ministers of the European Union
in *European Union Politics* , Vol. 13, n. 1, March , 47-69



Making interventions during negotiations within the Council of Ministers is the primary way in which member states make their policy positions known to one another and attempt to influence negotiations. In spite of this, relatively little scholarly attention has been paid to the factors that influence a member state's decision to intervene. This paper seeks to address this gap in our understanding by analysing a new data set that specifies which member states are intervening and at what level of negotiation within the Council they are doing so. Significant differences between member state intervention behaviour are observed, and these differences can be explained to some degree by structural characteristics of the policy space within which member states negotiate.

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Chaltiel Florence

Interview de Vincent Peillon député européenne

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 553, décembre , 626-628

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Piero Ignazi

Intervista a Romano Prodi

in *Mulino (il)*, n. 6, novembre-dicembre, 2011 , 1064-1074

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

R. Daniel Kelemen, Susanne K. Schmidt

Introduction – the European Court of Justice and legal integration: perpetual momentum?

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 19, Issue 1 2012 , 1-7

No abstract available

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Kaunert Christian, Léonard Sarah

Introduction: European Security Governance after the Lisbon Treaty: Neighbours and New Actors in a Changing Security Environment

in *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, vol. 12, n. 4, November, Special Issue: European Security Governance after the Lisbon Treaty: Neighbours and New Actors in a Changing Security Environment , 361-370



The EU has been making strong inroads into the realm of security over the last few years. This is a remarkable development since security matters used to be the preserve of states. The EU has generally been considered a rather weak security actor. However, it is necessary to remember that any assessment of the EU's role in international security is always underpinned by a specific understanding of security, although this may often be left implicit. This special issue – and, indeed, the European Security and Supranational Governance Conference and the whole EUSIM project – are based on a broad understanding of security. We consider that security concerns are increasingly triggered by challenges such as terrorism, climate change, mass migration flows and many other 'non-traditional' security issues. The articles presented in this special issue all testify to the breadth of the EU security agenda as they all try to capture some aspects of the EU's fast changing security policies following the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty on 1 December 2009. There are several common themes stemming from a combined reading of the various articles gathered in this special issue. One of the themes that emerges particularly strongly from the various analyses is the existence of a complex relationship between values and security at the heart of several EU policies, particularly in relation to its neighbourhood. As emphasized by the various contributors to this special issue, it appears that the EU has sought to simultaneously pursue its security objectives and spread its values, such as democracy, rule of law and human rights, by encouraging reforms in its neighbourhood. However, it is increasingly evident that there are tensions, and perhaps even contradictions, between these two objectives. We argue in this introduction that it is only one of the challenges faced by the EU that can be illuminated and better understood by considering another strand of literature with which there has been little engagement in EU studies to date – the literature on human security.

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Werner Kirsch, Jessica Langner

Invariably Suboptimal: An Attempt to Improve the Voting Rules of the Treaties of Nice and Lisbon
in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 49, Issue 6, November 2011 , 1317-1338

In this article the voting rules in the Council of the European Union are investigated. It is known that both the current system, according to the Treaty of Nice, and the voting system proposed in the Lisbon Treaty strongly deviate from Penrose's square root law, which under certain assumptions can be shown to be the ideal power distribution. Since it seems easier to make corrections to the current systems than to agree upon completely different new voting rules, one may hope that adjustments of the quota in the Lisbon Treaty might give rise to a system that is close to the square root law. In this article, this question is investigated. The computations it contains show that a mere change of quota in the treaties of Nice and Lisbon cannot bring the system substantially closer to the ideal distribution of power as given by the square root law.

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Ana E. Juncos, Karolina Pomorska

Invisible and unaccountable? National Representatives and Council Officials in EU foreign policy
in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 18, Issue 8 2011 , 1096-1114

The role of officials from the working groups and the Council Secretariat dealing with European Union (EU) external relations has grown in recent years as a result of the increase in the thematic and geographic scope of EU foreign policy and, in particular, the development of the EU's capabilities in crisis management. The increase in competences of



Brussels-based bodies has occurred in parallel to a transformation of the policy-making process that challenges intergovernmentalist assumptions about the extent of the control exercised by the member states over foreign policy-making. This contribution tracks the impact of Brusselization and socialization processes on Council officials and national representatives, which has resulted in these actors playing a role beyond that foreseen in the original delegation mandate. This inevitably raises questions of accountability in EU foreign policy.

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Sedelmeier Ulrich

Is Europeanisation through Conditionality Sustainable? Lock-in of Institutional Change after EU Accession in West European Politics, vol. 35, n. 1 , 20-38

ABSTRACT: Is the impact of EU accession conditionality sustainable after target states achieve EU membership? Although accession changes the incentive structure for compliance, this article suggests that a lock-in of pre-accession institutional changes can contribute to their persistence even after the EU's sanctioning power weakens. A case study of gender equality institutions in five new member states suggests that a combination of government partisan preferences and veto players explains whether such lock-in occurs. If institutional change no longer fits government preferences, the key condition is the presence of veto players who can lock in institutional change. Rather than impairing Europeanisation, as the literature often assumes, domestic veto players can thus foster it. However, the case study also finds that veto players can lock in non-compliance too if conditionality was unsuccessful, and it appears easier to reverse earlier institutional change than to redress the lack of it.

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Ripoll Serventa Ariadna, MacKenzieb Alex

Is the EP Still a Data Protection Champion? The Case of SWIFT

in Perspectives on European Politics and Society, vol. 12, n. 4, November, Special Issue: European Security Governance after the Lisbon Treaty: Neighbours and New Actors in a Changing Security Environment , 390-406

Since the 1970s, the European Parliament (EP) has been active in the area of data protection, even though it lacked the legislative power to have significant impact. The EP favoured strong data protection controls within the EU and it demonstrated this in the case of the EU-US Passenger Name Record (PNR) Agreement, for example. With the introduction of the Treaty of Lisbon in 2009, the EP gained, among other things, consent over most international agreements. Whereas the EP was relatively powerless in previous international agreements concerned with data protection, the EU-US SWIFT Agreement allowed the EP, for the first time, to flex its muscles. Even so, the EP appears to have disappointed the proponents of data protection by consenting to the second (permanent) SWIFT Agreement. In this article, we demonstrate that although the EP's previous stance was one of advocacy of strong data protection controls, it could afford to prioritize this without a concern for how such preferences would affect the EU member states. However, now that the EP has the burden of legal powers granted to it by the Treaty of Lisbon, it must be responsible to the member states' security concerns. SWIFT highlights that the EP maintained higher standards of data protection than the Council, but these data protection controls did not deal with major issues such as the transfer of 'bulk data' to the US.



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Daniele Archibugi, Andrea Filippetti

Is the Economic Crisis Impairing Convergence in Innovation Performance across Europe?

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 49, Issue 6, November 2011 , 1153-1182

Are EU Member States converging in terms of their innovative effort? To what extent is the current economic downturn impairing the convergence across the European Union countries in innovation performance? Using macro and micro data, this article shows that the EU Member States have converged in their innovative potential over the 2004–08 period. The economic crisis of Autumn 2008 has an impact on innovative investment in almost all EU countries, but the catch-up countries are the most affected, leading to increasing divergence. The danger of growing disparities in innovative capabilities may lead to divergence also in income and well-being. The article discusses some of the innovation policies that can be carried out at the EU level to facilitate cohesion.

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Barry Eichengreen

It may be our currency, but it's your problem

in **Australian Economic History Review**, Volume 51, Issue 3 , 245–253

No abstract available

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Editoriale

Italia kaputt mundi

in **Limes**, n. 6, 2011

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Lucio Caracciolo

Italia, de nuevo, en el centro del mundo

in **Política Exterior**, 145 - Enero/Febrero

La fuerza de Italia está en su debilidad contagiosa. Si Italia falla, el euro fallará también. El mandato alemán no debe ser inexorable. Los italianos, junto con griegos, españoles, irlandeses y portugueses, tienen en su mano el arma que haría reaccionar a la 'super-Europa'.



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Böhme-Kuby Susanna

Italien: Neue Regierung, doch keine Alternative

in **Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik**, Januar, 2012 , 17-20

The full text is free:

www.blaetter.de/archiv/jahrgaenge/2012/januar/italien-neue-regierung-doch-keine-alternative

„Egal, ob die Katze schwarz oder weiß ist: Hauptsache, sie fängt Mäuse.“ Auf diese kurze Formel Deng Xiaopings lässt sich der jüngste Regierungswechsel in Rom bringen: Der öffentliche Haushalt Italiens und insbesondere die Sozialausgaben sind die Mäuse, für die man eine neue Katze braucht.

Berlusconi musste nun endlich abtreten. Doch es war weder die politische Opposition, die ihn zu Fall brachte, noch jenes – durch die langwährende Deindustrialisierung Italiens auch politisch geschwächte – einst produktive Bürgertum, das aus den eigenen Reihen keine Alternative zu Berlusconi hatte aufbieten können, obwohl es sich inzwischen weitgehend von ihm abgewendet hatte.

Erst der massive Zinsdruck der Finanzmärkte auf die italienischen Staatspapiere sprengte Anfang November die politische Patt-Situation. Über Nacht sah sich Staatspräsident Giorgio Napolitano genötigt, den von ihm tags zuvor ernannten Senator auf Lebenszeit Mario Monti, einen renommierten Vertreter der europäischen Finanzwelt und ehemaligen EU-Wettbewerbskommissar, mit der Regierungsbildung zu beauftragen. Das erfolgte nach den institutionellen Spielregeln des italienischen Parlamentarismus: Das noch von Berlusconi dominierte Parlament stimmte dieser Maßnahme mit fast 90 Prozent zu. Der Staatspräsident nahm damit eine eminent politische Rolle ein. Dafür wurde er von allen Seiten hochgelobt, evozierte aber dennoch Assoziationen zu jener von Berlusconi und der Loge P2 angestrebten Form einer Präsidialrepublik, die notfalls auch ohne gewählte Kontrollinstanzen auskommt.

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Magnússon Skúli

Judicial Homogeneity in the European Economic Area and the Authority of the EFTA Court. Some Remarks on an Article by Halvard Haukeland Fredriksen

in **Nordic Journal of International Law**, vol. 80, issue 4 , 507-534

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Michael Emerson

Just Good Friends? The European Union's Multiple Neighbourhood Policies

in **International Spectator (The)**, Vol. 46, No. 4



The EU's self-definition as an integrating civilian, democratic and legal space of political norms and economic regulation, without any significant military power structure, profoundly affects the conception of its neighbourhood policies. It tries to promote with its neighbours what it has achieved itself at home. While the EU has one explicit neighbourhood policy, there are no less than 13 concentric circles of graduated neighbourhood relationships surrounding its territory, with a continuous blurring of categories between them. The EU can be described as engaging in a policy of Eurocentric normativism. But does trying to make neighbours 'become like us' amount to an effective strategy? There is widespread agreement that although the enlargement process for accession of new member states has proved impressively transformative, the official ENP, sometimes called 'enlargement-lite', has not. Nevertheless, while the conditionality mechanism has proved weak in the absence of the accession incentive, the alternative of Europeanisation by socialisation might still work gradually in the longer term in the outer neighbourhood.

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Bischoff Jan Asmus

Just a little bit of “mixity”? The EU’s role in the field of international investment protection law in Common Market Law Review, vol. 48, issue 5 , 1527-1569

ABSTRACT: With the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty, the Common Commercial Policy (CCP) has been extended to foreign direct investment (FDI). However, the scope of these (exclusive) competences under the CCP is limited and thus does not pertain to all issues governed by contemporary bilateral investment treaties (BITs). Rather, the competences for such BITs are mixed. Therefore, future agreements will have to be concluded by the EU and the its Member States together unless the EU is prepared to exclude the protection of certain investments from its agenda. But mixed agreements on investment protection cause complications concerning their conclusion and implementation. Until a satisfying EU investment regime is set up, investments by nationals of the EU Member States will have to be protected by the Member States' BITs. The Member States of the EU have concluded a large number of bilateral and also multilateral investment agreements governing the protection of investments made. Nevertheless, the existing Member States' BITs are affected by the transfer of exclusive competences for FDI to the EU. Generally, the Member States will have to terminate these agreements. To avoid such severe consequences, the European Commission proposed a Regulation establishing a transitional regime that allows the Member States to maintain their existing BITs concluded with third countries or even to conclude new BITs. Such a transitional regime is essential for the protection of investments by EU nationals. However, the Regulation Proposal adopted by the Commission is badly drafted and can only be considered a first step towards such an instrument.

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Talus Kim

Just what is the scope of the essential facilities doctrine in the energy sector?: Third party access-friendly interpretation in the EU v. contractual freedom in the US in Common Market Law Review, vol. 48, issue 5 , 1571-1597

ABSTRACT: The application of EU competition law in the energy sector has intensified over the last few years. Article 102 TFEU and the essential facilities doctrine has been employed to change the way in which the European natural gas



markets operate. Using a merits based approach to the essential facilities doctrine and transportation capacity contracts, the Commission is attempting to create a market structure capable of supporting competition. While the effect of this body of administrative cases is increasing opportunities for competition and as such can be seen as positive, the measures forced on the back of the essential facilities doctrine raise serious questions on its applicability and scope of actions it allows.

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Jean Carlo

L'Europa, attore geopolitico o espressione geografica?

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLIII, numero speciale, n. 165 , 72-85

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Nafilyan Gérard

L'Europe en quête d'un destin : survie ou renouveau ?

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 552, octobre-novembre , 570-576

Once again Europe is faced with the ups and downs of history. Thus it appears necessary to wonder about its future. That finding implies thinking intensely and as objectively as possible and trying to explore ways likely to avoid the dilution of the largest collective adventure of the past century. The alternate option is as follows: either prefer a minimum Europe limited to completing the domestic market and setting up economic governance protecting the euro zone, or promoting an ambitious rebirth of Europe by preparing a motivating plan that tends to consecrate an European political governance based on the reinforcement of a new democratic power by implementing the opportunities afforded by the Lisbon treaty and thus allow a reconquest of a doubtful, if not reluctant public opinion and associate more closely European citizens with the success of the plan.

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Nicolò Sartori

L'UE alla ricerca di un ruolo energetico

in *CeMiSS - Osservatorio Strategico e Quarterly*, XIII, n. 10 , 79-82

Nonostante sia nata come Comunità Europea del Carbone e dell'Acciaio (CECA), durante la sua storia l'Unione Europea (UE) ha incontrato notevoli difficoltà nella realizzazione di una politica energetica



comune, che è a lungo rimasta una prerogativa dei singoli governi nazionali. Nell'ultimo decennio, l'UE ha cercato di ritagliarsi uno spazio sempre maggiore in ambito energetico, dapprima attraverso l'integrazione e la creazione di un mercato interno. Il Trattato di Lisbona ha introdotto nuove prospettive per il ruolo energetico dell'UE, in particolar modo nella sua dimensione esterna. Sebbene il Trattato (art. 194, 2) sia fortemente garantista della sovranità degli stati membri in materia, le pressioni di Bruxelles iniziano ad ottenere i primi risultati.

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Stefano Bottoni

L'Ungheria di Viktor Orbán

in **Mulino (il)**, n. 6, novembre-dicembre, 2011 , 1006-1014

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Buzelay Alain

L'Union européenne aux prises avec la fragilité de sa gouvernance

in **Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne**, n. 552, octobre-novembre , 565-569

Though the multiple-level governance of the Union, resulting from a balance found between the intergovernmental and the supranational, constitutes its originality and richness, it is currently the cause of its own weakness. Weakness related to a strategy more monetary than economical, and an inadequate economic action that is itself related to the lack of actual political governance. The pre-requisites for less weakness in governance require reducing doctrinal and political approach differences as well as the structural differences in the operation of our economies.

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Fossati Fabio

L'Unione Europea come ancora dei processi di democratizzazione dei paesi dell'est Europa dopo il 2007

in **Quaderni di Scienza Politica**, anno XVIII, n. 2, agosto , 255-292



No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Lorenzo Striuli

L'Unione Europea e la Russia

in CeMiSS - Osservatorio Strategico e Quarterly, XIII, n. 11 , 44-47

In ambito comunitario hanno sempre convissuto due atteggiamenti da tenersi nei confronti della Russia, l'uno di carattere più contrappositivo, o comunque improntato a una certa "freddezza", e l'altro maggiormente calibrato su una postura più partnership oriented.

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Lorenzo Striuli

L'Unione Europea e le difficoltà per l'eastern partnership

in CeMiSS - Osservatorio Strategico e Quarterly, XIII, n. 10 , 47-49

Come già trattato qualche numero fa su questo Osservatorio, per la Presidenza di turno polacca dell'Unione Europea questo autunno avrebbe dovuto porsi come pieno di opportunità in direzione del rafforzamento dell'Eastern Partnership, il progetto di "buon vicinato" presentato proprio dalla Polonia (con assistenza svedese) nel maggio del 2008, inaugurato sotto la Presidenza di turno ceca nel maggio dell'anno successivo, e considerato come il corrispettivo verso i Paesi dell'est dell'Unione per il Mediterraneo da una parte, e della Northern Dimension dall'altra.

L'iniziativa, però, al momento sembra potenzialmente soggetta ad andare incontro a maggiori difficoltà rispetto a quanto fino a pochissimi mesi fa paventato, in primo luogo per l'improvviso raffreddamento dei rapporti fra Unione Europea e Ucraina, uno dei Paesi dell'est extra-europei che più si erano mostrati entusiasti verso l'Eastern Partnership.



Ripercorriamo dunque i momenti salienti di questa novella "fase calante".

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Cagiati Andrea

L'autunno dell'Europa?

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLIII, numero speciale, n. 165 , 62-67

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Zito Antonio

L'evoluzione del coordinamento europeo dei regolatori: dalle reti alle autorità indipendenti europee

in *Quaderni Regionali* , n. 1

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Calamia Pietro

L'evoluzione dell'Unione europea

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLIII, numero speciale, n. 165 , 68-71

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Artus Patrick

La BCE a-t-elle bien servi la zone euro ?

in *Economie politique (L')*, n° 52, 2011/4 , 6-16

La gestion des crises par la Banque centrale européenne (BCE) a été efficace : elle a très bien géré la crise des subprimes (baisse forte des taux d'intérêt, injection des liquidités nécessaires, achat d'actifs). De même, son intervention lors de la crise des dettes souveraines (achat de dette sur le marché secondaire, maintien des prêts à...

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Duchaussoy Vincent



La Banque de France et la contrainte européenne en France (1979-1983)

in *Histoire Economie et Société*, n. 4, Décembre , 47-58

Cet article se propose d'examiner l'existence d'une contrainte politique imposée par les institutions communautaires européennes au gouvernement français, de la mise en place du Système monétaire européen au « tournant de la rigueur » adopté par le gouvernement Mauroy en mars 1983, et d'en identifier les acteurs. Ce sera l'occasion de saisir la répercussion sur le plan des relations communautaires, de la politique économique menée par la France après l'élection de François Mitterrand à la présidence de la République, à contre-courant vis-à-vis des autres pays de la Communauté. On s'interrogera, enfin, sur l'action de la Banque de France, en désaccord profond avec le gouvernement quant à la définition de la politique économique et monétaire du pays, dans les instances communautaires au sein desquelles elle est amenée à siéger.

This article sets out to examine whether the European Community institutions applied political pressure on the French Government, from the establishment of the European Monetary System to the imposition of austerity measures by the Mauroy Government in March 1983, and to identify the main players involved. It also analyses the repercussions on Community relations of the economic policy adopted by France after François Mitterrand's election as President of the Republic, a policy which went against those pursued by other Community countries. Finally, the article will consider the action taken by the Banque de France — in deep disagreement with the Government over the formulation of the country's economic and monetary policy — within the Community bodies in which it was called to participate.

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Pistone Sergio

La Conferenza di Messina e lo sviluppo dell'unificazione europea

in *Cittadinanza europea (La)*, Fascicolo 2 - 2011

No abstract available

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Magi L.

La Corte Europea dei diritti dell'uomo e il diritto alla vita familiare e al matrimonio tra individui dello stesso sesso

in *Rivista di diritto internazionale*, vol. XCIV, fascicolo 2 , 396-421

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Gian Paolo CASELLI, Gabriele PASTRELLO

La Germania non è capace di guidare l'Europa?



in *Limes*, n. 6, 2011

Le radici della crisi dei debiti dell'Eurozona. Un inquietante parallelo con il 1931. La miopia di voler imporre agli altri paesi dell'euro misure talmente depressive da far saltare tutto il sistema, Germania inclusa.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Christos BOTZIOS

La Grecia in crisi teme il neo-ottomanismo turco

in *Limes*, n. 6, 2011

I problemi economici di Atene possono cambiare a favore di Ankara i rapporti di forza nel Mediterraneo orientale e nei Balcani. Anche Mosca è alla finestra. Lo Stato ellenico come potenziale snodo energetico europeo. Lo spettro del nazionalismo.

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Rosenzweig Luc

La Pologne a la tete de l'Europe

in *Politique internationale*, n. 132 - Ete, 2011

Entretien avec Bronislaw KOMOROWSKI Président de la République de Pologne depuis avril 2010. conduit par LUC ROSENZWEIG

Bronislaw Komorowski, a committed free-marketer and former opponent of the communist regime, was propelled to the presidency of Poland under tragic circumstances: as speaker of parliament, he became interim leader following the plane crash on April 10, 2010 that killed the incumbent, Lech Kaczynski. Three months later, he won the presidential election. As Warsaw takes over the EU's rotating presidency for the next six months, Mr. Komorowski chose *Politique Internationale* to present his vision of Europe and in particular Poland's role in the region. Poland faces a number of challenges, including strengthening economic governance, working toward a common European defense and security policy, and establishing a unified EU position on the Arab Spring, the conflict between Israel and Palestine, and Russia.

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Thomas MAISSEN

La Svizzera in Europa, una storia difficile

in *Limes*, QS - L'importanza di essere Svizzera

Le radici storiche della Confederazione Svizzera nel gioco delle potenze continentali. Mitologie e pedagogie identitarie, da Guglielmo Tell ad oggi. Fra neutralità e mediazione. L'Europa divisa consente a Berna di giustificare il suo statuto geopolitico?



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Marco ANSALDO

La Turchia chiude all'Europa e si apre al mondo

in *Limes*, n. 5, 2011

La Turchia di Erdoğan è messa di fronte ad una crisi interna ed esterna. Da una parte troviamo il nuovo avversario israeliano. Dall'altra il paese ha problemi con quasi tutti i suoi vicini, dalla Grecia alla Siria, dall'Iraq all'Armenia, per finire con l'Iran. I rapporti con gli Stati Uniti procedono bene, anche grazie alla decisione di Ankara di ospitare un sistema radar americano inquadrato nel futuribile scudo contro i missili iraniani.

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Salveti Marina

La aplicación judicial del derecho europeo en los 27 países de la unión

in *Revista de Derecho Constitucional Europeo*, n. 16

El presente estudio analiza, esquemáticamente, la situación de los 27 Estados miembros con respecto a la aplicación del derecho europeo por parte de los jueces ordinarios. Por tanto, para realizar este examen, es indispensable partir del dato constitucional y de las elaboraciones desarrolladas por las Cortes constitucionales y las Cortes supremas. Respecto de cada Estado se expondrán los datos estadísticos concernientes a las cuestiones prejudiciales que han sido planteadas, desde el año de la adhesión hasta el año 2010

Full text available at:

<http://www.ugr.es/~redce/REDCE16/articulos/03MSalveti.htm#158>

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Camisón Yagüe José Ángel

La asamblea de Extremadura y el control del principio de subsidiariedad a través del mecanismo de alerta temprana

in *Revista d'Estudis Autònomic i Federals*, 14, 264-320

This paper analyzes the participation of the Spanish regional Parliaments, specially the Assembly of Extremadura, in the early warning system for monitoring the application of the principle of subsidiarity, in order to know if this participation helps to correct the democratic deficit and to improve the participation of the regions in the EU integration process. Through the early warning system, the Member States Parliaments can examine if the draft European legislative acts comply with the principle of subsidiarity. In the Spanish case, it has been regulated that regional Parliaments can contribute to the elaboration of the position of Spanish national Parliament –Cortes Generales- about the monitoring of the principle of subsidiarity related to drafts European legislative acts. The participation of the Regional Parliaments in the monitoring of the principle of subsidiarity is an important novelty resultant of the Lisbon Treaty. The Extremadurian regional Parliament



–Asamblea de Extremadura– has established a European Affairs Committee and some specific processes in order to implement its participation on the early warning system

Full text available at:

http://www10.gencat.cat/drep/binaris/_reaf14_Camison_tcm112-180562.pdf

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Moccia, Luigi

La cittadinanza nella prospettiva della federazione europea

in *Cittadinanza europea (La)*, Fascicolo 2 - 2011

No abstract available

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Giuseppe Berta

La crisi e i limiti della sinistra europea

in *Mulino (il)*, n. 6, novembre-dicembre, 2011 , 998-1005

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Agustín Cue Mancera

La crisis europea en la actualidad

in *El Cotidiano : revista de la realidad mexicana actual* , n. 170

En este artículo se analiza la crisis financiera de varias naciones europeas, las cuales han estado al borde del colapso económico en fechas recientes. Islandia fue la primera nación europea que no pertenece a la UE, en la cual estalló una importante burbuja financiera que dejó a su sistema bancario con enormes deudas respecto de los grandes bancos británicos y holandeses, entre otros. Este país inició la ronda de rescates de naciones desarrolladas en que participa el FMI, en épocas recientes. Por su parte, Irlanda y Grecia presenciaron el estallido de sendas burbujas inmobiliarias, las cuales involucraron a buena parte de sus respectivos sistemas bancarios, requiriendo onerosos rescates por parte de la UE, así como del FMI. En los tres casos, los contribuyentes de cada país han debido incrementar su carga impositiva y padecer los recortes del gasto en servicios sociales. Por su parte, la crisis griega ha desestabilizado a los mercados financieros de la región, afectando en particular a la economía española y amenazando con hacerlo también con la de Italia. Como algunos analistas advirtieron en su momento, el euro ha sido una camisa de fuerza para las naciones europeas



que están en recesión, ya que les impide modificar su tipo de cambio. Por último, el artículo analiza los efectos contraproducentes de la aplicación de los planes de austeridad en las economías europeas con elevados niveles de desempleo

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Stéphane Ghiotti

La directive cadre sur l'eau (DCE) et les pays méditerranéens de l'union européenne Une simple question de ressources en eau ?

in *Pôle Sud*, n°35 , 21-42

La mise en œuvre des directives pose des problèmes pour les pays européens (transposition des directives européennes en droit national et infractions au droit communautaire de l'environnement). La dichotomie Nord-Sud ne saurait résumer à elle seule la difficile mise en œuvre des directives de l'UE, y compris la DCE. Cependant, la question quantitative (« rareté ») et le respect des objectifs environnementaux de la DCE accroissent la vulnérabilité des pays méditerranéens. Un nouveau cadre de gouvernance apparaît pour la gestion des ressources en eau mais il ne semble pas propice à faire émerger les conditions nécessaires pour répondre aux défis de la gestion de l'eau dans l'Union.

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Sylvain Barone

La directive-cadre sur l'eau et ses traductions : que nous apprennent les sites « innovants » ?

in *Pôle Sud*, n°35 , 43-58

La directive-cadre sur l'eau (DCE) de 2000 est susceptible de tant de déclinaisons possibles qu'elle ne prend véritablement forme qu'à travers ses traductions nationales et infra-nationales. Nous nous attachons, dans cet article, à montrer l'ampleur et le double sens de ces traductions à travers, d'une part, les appropriations domestiques de l'opportunité européenne ouverte par la DCE et, d'autre part, l'appropriation européenne de pratiques domestiques permettant à la Commission européenne de donner un sens concret à un texte essentiellement procédural et de trouver des alliés pour son application. Pour cela, nous nous appuyons sur les résultats d'un projet de recherche européen dans le cadre duquel nous avons étudié trois « innovations » de gestion dans le bassin de la Weser (Allemagne), le bassin de Thau (France) et le delta du Brabant (Pays-Bas). Nous nous intéressons tout d'abord à la manière dont la DCE est traduite localement sous la forme d'« innovations » en prêtant une attention particulière aux enjeux liés à ces dispositifs et à leur qualification comme innovations. Puis nous analysons les processus d'enrôlement croisés qui impliquent, autour de ces expériences, les sites « innovants », la Commission européenne, mais aussi les chercheurs.

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Israel Solorio

La europeización de la política energética en España: ¿qué sendero para las renovables?

in *Revista española de ciencia política*, n. 26



A nivel europeo, es reconocido el papel de España como pionero en la promoción de energía renovable y como líder indiscutible en esta materia. Paradójicamente, el récord español sobre el cumplimiento de los objetivos europeos no es del todo satisfactorio y si bien tiene un buen progreso en lo tocante a la electricidad renovable, su desempeño en tanto a los biocombustibles deja mucho que desear. Entender las causas de esta brecha es una tarea complicada, entre otras cosas, porque hasta ahora es poco conocida la influencia que la UE ha tenido en la política española de apoyo a las renovables. Por tanto, es necesario examinar a fondo la forma en que los impulsos europeos han influido a escala doméstica en esta política. La presente investigación es un primer paso para llenar el vacío en la literatura sobre la europeización de la política energética española. Siguiendo la implementación de la directiva de 2001 sobre electricidad renovable y de 2003 sobre biocombustibles, este artículo investiga la forma en que con impulsos de cambio similares en las dos áreas antes mencionadas (variable independiente), este país refleja resultados dispares en tanto su transformación a nivel doméstico (variable dependiente).

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De Grauwe Paul

La gobernanza de una frágil Eurozona

in *Revista de economía institucional*, VOLUMEN 13, NÚMERO 25, SEGUNDO SEMESTRE DE 2011

Cuando los países entran en una unión monetaria, se modifica radicalmente el carácter de su deuda soberana: pierden el control de la moneda en que emiten su deuda. Los mercados financieros pueden entonces forzar a los soberanos de estos países a un incumplimiento. En este sentido, estos países descienden al estatus de economías emergentes. Esto lleva a que la unión sea monetaria frágil y vulnerable al cambio de sentimientos en el mercado. Y hace posible que surjan equilibrios múltiples que se cumplen por sí mismos. Analizo las implicaciones de esta fragilidad para la gobernanza de la Eurozona. Concluyo que la nueva estructura de gobernanza no reconoce suficientemente esta fragilidad. Algunas de las características de la nueva ayuda financiera pueden aumentar esta fragilidad. Además, es probable que los países miembros pierdan capacidad para usar los estabilizadores automáticos durante una recesión. Este es un retroceso en la larga historia de progreso social en Europa. Sugiero un enfoque diferente para tratar estos problemas.

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Caravita di Toritto Beniamino

La grande sfida dell'Unione Europea tra prospettive di rilancio e ombre di declino

in *Federalismi*, Anno X - Nr. 1

No abstract available

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Laurent Aloï, Le Cacheux Jacques

La politique climatique européenne : entre nécessité de la vertu et vertu de la nécessité



in *Revue Tocqueville - The Tocqueville Review*, Volume XXXII, Number 2,

No abstract available

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Bué Charlotte

La politique de développement de l'Union européenne : réformes et européanisation

in *Critique Internationale*, N°53 - Octobre/Décembre

Incarnation de la capacité et des valeurs de l'UE, qui fournit plus de la moitié de l'aide publique au développement mondiale, la politique de développement s'est imposée depuis 1957 comme l'un des instruments centraux de l'action internationale. Cependant, la « politique européenne de développement » recouvre en réalité un système de « 27+1 » politiques – les politiques bilatérales des 27 États membres + la politique menée par la Commission européenne au nom de l'UE – régi par une compétence partagée et par une obligation de complémentarité, coordination et cohérence (les « 3C »), longtemps restée lettre morte. Depuis quelques années, les « 27+1 » semblent néanmoins s'être engagés dans la voie de l'européanisation, tant au niveau politique que pratique et financier. Il convient donc d'analyser les dynamiques présidant à ce changement notable mais laborieux, dont les limites inhérentes traduisent l'incertitude de l'entreprise européenne.

An incarnation of the capacity and values of the EU, development policy has since 1957 become a central instrument of international action and is the source of more than half of all public aid for world development. Yet "European development policy" in fact covers a system of "27+1" policies: the bilateral policies of the 27 Member States + the policy conducted by the European Commission on behalf of the EU. Though ostensibly governed by shared competence and an obligation of complementarity, coordination and coherence (the "3c's"), this system has long been a dead letter. In the past few years, the "27+1" nevertheless seem to have travelled down the path of Europeanization at the political, practical and financial levels at once. It is thus worth analyzing the dynamics presiding over this significant but laborious change, the inherent limits of which reflect the uncertainty of the European undertaking.

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Mangenot Michel

La présidence du Conseil : sociologie d'une institution de l'Union européenne

in *Politique européenne*, n. 35, 3, 2011, 7-28

While the Council has long been considered as a simple interstate body within the European political system, its Presidency has been studied either in terms of « responsibility without power » or as an opportunity for pursuing national interests, an opposition that has proven rather ineffective. Under the thesis of the Europeanization of the Presidency, this introductory paper analyses the function as an institution as such, even though formally it does not have that status. Progressively institutionalised since its modest inception in 1952, it has since the 1980s acted as a system of government in its own right, which raises questions about the incarnation, rotation, delegation and temporality of power. Lastly, this introduction presents the papers that make up this thematic issue, which develop a new historical and political sociology of the Presidential office, placed in the space of the inter-institutional relations and competitions



between European institutions, and no longer only between Brussels and the capitals.

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Jacometti Valentina

La redazione di testi giuridici multilingui nelle organizzazioni internazionali e nell'Unione europea
in *Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo*, n. 3 , 693 -713

No abstract available

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Davesne Alban

La réponse des autorités nationales à l'eupéanisation de l'accès aux soins de santé : une approche interactionniste fondée sur les «usages de l'Europe»

in *Politique européenne* , n. 35, 3, 2011 , 165-195

We only have a patchy knowledge about how national authorities responded to the Europeanization of health care access, following the Kohll and Decker rulings on cross-border patient mobility. National responses have often been portrayed as being related to the level of misfit between national institutions and European law. A comparative study of how Swedish and French authorities reacted to cross-border health care developments shows that a more interactionist approach is needed. This paper therefore retraces the processes of implementation and engagement in European policy-making, showing that domestic usages matter the most in the different making of the French and Swedish EU health policies.

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Bronzini Giuseppe

La sentenza El Dridi: la Corte di Giustizia fissa i 'paletti' delle politiche europee sull'immigrazione
in *Cittadinanza europea (La)*, Fascicolo 2 - 2011

No abstract available

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Mengozzi Paolo

La sentenza Zambrano: prodromi e conseguenze di una pronuncia inattesa
in *Studi sull'integrazione europea*, Anno VI, n. 3, settembre-dicembre , 417-432

The aim of the present paper is to contribute to the interpretation of the Zambrano judgment following a detailed article by Palladino which paved the way for a series of commentaries on this ruling. The author's starting point is a comparison



of the Zambrano case with the previous case-law of the Court of Justice in the field of citizenship. Though agreeing with Palladino that both the Zambrano ruling and the earlier ones are based on a personalistic approach, the author, contrary to what Palladino maintains, considers that the Court denies a general granting to the Union citizens of a right of residence in their own State. Relying also on what the Court indicated in the subsequent McCarthy ruling, the author deems that it excluded that a third-country national has a right of residence based on the Union citizenship of a member of his family when the latter does not depend, for his own subsistence, on the third-country national. The author concludes that the Zambrano ruling will be successfully relied upon as a precedent only in limited cases, when there will be an important risk of jeopardizing the “substantial core” of the rights pertaining to the Union citizenship of a person rather than simply guaranteeing the right of that person to the family reunification.

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Hadjiyianni Stavros

La surveillance prudentielle des établissements de crédit dans l'Union européenne – Vers une re-régulation après la crise financière ?

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 552, octobre-novembre , 577-588

To address the huge financial crisis of 2008, the member countries of the European Union wanted to react with new financial and credit institution supervision rules, in order to prevent similar situations occurring again in Europe. But the world interdependency of banking and financial systems requires international cooperation which has to go through the Bale Committee. Based on the Larosière report handed in to the European Commission in February 2009, the Parliament and Concil passed, in the fall of 2010, some new measures aimed at recontrolling the credit institution supervision system, providing both for micro-prudential and macro-prudential supervision. From an international point of view the Bale Committee made new recommendations aimed at reinforcing the soundness of the world banking and financial system through a more balance solvency ratio. All those - stricter to banks - measures presumably address the proposed recontrol goals, but their implementation is already posing other problems: firstly even their gradual application will not facilitate the end of the economic crisis affecting the EU and OECD member countries and secondly, the very fact, that that implementation is gradual (spread over several years) does not fully prevent the risk of new financial crisis, which would now affect not only banks but also States.

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Barrette Patrick

La sécurité d'approvisionnement en gaz de l'Union européenne. Vers une stratégie commune à l'égard de la Russie?

in *Etudes Internationales*, Vol. 42, n° 2 , 179-205

We seek to find the factors that influence European Union member states' support for a common natural gas strategy. Even though the EU already expressed its will to act in energy issues, member states' national interests still prevent a coherent energy policy from being implemented. We test three member states with the LIG theory, which considers that groups that represent economic and industrial interests are the most influential on their national foreign policy. We compare this theory with realist and constructivist approaches and conclude that the level of gas import dependency and



national identity factors are less influent on state support to the common policy than is the level of investment of national energy champions in the Russian gas sector.

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Gouzy Jean-Pierre

La vie politique en Europe et dans le monde

in Europe en formation (L'), n. 362, 2011/4 , 192-221

D'une actualité foisonnante, j'ai extrait aujourd'hui deux dossiers brûlants : D'une part, « l'automne du printemps arabe », pour tenter de nous faire une idée aussi pointue que possible de l'état des mutations en cours chez nos voisins du Sud et de l'Orient immédiat. D'autre part, un bilan factuel de la très grave crise financière, bancaire, monétaire...

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Ragone Sabrina

Las relaciones de los tribunales constitucionales de los estados miembros con el tribunal de justicia y con el tribunal europeo de derechos humanos: una propuesta de clasificación

in Revista de Derecho Constitucional Europeo , n. 16

The essay deals with the relation between the Courts with constitutional functions of member States and the Court of Justice of the European Union and the European Court of Human Rights, proposing a classification of the different systems according to their openness level. The author uses the comparative method to elaborate three categories and suggests general conclusions about the current situation of the dialogue between the Courts involved

Full text available at:

<http://www.ugr.es/~redce/REDCE16/articulos/02SRagone.htm>

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Scheller Hanspeter K.

Le Comité des gouverneurs des banques centrales de la CEE et l'unification monétaire européenn

in Histoire Economie et Société, n. 4, Décembre , 79-99

Cet article jette un nouveau regard sur le rôle que le Comité des gouverneurs des banques centrales des États membres de la Communauté économique européenne a joué dans le processus d'unification monétaire européenne. Créé en 1964 par une décision du Conseil ECOFIN comme un comité dont la mission limitée était de débattre et d'échanger des points de vue sur les questions pertinentes en matière de politique monétaire, il est progressivement devenu un forum pour la coopération des banques centrales européennes sans équivalent dans les autres domaines de la gouvernance économique dans la Communauté à l'époque. Vu les limites inhérentes de la coopération monétaire entre les banques centrales nationales, ces dispositions n'ont pas toujours permis de résister à l'impact négatif de facteurs sur lesquels les banques centrales n'avaient pour l'essentiel pas prise. Mais elles ont contribué à l'obtention



progressive d'une stabilité monétaire intérieure et extérieure, en particulier au cours des années 1980, stabilité considérée ensuite comme suffisante pour reprendre la route vers la réalisation finale de l'UEM. Les résultats de la coopération en matière de politique monétaire et de change, et l'expérience qu'elle a permis d'accumuler, ont également servi dans le processus d'unification monétaire européenne. Sur plus de 30 ans de fonctionnement, le Comité des gouverneurs a favorisé les contacts étroits entre les banques centrales de la Communauté, ce qui leur a permis de développer des valeurs et des principes de base communs concernant le rôle et la poursuite de la politique monétaire dans une économie de marché. Ces valeurs et principes sont traduits dans le projet d'UEM élaboré par le comité Delors ainsi que dans les statuts du Système européen de banques centrales (SEBC) et de la Banque centrale européenne (BCE) qui ont été adoptés par la conférence intergouvernementale de 1990-1992 pratiquement sans modification importante et ont été joints sous la forme d'un protocole au « traité de Maastricht ». Le point de vue commun des gouverneurs des banques centrales, selon lequel l'UEM devait être construite sur un système bancaire central européen indépendant dont la mission univoque serait de garantir la stabilité des prix, a permis de résoudre une question délicate qui était jusqu'alors controversée au niveau politique depuis plusieurs années. Après plus de 10 ans d'expérience avec l'UEM, on peut dire que la conception du Comité de l'aile monétaire de l'UEM a passé son test pratique. Grâce à la solidité du cadre juridique et institutionnel créé par le traité de Maastricht pour la conduite de la politique monétaire européenne unique au sein de la zone euro, la BCE a pu réaliser complètement les objectifs de son mandat définis par le traité.

This article sheds some new light on the role which was played by the Committee of Governors of the central banks of the Member States of the European Economic Community in the process of European monetary unification. Established in 1964 by a decision of the ECOFIN Council as a committee with the limited mandate to discuss, and exchange views, about relevant monetary policy issues it evolved progressively as a forum for European central bank cooperation which had nothing comparable in other fields of economic governance in the Community in the period under review. Given the inherent limitations of monetary cooperation among national central banks, these arrangements did not withstand at all times the adverse impact of factors which were mostly outside the control of central banks ; however, they contributed to achieving progressively a degree of domestic and external monetary stability, in particular in the course of 1980s, which in turn was deemed sufficient to resume the path towards the eventual realisation of EMU. The achievements of, and the experience made with, monetary and exchange rate policy cooperation, however, were also instrumental in the process of European monetary unification. During its activity over 30 years, the Committee of Governors sponsored close contacts among the Community central banks which allowed them to develop common values and fundamental principles with respect to the role and the conduct of monetary policy in a market economy. They are reflected in the blueprint of EMU which was elaborated by the Delors Committee as well as the statute of the European System of Central Banks (ESCB) and the European Central Bank (ECB) which was adopted by the Intergovernmental Conference of 1990-1992 with hardly any substantive modification and was attached as a Protocol to the "Maastricht Treaty". The central bank Governors' common view that EMU needed to be built on an independent European central bank system with an unequivocal mandate to ensure price stability made it possible to resolve a delicate issue which had hitherto been controversial at the political level for many years. After more than 10 years of experience with EMU, it can be said that the Committee's concept of the monetary wing of EMU has stood its practical test. Thanks to the soundness of the legal and institutional framework which was established by the Maastricht Treaty for the conduct of the single monetary policy in the euro area, the ECB was able to achieve fully its objectives as laid down in its Treaty mandate.

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Plihon Dominique

Le bilan en trompe-l'oeil de Jean-Claude Trichet
in *Economie politique (L')*, n° 52, 2011/4 , 17-28

Jean-Claude Trichet rentrera-t-il au panthéon des ban- quiers centraux auréolé de ses hauts faits d'armes face à l'inflation puis à la crise financière ? Ce n'est pas sûr car, s'il est adulé par les milieux financiers - le Financial Times le désigna " homme de l'année " en 2007 -, c'est aussi l'homme de la rigueur qui aura défendu les intérêts...

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Laffaille Franck

Le néo-guelfisme de la Cour EDH - A propos de l'arrêt Lautsi bis (2011) et du crucifix en Italie
in *Revue internationale de droit comparé*, n. 4

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Mario Caciagli

Le regioni nell'Unione Europea
in *Quaderni di sociologia*, Vol. LV, n. 55

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Raymond Robert

Le rôle des comités d'experts du Comité des gouverneurs des banques centrales de la CEE
in *Histoire Economie et Société*, n. 4, Décembre , 101-105

Le témoignage de Robert Raymond éclaire pour la première fois l'histoire du groupe des experts monétaires constitué en 1973 auprès du Comité des Gouverneurs de la CEE. Il montre le rôle joué par la communauté informelle et transnationale des experts des banques centrales dans la genèse et la mise en oeuvre de l'Union économique et monétaire, sans solution de continuité des années 1970 aux années 2000.

The account of Robert Raymond sheds light for the first time on the history of the group of monetary experts created in 1973 under the aegis of the Committee of EEC Governors. It shows the role played by the informal, transnational community of central bank experts in the genesis and implementation of Economic and Monetary Union, demonstrating the continuity of this process from the 1970s to the 2000s.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Lagelle Anais

Le rôle des parlements nationaux dans le processus législatif européen à l'aune du traité de Lisbonne
in *Revue française de droit constitutionnel*, n. 87

La question des conditions de la démocratie en Europe constitue un préalable essentiel au développement de l'idée européenne et à l'acceptation par les peuples d'un droit supranational. De la réponse à cette question va découler logiquement la définition du rôle des parlements nationaux dans le processus législatif européen. Pour établir la démocratie en Europe,...

PLAN DE L'ARTICLE • I – EN AMONT DU PROCESSUS LÉGISLATIF EUROPÉEN, UN RÔLE D'INFLUENCE
• A – LE RÔLE TRADITIONNEL D'INFLUENCE DES PARLEMENTS NATIONAUX
• B – UN RÔLE D'INFLUENCE RENFORCÉ PAR LE TRAITÉ DE LISBONNE
• II – EN AVAL DU PROCESSUS LÉGISLATIF EUROPÉEN, UN RÔLE DE TRANSPOSITION
• A – LE CONTRÔLE PARLEMENTAIRE DE SUBSIDIARITÉ
• B – LA PROCÉDURE DE TRANSPOSITION DES DIRECTIVES

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Sidjanski Dusan

Le traité de Lisbonne sur la voie fédéraliste ?
in *Europe en formation (L')*, n. 362, 2011/4, 5-29

The fact that the running-in period of the Treaty of Lisbon coincided with the shock of the financial crisis has exacerbated the dilemma of choosing between the federal and intergovernmental paths, with which the European Union and the euro area are currently confronted. Will the Treaty of Lisbon be able to honour its innovative commitments—the President of the European Council and the High Representative—and maintain the institutional balance between the community and intergovernmental methods? All the more so since, while searching for a solution to the crisis, the role played by Germany and France in collaboration with the President of the European Council has been favoured at the expense of that of the Commission.

Since the onset of the Greek crisis and its spreading to Portugal and Ireland, and the risk of contagion in Italy and Spain, the measures adopted have proven to be inadequate. Moreover, the emphasis has been placed on austerity rather than growth. Reluctant acts of procrastination have only aggravated the economic crisis. The Commission's efforts to regulate the financial markets, as crucial as they may be, have not been sufficient to reflate the economy in the euro area. The European Financial Stability Facility has enabled the gaps to be filled in, subject to austerity policies, without allowing the risk of recession to be circumvented.

Consequently, there are three basic needs: a return to the community method which is less dependent regarding national constraints ; fiscal union and the issue of eurobonds in the euro area, in other words a European New Deal ; a



revision of decision making in times of crisis, or even the establishment of an ad hoc mechanism capable of taking emergency measures. In short, a return to the path of European federalism.

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Danescu Elena Rodica

Le « Comité Werner » : nouvelles archives

in *Histoire Economie et Société*, n. 4, Décembre , 29-38

Centrées sur le « plan d'une union économique et monétaire par étapes » présenté publiquement le 8 octobre 1970, les recherches dans le fonds des archives inédites de la famille Werner permettent la mise en lumière tant du déroulement des travaux du comité Werner, de l'incidence du plan Werner sur la poursuite du chemin vers l'Union économique et monétaire, que de la contribution personnelle de son président à l'élaboration de ce rapport, ainsi qu'à l'obtention du compromis politique nécessaire pour faire avancer l'Europe.

Research in the Werner family archives, particularly focusing on the plan for the establishment by stages of an economic and monetary union — presented to the public on 8 October 1970 — has shed light on the work of the Werner Committee, the impact of the Werner Plan on progress towards Economic and Monetary Union, the personal contribution of the committee's chairman in drafting the plan, as well as the securing of the vital political compromise that enabled Europe to move forward

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Jensen Thomas, Winzen Thomas

Legislative negotiations in the European Parliament

in *European Union Politics* , Vol. 13, n. 1, March , 118-149

In order to capitalize on its increasing legislative powers, the European Parliament (EP) has had to specialize internally. The scholarly literature has predominantly studied the structural manifestations of specialization, such as the allocation of committee seats among parliamentarians. This article sheds light on a second selection process: participation in legislative negotiations. For every given legislative dossier, parliamentarians have to decide whether and how strongly to participate in the negotiations. The literature on office allocation contains assumptions about the role of office-holders in negotiations. The first aim of this article is to test the validity of these assumptions. The second aim is to apply theories used in studies on office allocation to negotiations and gain insight into the following questions: Are actors with extreme preferences more active than others? What is the role of experts? How do party politics play out? Although we find effects of preferences and expertise on negotiations, the evidence is most compatible with the view that negotiations serve EP party groups to form and exchange policy positions.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Frédéric Clavert, Olivier Feiertag

Les banquiers centraux dans la construction européenne : introduction

in *Histoire Economie et Société*, n. 4, Décembre , 3-9

No abstract available

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Mourlon-Druol Emmanuel

Les banquiers centraux de l'échec du plan Werner à la création du SME, 1974-1979

in *Histoire Economie et Société*, n. 4, Décembre , 39-46

Cet article analyse le rôle des banquiers centraux dans la coopération monétaire européenne, de l'échec du plan Werner à la création du Système monétaire européen (SME). Le rôle des banquiers centraux dans les négociations du SME est généralement considéré comme mineur : la principale caractéristique des négociations de 1978 fut en effet l'effort du président français Valéry Giscard d'Estaing et du chancelier allemand Helmut Schmidt pour éviter les banquiers centraux, prévoyant leur opposition au projet franco-allemand. Utilisant des archives allemandes, britanniques, françaises et communautaires, cet article insiste plutôt sur la continuité de la coopération entre banquiers centraux durant la seconde moitié des années 1970, la formation progressive d'un consensus autour de la position de la Bundesbank, et souligne combien les banquiers centraux sont insérés dans une élite monétaire transnationale plus large incluant conseillers économiques et ministres des Finances.

This article focuses on the role of central bankers in European monetary cooperation, from the failure of the Werner Plan to the creation of the European Monetary System (EMS). The role of central bankers in the run-up to the EMS is usually seen as limited : the main feature of the EMS negotiations was that the French president Valéry Giscard d'Estaing and the German chancellor Helmut Schmidt tried to bypass central bankers in order to reach an agreement to which they were otherwise opposed. Based on extensive research in British, French, German and EEC archives, this article stresses instead the continuum of cooperation, the progressive formation of a consensus around the Bundesbank interpretation of monetary policy, and the importance of seeing central bankers as members of a wider transnational monetary elite.

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Saarilahti Ilkka

Les innovations des procédures budgétaires de l'Union européenne. Huitième partie: le budget de l'Union pour 2011. La première procédure selon les nouvelles dispositions budgétaires du traité de Lisbonne

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 553, décembre , 662-679

The budget procedure for 2011 is a significant procedure in the financial history of the European Union as it is the first procedure that was conducted entirely according to the new rules of the Lisbon treaty. It came at a critical point of time, not only due to the economic and euro crisis that Union member countries had to face in 2010, but also because it was



conducted in the middle of the implementation period of the financial framework for the 2007-2013 period (hereafter the FF). As a result it is a main reference point for future budget procedure and for the next multi-annual financial framework. That budget procedure was a difficult procedure, the first conciliation procedure in the budget area according to the Lisbon treaty, resulting in a failure. The fact that the Commission promptly submitted a new draft budget for 2011, which the two branches of the budget authority could agree to in 2010 still, allowed the EU nonetheless to avoid a budget crisis. The European Parliament and the Council did not succeed either in 2010, to reach an agreement on the "legislative Lisbon package" suggested by the Commission in March 2010 or on the BR bill n° 10/2010 regarding the 2010 surplus. In addition the Parliament has not given its agreement to the revision of the FF intended to grant additional funding to the ITER project in 2012 and 2013.

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Quermonne Jean-Louis

**Les institutions de l'Union européenne après le traité de Lisbonne
in Europe en formation (L'), n. 362, 2011/4 , 31-44**

The implementation of the institutional provisions of the Lisbon Treaty has faced many obstacles. In addition to the concessions made to Ireland, which exclude the possibility of reducing the number of Commissioners by 2014, there were the tight control exercised by the current Constitutional Courts and the rise in several Member States of populism and nationalism. Therefore the outcome was an application a minima, despite the establishment of an ordinary legislation—inspired by the “Community method”— of measures that are promoting the integration. This resulted in a strengthening of intergovernmental practices in favour of the European Council. The economic and financial crisis triggered in 2008 in the United States has added to these difficulties two paradoxical effects. On the one hand the repetitive nature of the problems has put in front of the stage the Heads of State and Governments and their ministers of finance. But, conversely, in the Euro zone, the leading role was given to the European Central Bank and its president. This promoted financial and economic federalism trends to raise the issue of a new revision of the Treaty, firstly considered as premature, and the compatibility between a strengthened centre of gravity around the French-German ‘couple’ and the other EU states. Hence the need to foster the emergence of a European leadership resulting from the merging of the presidencies of the European Council and the Commission, accompanied by foundation, within it, of a small panel of commissioners, to whom it would be assigned the status currently reserved to the High Representative for the CFSP.

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Francis Donnat

**Les jeux d'argent et de hasard et le droit de l'Union européenne
in Pouvoirs, n. 139 , 39-49**

Faute de droit dérivé spécifiquement applicable aux jeux d'argent et de hasard, c'est la jurisprudence de la Cour de justice de l'Union européenne qui a progressivement forgé les règles que les États membres doivent appliquer. Consciente de ce qu'il s'agit d'une activité économique pas tout à fait comme les autres, dans un domaine où les spécificités nationales sont très marquées, elle leur a reconnu une réelle marge de manoeuvre, laquelle ne justifie toutefois pas l'adoption de législations incohérentes ou de mesures disproportionnées



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Cazet Safia

Les juges constitutionnels face au Traité de Lisbonne. Contribution à l'étude comparée des décisions des Cours constitutionnelles française, allemande et tchèque

in *Annuaire international de justice constitutionnelle*, XXVI , 43-68

No abstract available

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Triantafyllou Dimitris

Les plans de sauvetage de la zone Euro et la peau de chagrin

in *Revue du droit de l'Union Européenne*, n. 2 , 195-208

No abstract available

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IUSTINIANUS

Lettera aperta al ministro degli Esteri

in *Limes*, n. 6, 2011

Per non restare stritolati nell'Europa germanica è imperativo definire senza complessi la nostra ragion di Stato. Bce come prestatore di ultima istanza ed eurobond: ecco l'obiettivo, da raggiungere anche a suon di colpi proibiti.

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Diana Panke

Lobbying Institutional Key Players: How States Seek to Influence the European Commission, the Council Presidency and the European Parliament

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 50, Issue 1, January 2012 , 129-150

In governance arrangements on the local, state, regional and international levels, lobbying as a strategy to gain influence on policy outcomes via informal channels takes place. While most studies focus on how individuals, companies, interest groups or non-governmental organizations try to exert influence via state actors, we know much less about whether and how frequently states themselves engage in lobbying. How effectively do state actors seek to further their own preferences informally in lobbying institutional key actors in governance arrangements beyond the nation-state? To shed light on these blind spots, this article draws on the example of the European Union and analyses the conditions under which states are especially inclined to use this informal influence strategy as well as the conditions



for lobbying success. It shows that states use lobbying strategies more often, the more capacities they possess, the lower the transaction costs of lobbying and also the stronger their incentives of getting active are for particular policies. Additionally, it is not only a high frequency of lobbying that increases the chances of informally influencing policies, but also the type of reasoning applied, its quality and its fit to the nature of the issue at stake.

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Sarrión Esteve Joaquín

Los conflictos entre libertades económicas y derechos fundamentales en la jurisprudencia del Tribunal de Justicia de la Unión Europea

in *Revista de derecho político*, n. 81 , 379-412

No abstract available

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Noutcheva Gergana, Aydin-Düzgit Senem

Lost in Europeanisation: The Western Balkans and Turkey

in *West European Politics*, vol. 35, n. 1 , 59-78

ABSTRACT: The article analyses the EU's impact on the rule of law in the Western Balkans and Turkey. It enquires into the reasons behind the patchy record of rule-of-law reforms in Turkey, Croatia and Albania by examining judicial reforms in response to the EU accession requirements. It argues that a credible EU accession perspective and an adequate degree of state capacity are necessary but not sufficient conditions for explaining the fluctuations in the rule-of-law standards in EU accession countries. The genuine, partial or non-alignment of the ruling elites' domestic incentives with the EU incentives is a key determinant of rule-of-law trends in the Western Balkans and Turkey.

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Muller Jan-Werner

L'Europe est-elle toujours l'avenir de l'Allemagne ? (entretien)

in *Esprit*, Novembre 2011 , 144-148

L'Europe ne semble plus être une évidence pour l'Allemagne, dont la vocation européenne se transforme. Mais cela ne signifie pas pour autant que le pays soit soudain devenu eurosceptique ; une réflexion sur l'Europe peut au contraire le mener à résoudre ses propres contradictions politiques.

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Barthalay Bernard

L'Europe malmenée

in *Europe en formation (L')*, n. 362, 2011/4 , 169-187

Bernard Barthalay, in a European Union facing an unprecedented crisis and plagued by an ideology of resignation from the public and intergovernmental *laissez-faire*, analyses the difficulties of the euro zone in a triple oblivion, that one of the final goal (the United States of Europe), the one of the method (one goal, milestones, a calendar) and that one of the people (to whom European Union has become foreign even though its conditioning more than ever the every day life). The result is not only a major risk of recession, which would precipitate relative impoverishment of European Union in the world, but also a crisis of democracy in the common institutions as well as in the Member States themselves, which would reduce European Union to insignificance. The author offers a way out of the crisis, from the top, with a three-stage plan of a fiscal federation and fiscal policy in the eurozone, mobilizing in the favour of the employment stability the ability to finance a federal treasury and to open a new environment for a constitution, that will implement the resources of the four democracies : direct, representative, participatory and social.

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D'Ottavio Gabriele

L'Italia e l'integrazione europea oltre il luogo comune

in *Ventesimo Secolo. Rivista di Studi sulle Transizioni*, Anno X, n. 26, novembre

Book review: Antonio Varsori, *La cenerentola d'Europa? L'Italia e l'integrazione europea dal 1947 a oggi*, Rubbettino, Soveria Mannelli 2010, pp. 473.

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Dastoli Pier Virgilio

L'elezione di una assemblea costituente

in *Critica liberale*, Volume XVIII, n. 192 - ottobre

No abstract available

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Meyer Jan-Henrik

L'eupéanisation de la politique environnementale dans les années 1970

in *Vingtième Siècle*, n. 113

L'article analyse l'émergence d'une politique environnementale de la Communauté européenne dans les années 1970 en termes d'eupéanisation de l'environnement. En s'appuyant sur la littérature produite relative à l'eupéanisation,



elle peut être conçue de trois façons différentes : un processus compris comme l'établissement d'institutions et de politiques à l'échelle de la CEE, l'impact de la CEE sur un État membre et une européanisation sociale, conçue comme un processus d'établissement d'une coopération transnationale entre des acteurs sociaux à travers la CEE. L'article démêle l'écheveau du processus d'européanisation de l'environnement en mettant l'accent sur sa présence dans le contexte du Conseil de l'Europe et sur la reprise d'idées politiques et de principes circulant à un échelon international. En outre, il s'intéresse à l'émergence rapide d'une européanisation sociétale, notamment dans l'anticipation de l'impact de l'Europe sur la législation d'un État membre.

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Alberto Martinelli

L'identità europea

in *Quaderni di sociologia*, Vol. LV, n. 55

No abstract available

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Rittelmeyer Yann-Sven

L'institutionnalisation de la présidence du Conseil européen : entre dépendance institutionnelle et inflexions franco-allemandes

in *Politique européenne*, n. 35, 3, 2011, 55-82

Following its pragmatic emergence in the EU political landscape, the Presidency of the European Council was the most visible part of the rotating Presidency until the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty. An in-depth analysis of this function shows its long dependency on the half-year exercise. The Institutionalization of the Presidency of the European Council was primarily marked by two periods of inflection during which the behaviours of the actors, especially French and German leaders, have tailored a presidential role dissociated from the rotating presidency. The emergence of this supranational role has led to heightened tensions over questions of identity, due to its exercise by national leaders. Moreover, the secondary nature of its legal formalization as regards reflections and codifications by the actors themselves is clearly underlined by this institutional construction.

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Chalumeau Thomas

L'integrazione economica europea al cuore delle presidenziali del 2012

in *ItalianiEuropei*, n. 8



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Lindner Axel

Macroeconomic adjustment: the Baltic states versus euro area crisis countries

in *Intereconomics*, Volume 46, Number 6 / December 2011 , 340-345

Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania have succeeded in rapidly reducing their current account deficits despite fixed exchange rates. Which factors have played a major role in this? What similarities, and what differences, do the Baltic states show compared to Greece and Portugal? What insights can be gained for the political debate on the euro area debt crisis?

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Rochdi Gabrielle

Manifestation d'intérêt au parlement européen pour la réforme de la PAC

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 553, décembre , 655-661

A last expression of the political maturity of the European Union, the outlines of the future common agricultural policy (CAP) will go through the European Parliament. Thus, two strong symbols of the community construction are facing one another for the first time. The first one is the materialisation of institutional integration, the second one is that of material integration. Relying on the powers that the Lisbon treaty grants the parliamentary assembly in the area of agriculture, the interest expressed by the eurorepresentatives for agricultural issues is new. The European Parliament will need to demonstrate its ability to fully assume the responsibilities given to it. Its legitimacy to assert itself in the institutional system is at stake, regarding a policy now perfectly prepared to lend itself to the democracy system.

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Biebuyck William, Rumford Chris

Many Europes: Rethinking multiplicity

in *European Journal of Social Theory*, Volume 15, Number 1, February 2012 , 3-20

This article advances a non-reductionist theorization of Europe as 'multiplicity'. As an object and category of political reality, Europe is made (and re-made) within specific spatio-temporal configurations. For this reason, the first section argues that Europe should be approached as an instance of 'historical ontology'. This counters a reductionist tendency to 'fix' Europe with definitive political and cultural characteristics or historical trajectories. The second and third sections of the article interrogate a few of the ontological 'lines of flight' taken by contemporary Europe. The article discusses Europe's multiplicity through its fields, imaginaries and ways of being in the world. Such a preliminary sketch of European multiplicity is not meant to be exhaustive. Rather, it suggests a new ethos in the study of European politics that privileges historicism, practice, and Europe's recursive relationship to the world/globe.



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Bovens Luc, Chatkupt Chlump, Smead Laura

Measuring common standards and equal responsibility-sharing in EU asylum outcome data in European Union Politics, Vol. 13, n. 1, March, 70-93

We construct novel measures to assess (i) the extent to which European Union member states are using common standards in recognizing asylum seekers and (ii) the extent to which the responsibilities for asylum applications, acceptances and refugee populations are equally shared among the member states, taking into account population size, gross domestic product (GDP) and GDP expressed in purchasing power parity (GDP-PPP). We track the progression of these measures since the implementation of the Treaty of Amsterdam (1999). These measures display divergent trends and we try to provide an interpretation of the dynamics that are constitutive of these trends.

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Warntjen Andreas

Measuring salience in EU legislative politics in European Union Politics, Vol. 13, n. 1, March, 168-182

To describe and explain legislative politics in the European Union and to assess its democratic quality we need to measure the political importance (salience) of legislative proposals. The existing literature uses several indicators to measure salience. This article compares measures of salience based on three types of data source (expert interviews, text analysis and media coverage) using a large number of legislative proposals that cover a variety of policy fields and types of proposal. Different measures of salience often do not yield similar values.

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Ivanova Ivan, Dobrevab Julia

Measuring sustainable governance in the European Union in International Journal of Sustainable Development and World Ecology, Volume 18, Issue 5, October, 412-423

This paper examines the problem of measuring sustainable governance in the European Union (EU-27) through the use of duality and the Slutsky equation. The proposed methodology is based on the application of a three-dimensional optimisation model, where the arguments of the objective (sustainable social welfare) function are economic goods that contribute to sustainable economic growth; environmental goods that provide for sustainable environmental protection; and social goods through which sustainable social development is achieved. The dual problem, formulated through this three-dimensional theoretical model, is solved to find the optimal solution, indicating a certain sustainability level. We



suggest that this solution can be used for calculating the value of what we define here as the sustainable governmental policy indicator, which is considered to provide quantitative measurement of government policies on sustainable development within the context of 'good governance'. Furthermore, it is suggested that the Slutsky equation can be used as a reliable method for long-term monitoring and planning of national as well as international good governance with regard to sustainable development policies. In its empirical part, the paper applies the theoretical model in an analysis of the sustainable development indicators (as set out in the Sustainable Development Strategy (SDS) of the EU) in Bulgaria for the period 2000–2010 and compares them to those of the EU-27.

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Chris Hanretty, Christel Koop

Measuring the formal independence of regulatory agencies

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 19, Issue 2 2012 , 198-216

While the literature on delegation has discussed at length the benefits of creating independent regulatory agencies (IRAs), not much attention has been paid to the conceptualization and operationalization of agency independence. In this study, we argue that existing attempts to operationalize the formal political independence of IRAs suffer from a number of conceptual and methodological flaws. To address these, we define what we understand by independence, and in particular formal independence from politics. Using new data gathered from 175 IRAs worldwide, we model formal independence as a latent trait. We find that some items commonly used to measure independence – notably, the method used to appoint agency executives and the scope of the agency's competences – are unrelated to formal independence. We close by showing that our revised measure partially changes conclusions about the determinants and consequences of formal independence.

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Weimer Theodor

Mehr Mut zur Weiterentwicklung

in *Politische Studien*, 62, Jahrgang, Heft 440, November-Dezember , 44-53

No abstract available

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Markus Haverland, Duncan Lieferink

Member State interest articulation in the Commission phase. Institutional pre-conditions for influencing 'Brussels'

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 19, Issue 2 2012 , 179-197

There is a large literature on Member State influence in the European Union, typically focusing on a combination of preferences of the Member States and their strategies with an emphasis on Council negotiations. However, prior to Council negotiations Member States also seek to influence the Commission's development of legislative proposals. This



paper argues that Member States need scientific expertise, experiential knowledge and target group support to make this strategy work and that the availability of these resources is partly shaped by domestic institutions, such as the territorial organization of the state, the recruitment principles of governmental departments, and the structure of government's relationship with business groups and societal interests. As a plausibility probe for our argument we have conducted a case study of the Dutch government's strategy regarding the REACH Regulation.

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Schui Herbert

Methode Merkozy: Wie Europa zu Tode gespart wird

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, Januar, 2012 , 66-74

Bereits Ende 2008 fragte Nobelpreisträger Paul Krugman, aus welchem Grund die deutsche Regierung sich so hartnäckig weigert, einer gemeinschaftlichen Lösung der europäischen Schuldenkrise zuzustimmen. Wenn Deutschland eine wirksame europäische Reaktion auf die Krise verhindere, trage es maßgeblich zu einem europäischen Niedergang bei. Die „Holzköpfigkeit“ der deutschen Regierung werde dann die Wirkung der Krise vervielfältigen.[1] Vieles spricht dafür, dass Krugman auch heute noch Recht hat...

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Mariano Rajoy

Mi visión de Europa y España en el mundo

in *Política Exterior*, 144 - Noviembre/Diciembre

Necesitamos una proyección exterior que ayude a la recuperación nacional, con una diplomacia orientada a lo económico para favorecer la salida de la crisis. Los tiempos no permiten repliegues; exigen diligencia exterior junto a nuestros aliados, sobre todo la UE.

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Richard Rose

Micro-economic Responses to a Macro-economic Crisis: A Pan-European Perspective

in *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, Volume 27, Issue 3-4 , 364-384

To what extent has the macro-economic crisis of national governments and financial institutions affected ordinary Europeans at the micro-economic level? Eurobarometer surveys from all 27 European Union (EU) member states show that most individuals are coping with the crisis much better than their governments. Individual characteristics that caused people to have financial difficulties when the macro-economy was booming continue to be important, while groups such as pensioners are better able to cope than persons of working age. When Russians are compared with people from Central and Eastern Europe, similar influences hold and the political effects are marginal. In sum, the instability experienced in public and private sector financial institutions has had limited spillover effects on ordinary people.



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Tommi Koivula, Joonas Sipilä

**Missing in action? EU crisis management and the link to the domestic political debate
in Cooperation and Conflict**, 46 (4) , 521-542

One of the key themes in recent discussions about the EU's foreign and security policy has been the question of Europeanization. This article seeks to contribute to this field of research by investigating the way in which a single EU military crisis management operation, the EUFOR Chad/CAR, has been perceived and debated on a national parliamentary arena in two member states, Sweden and Finland. The results suggest that a marked discontinuity prevailed between these nations' policies in the context of the CSDP/ESDP and the discourse on CSDP/ESDP in the respective parliaments. While highlighting the need to pay more attention to the domestic dimension of Europeanization, these findings also call into question some of the basic premises of the discussion on Europeanization.

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Techau Jan

**Mit Konkurrenz aus der Krise. Warum Europa endlich anfangen muss, seinen Bürgern zu vertrauen
in Internationale Politik** , 67. Jahrgang, n. 1-2, Januar-Februar

ABSTRACT: Europa wird nicht etwa an der Euro-Krise scheitern. Wenn es scheitert, dann daran, dass es seine Legitimation nie direkt von den Bürgern bezogen hat, für die es da ist. Was wir jetzt brauchen, ist ein politischer Wettbewerb auf gesamteuropäischer Ebene. Die Konstituierung eines europäischen Demos wäre ein großer Schritt Richtung Staatswerdung Europas.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Klau Thomas

**Modell für Milliarden. Das Friedensprojekt Europäische Union hat eine globale Dimension
in Internationale Politik** , 67. Jahrgang, n. 1-2, Januar-Februar

ABSTRACT: Scheitert das Modell Europa? Diese Frage ist nicht nur für die EU selbst von Belang. Europas stärkstes außenpolitisches Pfund bleibt die Strahlkraft des eigenen Integrationsmodells. Wenn die Union zerbricht, wird der Nationalstaat als Ordnungsmodell der Zukunft relegitimiert – eine gefährliche Entwicklung im Zeitalter auf- und absteigender Großmächte.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process



Boronska Hryniewiecka Karolina

Multi-level governance and the role of the regions in the European Union: conceptual challenges and practical applications

in *Cuadernos europeos de Deusto*, n. 45 , 177-207

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bahar Rumelili, Fuat Keyman, Bora Isyar

Multilayered Citizenship in Extended European Orders: Kurds Acting as European Citizens

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 49, Issue 6, November 2011 , 1295-1316

Drawing on an original empirical study of the European-level political practices of Turkish citizens/residents of Kurdish origin, this article advances the argument that political actors who lack the status of European citizenship can nonetheless engage in its 'practice'. While practices of European citizenship by non-citizen/non-resident actors are enabled by the extended economic, legal, political and normative orders developed around the EU, they are simultaneously transforming the European polity by blurring the inside/outside and citizen/non-citizen distinctions.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Oettinger Günther

My energy strategy for Europe

in *Europe's World*, Issue 19, Autumn

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21886/language/en-US/Default.aspx

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Emma C. Verhoeff, Arne Niemann

National Preferences and the European Union Presidency: The Case of German Energy Policy towards Russia

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 49, Issue 6, November 2011 , 1271-1293

This article analyses the formation and development of Member State preferences and positions before and during the European Union (EU) Presidency term. The empirical analysis focuses on the Federal Republic of Germany's policy concerning EU–Russian relations, especially regarding energy policy. The extent to which liberal intergovernmentalism (LI) furthers our understanding of state behaviour in the context of the EU Presidency is questioned. The findings suggest that LI adequately explains the formation of German positions prior to assuming office, as its policy objectives are chiefly influenced by domestic producers' interests. However, LI cannot satisfactorily account for German governmental action after taking on the Presidency role, during which time it largely downplayed domestic preferences. Instead, Presidency norms dominated its action. In this article, institutionalist approaches are drawn upon for a



significantly enhanced understanding of governmental behaviour during the Presidency. Rational choice institutionalism (RCI) highlights Germany's restraint from defending its original domestic preferences due to rational calculation embedded in normative Presidency constraints. Sociological institutionalism (SI) accounts for the reprioritization of objectives through the 'taken-for-grantedness' of thoroughly internalized Presidency norms.

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Panke Diana

Negotiation effectiveness: Why some states are better than others in making their voices count in EU negotiations

in *Comparative European Politics*, vol. 10, n. 1, January, 111-132

ABSTRACT: This article introduces a new concept to negotiation research in political science: negotiation effectiveness. Prominent research focuses on negotiation success, capturing the extent to which a country's initial preferences are reflected in the final outcome. By contrast, focusing on the effectiveness of negotiation strategies allows examining the process by which congruence between initial positions and final negotiation outcomes can be achieved. Negotiation effectiveness measures how effectively a negotiator changes the elements of a policy for which her country developed positions on the basis of its preferences by applying negotiation strategies and by using negotiation capacities. On the basis of an analysis of the European Union's (EU's) day-to-day negotiations, the article maps the differences in the negotiation effectiveness between states. Why are some countries much more effective in shaping EU policies than others? Why do some small countries punch above their weight, while some of the bigger countries are less effective than their size let us expect? In order to answer these questions, the article develops a set of hypotheses and tests them empirically.

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Sergio FABBRINI

Nell'Europa dei governi Roma gioca in panchina

in *Limes*, n. 6, 2011

Trattato di Lisbona e crisi economica hanno spostato il baricentro dell'Ue dalla Commissione al Consiglio, dalle istituzioni sopranazionali a quelle intergovernative. Per contare di nuovo, dobbiamo superare il nostro deficit di statualità e credibilità.

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Gram-Skjoldager Karen

Never Talk to Strangers? On Historians, Political Scientists and the Study of Diplomacy in the European Community/European Union

in *Diplomacy & Statecraft*, vol. 22, n. 4, 696-714

ABSTRACT: Diplomacy is an institution that has undergone tremendous change over the last century—not least in



relation to the new, supranational institutions of the European Community/European Union. Nonetheless, it is only very recently that political scientists and historians have taken an interest in the changes brought about by European integration processes for diplomatic norms, roles, and practices. This article investigates the background for this late and limited interest. It does so by comparing and contrasting dominant theoretical trends that have shaped research on European diplomacy in the two disciplines since the Second World War. Against this background it briefly evaluates the recent surge in research on diplomacy and the European Union within political science, and it points to possible avenues for further, joint, research combining the transnational and sociological approaches adopted by political scientists with the attention to temporality and national specificities characteristic of historians' dealings with European diplomacy.

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Deffaa Walter

New impetus for EU taxation policy

in *Intereconomics*, Volume 46, Number 5 / October 2011 , 287-296

The financial crisis has exposed all EU Member States — to different degrees — with a double economic policy challenge: to foster sustainable economic growth and to consolidate public finances. Can the governments in the EU afford to forego the benefits of targeted tax measures at EU level — tapping the growth potential of the internal market by reducing tax obstacles and improving tax collection on cross-border activities within the EU? This paper provides a short review of the varying tax structures in the EU Member States, discusses the interdependencies as well as the EU dimension of their tax policies and gives an overview on current and future tax initiatives at EU level.

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101-123

New institutional opportunities or old hegemony? The Franco-German tandem in the European Council after Lisbon

in *Europe en formation (L')*, n. 362, 2011/4 , Höing Oliver

Due to latest enlargement rounds, recent scientific and journalistic publications have pointed to a diminishing Franco-German tutelage in the EU. However, since the outbreak of the financial and economic crisis the European Council—and within it the Franco-German tandem—was put again in the centre of all major decision-making processes in the EU system.

This article assesses the role of the Franco-German tandem in the European Council by analysing the new provisions of the Lisbon Treaty and their impact on France and Germany. We argue that the Lisbon provisions did not have a major effect on the Franco-German axis. But beyond that, the shift to intergovernmental decision-making in the financial and economic crisis has strengthened the position of French and German top politicians in the European Council.

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Michael Longo and Philomena Murray

No ode to joy? Reflections on the European Union's legitimacy



in **International Politics** , Volume 48, Issue 6 , 667–690

This article analyses the European Union's (EU) lack of legitimacy for European citizens. It examines the expanding credibility gap of the EU since the Treaty of Lisbon Irish referendums in 2008 and 2009. Although there are various reasons for the EU's lack of legitimacy, this article proposes the failure of the EU to penetrate the domestic public or social spheres and the dearth of opportunities for citizen participation in EU governance as primary factors. The article then considers risks associated with the current euro crisis, drawing lessons from the largely ignored sociological and political factors that impact on its resolution.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Gui Francesco

Non si può indugiare

in **Critica liberale**, Volume XVIII, n. 192 - ottobre

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Pacheco Pardo Ramon

Normal Power Europe: Non-Proliferation and the Normalization of EU's Foreign Policy

in **Journal of European Integration**, Volume 34, Issue 1 , 1-18

The European Union (EU) has alternately been described as a civilian, normative and ethical power. Even though these conceptualizations differ among themselves, they share a positive view of the EU as a foreign policy actor guided by the common good and disinclined to use military power. This article argues that these conceptualizations do not accurately capture the foreign policy behaviour of the EU. Similarly to other powers, the EU is a self-interested actor seeking to maximize its own security. To this end, it mixes the use of military and non-military means as necessary. Hence, the EU is a normal power, no different from other polities striving to minimize external threats to their security. Its 'non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD)' policy will serve as case study to show that the EU is a normal power.

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Tuomas Forsberg

Normative Power Europe, Once Again: A Conceptual Analysis of an Ideal Type

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 49, Issue 6, November 2011 , 1183-1204

The concept of 'Normative Power Europe' (NPE) has become very popular for analysing the foreign policy and external relations of the European Union (EU). There is, however, confusion about what 'normative power' actually means, which



is why the debate over whether the EU actually is or is not a normative power has not always been as fruitful as it could be. This article proposes two necessary starting points for more constructive discussion: a distinction between 'normative' and 'normal', and a distinction between 'power as a powerful actor' and 'power as ability to cause effects'. Furthermore, the article distinguishes between 'normative identity', 'normative interests', 'normative behaviour', 'normative means of power' and 'normative outcomes' as separate features of a normative power. There are also at least four different mechanisms through which normative power is exercised: by persuasion, by invoking norms, by shaping the discourse and by leading through example. The article concludes that normative power is best seen as an ideal type – one which the EU approximates more closely than other great powers.

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Helene Sjursen

Not so intergovernmental after all? On democracy and integration in European Foreign and Security Policy
in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 18, Issue 8 2011 , 1078-1095

The status of democracy in European foreign and security policy is increasingly questioned. In order to identify if there is something at the European Union (EU) level that requires legitimation, we need to establish whether there has been a move beyond intergovernmentalism. In this contribution an analytical scheme that makes it possible to identify such a move and its putative democratic implications is developed. Four constituent pillars of intergovernmentalism are identified and discussed. These pertain to actors, decision-making procedures, the scope of delegated powers and the *raison d'être* of the intergovernmental endeavour. These pillars constitute necessary requirements if intergovernmentalism is to be democratic. Developments within the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) are assessed with reference to this analytical scheme, with a view to identify whether, when and where a move beyond intergovernmentalism has created a democratic dilemma.

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Athanassiou Phoebus

Of Past Measures and Future Plans for Europe's Exit from the Sovereign Debt Crisis: What is Legally Possible (and What is Not)

in *European Law Review* , Vol. 36, issue 4 , 558-576

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Roubini Nouriel, Berggruen Nicolas

Only Full Integration Can Save Europe

in *New Perspectives Quarterly* , Vol. 28, Issue 4, Fall , 14-16

The sovereign debt problem in Europe, ignited by Greece, has morphed into an economic crisis challenging the solvency of major banks and countries as well as a generalized crisis of governance. Lacking the legitimacy of public



support, the leaders of the European Union's fledgling institutions have been indecisive and unable to contain the looming danger of financial contagion. Along with the economic slowdown in the United States, instability and volatility in Europe threaten to derail the fragile global recovery.

In this section, several former European leaders as well as political figures from the emerging economies offer their ideas on how to fix Europe and stem the global threat.

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Wei Qing Song

Open method of coordination and the gloomy future of social Europe

in *Asia Europe Journal*, Volume 9, Number 1, 13-27

This article addresses an important topic of European public policy: the project of Social Europe within the overall Lisbon Strategy and its related policy instrument, the Open Method of Coordination (OMC). Through the theoretical lens of the Garbage Can Model in organisational theory, the article seeks to show how, in the context of tremendous socio-economic challenges, European leaders adopted the OMC largely to strike a political compromise rather than for effective problem solving. Because of its inherent weakness, together with both internal and external challenges, the OMC is deemed too difficult to serve as an effective instrument. This has largely been confirmed by the disappointing performance over the 10 years since the Lisbon Agenda. Thus, although the OMC may be praised for its value in experimental governance, the prospects for the Social Europe project over the next decade remain uncertain.

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Novotný Vít

Opening the door: immigration and integration in the European Union

in *European View*, vol. 10, n. 2, December, 269-271

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Larik Joris

Operation Atalanta and the Protection of EU Citizens: Civis Europaeus Unheeded?

in *Perspectives on federalism*, Vol. 3, issue 2, E- 40-66

This paper critically assesses the EU's anti-piracy operation Atalanta in the light of the protection of Union citizens. The main question is to which extent a Union citizen threatened by pirates off the coast of Somalia could rely on the promise of *civis europaeus sum*. The paper discusses the various legal aspects pertaining to the forceful protection of EU citizens in international law, EU constitutional law and the operational parameters of Atalanta. It argues that within the particular framework of the international effort to combat piracy, the protection of citizens by military force could be legal.



Moreover, the protection of citizens outside the EU forms now one of the legally-binding general objectives of the Union. Yet, this objective is not reiterated in the operational mandate, which creates tension and confusion between the general objective and the CSDP instrument. The paper concludes that the mandate of Atalanta, by focussing entirely on universal objectives, is constitutionally incomplete and shows that the external dimension of Union citizenship is still underdeveloped.

Full text available at:

<http://www.on-federalism.eu/index.php/essays/98-operation-atalanta-and-the-protection-of-eu-citizens-civis-europaeus-unheded->

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Cécile Leconte

Opinions et partis européens face à la crise de l'Union monétaire

in *Politique Etrangère*, Vol. 76, n°4 hiver

Le scepticisme des citoyens européens à l'égard de la Banque centrale européenne, du Conseil, de la Commission et même du Parlement augmente. Les plans destinés au sauvetage des pays les plus fragiles de la zone euro sont perçus négativement et la confiance dans la monnaie unique tend à s'éroder. Au niveau même des partis politiques, le projet européen est peu remis en cause dans ses fondements, mais de plus en plus de critiques s'expriment concernant la gouvernance de l'Union européenne.

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Ulrike GUÉRO

Ora Berlino riscopre l'euro nucleo federale

in *Limes*, n. 6, 2011

La crisi dell'euro è il punto di rottura di un'Unione Europea affetta da un colossale deficit politico. La Germania ha capito finalmente che il federalismo conviene, ma Parigi, Londra e altri non la pensano così. Il dibattito tedesco. Verso una nuova Schengen?

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Vincenzo Cicchelli

Orientarsi nell'intrico delle società europee. Un'indagine sul cosmopolitismo dei giovani in mobilità

in *Quaderni di sociologia*, Vol. LV, n. 55

No abstract available



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Curti Gialdino Carlo

Osservazioni sul contenuto e sul valore giuridico del preambolo

in *Studi sull'integrazione europea*, Anno VI, n. 3, settembre-dicembre , 457-482

The use of the preamble as a forward to international treaties dates back to ancient times, but its importance has incremented in reference to modern multilateral treaties, particularly those establishing international organizations. Following preliminary observations regarding the content and function of preambles in general, the Paper focuses on the contents of the preamble to the Treaty on European Union, which is presently the result of a stratification of the Maastricht Treaty and its subsequent amendments. An analysis of the Preamble shows that this amendment technique allows for the continued reference to the twelve States Parties to the Treaty and the absence of a reference to the "peoples" of the Union. Another key element contained in the Preamble is the continuity of the European integration process, which is reflected in the very nature of the EU (described as a "federation of nationstates"), and is based on the cultural, religious and humanistic heritage of Europe, as well as on the underlying necessity to protect fundamental human rights. Furthermore, attention is reserved for the juridical value of the Preamble, according to the guidelines deducted from international doctrine and jurisprudence, as well as from indications derived from case-law and from the praxis of the EC/EU.

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Von Bogdandy Armin, Schill Stephan

Overcoming absolute primacy: Respect for national identity under the Lisbon Treaty

in *Common Market Law Review*, vol. 48, issue 5 , 1417-1453

ABSTRACT: The present article examines the function of the revised identity clause in Article 4(2) TEU. By focusing on the fundamental political and constitutional structures of Member States, Article 4(2) TEU provides a perspective to overcome the idea of absolute primacy of EU law and the underlying assumption of a hierarchical model to understand the relationship between EU law and domestic constitutional law. The revised identity clause in Article 4(2) TEU not only demands respect for national constitutional identity, a notion determined through a close interplay of domestic constitutional law and EU law, but can be understood as permitting domestic constitutional courts to invoke, under certain limited circumstances, constitutional limits to the primacy of EU law. At the same time, Article 4(2) TEU, in tandem with the principle of sincere cooperation contained in Article 4(3) TEU, embeds these constitutional limits into an institutional and procedural framework in which domestic constitutional courts and the Court of Justice interact closely as part of a composite system of constitutional adjudication.

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André Dumoulin

PSDC : le jeu des lettres et des « directoires »

in *Politique Etrangère*, Vol. 76, n°3 automne

Dans un contexte de blocage de la PSDC européenne, diverses initiatives bi- ou trilatérales ont tenté, depuis 2010, de



relancer les coopérations de défense : accord franco-britannique, lettre franco-germano-polonaise, lettre germano-suédoise, etc. Ces axes partiels de coopération seront certainement utiles, mais ils ne pourront à terme se substituer à une volonté politique globale qui, seule, pourrait permettre de mettre en oeuvre les dispositifs prévus par le traité de Lisbonne.

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Germano DOTTORI

Paghiamo ora la vittoria contro l'Urss

in *Limes*, n. 6, 2011

La montagna di debiti sovrani e privati che sommerge l'Occidente è il prezzo pagato per battere Mosca. Come dopo una guerra, andrebbero monetizzati. La Bce dovrebbe diventare una normale Banca centrale. Le resistenze tedesche e le opzioni italiane.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Vittorio Cotesta

Paradigmi per lo studio dell'identità europea

in *Quaderni di sociologia*, Vol. LV, n. 55

No abstract available

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Zielonka Jan

Paradoxien aus 20 Jahren Integration und Erweiterung

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 4, 2012

The full text is free:

www.bpb.de/publikationen/OQ1M3C,0,Paradoxien_aus_20_Jahren_Integration_und_Erweiterung.html

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Einleitung

Vertiefung und Erweiterung

Ursprung der Krise

Szenarien der Auflösung



Schlussfolgerungen

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Mendes Joana

Participation and the role of law after Lisbon: A legal view on Article 11 TEU

in *Common Market Law Review*, vol. 48, issue 6 , 1849-1877

ABSTRACT: Participation in EU governance has been largely kept outside the realm of law. Article 11 TEU has the potential to change this status quo, despite the fact that, with the exception of the European citizens' initiative, it represents more the recognition of previous institutional practices than an innovation proper. This contribution presents a normative interpretation of Article 11 TEU and analyses the implications of the distinct transformation this Treaty article postulates: the transition from participation based on a logic of participatory governance to participation that concretizes democracy as a "value" or a founding principle of the Union, and that responds to the respective normative yardsticks, such as equality and transparency. This is the main challenge posed by Article 11 TEU. While acknowledging that law is not the only way of giving effect to the prescriptions of this Treaty article, this contribution discusses the role of law in operating the normative shift mentioned. It analyses why different EU institutions may be urged to reconsider the role of law with regard to participation, in view not only of Article 11 TEU - as law may be needed to guarantee the conditions that ensure participation as a source of democratic legitimacy in the EU - but also of other Treaty provisions.

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Börzel Tanja A., Pamuk Yasemin

Pathologies of Europeanisation: Fighting Corruption in the Southern Caucasus

in *West European Politics*, vol. 35, n. 1 , 79-97

ABSTRACT: In order to stabilise the post-Soviet region, the European Union seeks to transform the domestic structures of the Newly Independent States. In light of high adaptation costs, the lack of a membership perspective, and low levels of democracy, the prospects of Europeanisation appear to be limited. The Southern Caucasus belongs to the most corrupt countries in the world. While being least likely cases, Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia have responded to the EU's demands for good governance introducing formal institutional changes. Moreover, despite their differences in statehood, democracy, and power (a)symmetries with the EU, domestic institutional changes look very similar. This double puzzle is explained by differential empowerment. Instead of liberal reform coalitions, which are largely absent in the Southern Caucasus, the incumbent regimes have instrumentalised the EU, selectively implementing anti-corruption policies to gain and consolidate political power. As a result, the EU stabilises rather than transforms its neighbourhood.

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Clément Marc

Pax Europeana, la romanité de l'Europe par le droit

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 553, décembre , 629-635



The European Union is a community governed by the rule of law and this aspect, far from being a simple technical element, is, in reality, constitutive of the very nature of the EU. In this, the European Union follows the Roman tradition of law, in which it makes the legal instrument the means of connecting people of diverse traditions and of developing a legal art from concrete situations. The pragmatism of European law may be linked to that of Roman law. It is therefore possible to better understand the strengths and weaknesses of European integration which result directly from the characteristics of the legal instrument. When the law is able to provide an effective medium for integration, the European Union obtains very significant results, for example, for the environmental law. By contrast, in some sectors, such as economic governance or social legislation, the dominant impression is rather one of incompleteness. The pragmatism of Roman law must be a source of inspiration in order to find legal instruments which enable progress in these domains.

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Mondello Flavio

Per un'Unione europea più dinamica e forte. Le iniziative del Gruppo dei 10

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLIII, numero speciale, n. 165, 184-190

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Fritz W. Scharpf

Perpetual momentum: directed and unconstrained?

in *Journal of European Public Policy*, Volume 19, Issue 1 2012, 127-139

At the most general level, the perpetual momentum of 'integration through law' is driven by the substantive dynamics of legal doctrines extending the protection of individual interests and by procedural conditions facilitating the use of European law to challenge the institutional regimes of EU member states. Given the supremacy and direct effect of European law, and the decision rules of EU policy making, this momentum could not be halted through political or judicial intervention.

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Holinski Nils, Kool Clemens, Muysken Joan

Persistent Macroeconomic Imbalances in the Euro Area: Causes and Consequences

in *Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis Review*, January/February 2012 Vol. 94, No. 1

In this paper, the authors document a growing divergence between current account imbalances in northern and southern euro area countries from 1992 to 2007. The imbalance occurred without a concomitant rise in productivity and growth in the southern (deficit) countries. The authors argue that systematic monitoring of external imbalances and implementation of better coordinated policies to prevent the emergence of unsustainably large imbalances in the euro area is advisable because (i) country heterogeneity and the absence of optimal currency area characteristics may lead to the emergence of large current account imbalances without automatic gains in productivity and economic growth to



sustain these imbalances, (ii) the absence of sufficient market-based adjustment mechanisms substantially increases the costs of ultimate adjustment toward more sustainable current account positions, and (iii) large external imbalances—particularly through the major role of the banking system—potentially have strong negative consequences for fiscal policy.

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Stahl Bernhard

Perverted Conditionality: The Stabilisation and Association Agreement between the European Union and Serbia
in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 16, issue 4 , 465-487

ABSTRACT: The accession strategy based on the conditionality principle has turned out to be the European Union (EU)'s most successful external governance tool. It provides the civilian power EU with the means to Europeanize the continent, that is, to project her identity beyond the borders, making acceding countries similar to herself. Yet, the South-East European (SEE) enlargement currently suffers from defections, fake compliance, and blockades. The case of Serbia is particularly interesting, since Serbia holds the key to providing peace and stability to the entire region. The research question therefore reads: To what extent has the EU's conditionality strategy been effective in the Serbian case? The theoretical argument is based on identity theory. In this perspective, the EU's (problematic) behaviour vis-à-vis Serbia stems from her uneasiness to come to terms with the 'near other' of the Western Balkans. Conversely, Serbia still struggles to find her place in Europe. In order to highlight this identity mismatch, the negotiations on the Stabilisation and Association Agreement (SAA) will be examined in detail. It will be demonstrated how the Kosovo question and the war criminals' affair overshadow Serbia's accession. The hypothesis is that the EU's conditionality strategy is overstrained since the EU pursues too many different goals and the EU's inconsistent rhetoric resonates badly in the Serbian discourse. As a consequence, the conditionality principle has degenerated to a policy of farce.

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Ripoll Servent Ariadna

Playing the Co-Decision Game? Rules' Changes and Institutional Adaptation at the LIBE Committee
in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 34, Issue 1 , 55-73

The introduction of co-decision has transformed the European Parliament (EP), changing the patterns of behaviour inside the institution, especially its committees. The entry into force of the Treaty of Lisbon extends the use of co-decision; thus, more EP committees will have to adapt to the new patterns of behaviour set out by the new decision-making rules. In order to understand how this process of adaptation occurs and what the consequences are, the present study examines the change in decision-making rules that occurred in the committee for civil liberties and justice and home affairs (LIBE) after 2005 as a precedent for future changes. Interviews and analyses of legislative texts indicate that adaptation to co-decision may occur very quickly but that its extent can be limited by forms of dual behaviour, when the coexistence of two decision-making rules oppose two different worldviews, introducing uncertainty inside committees and among external actors.



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Alexandrova Petya, Carammia Marcello, Timmermans Arco

Policy Punctuations and Issue Diversity on the European Council Agenda

in *Policy Studies Journal*, Vol. 40, Issue 1, February , 69-88

The European Council is the highest political body of the European Union and the main venue for setting the agenda on high politics. Using a new dataset of all content-coded European Council Conclusions issued between 1975 and 2010, we analyze the policy agenda of the European Council and test hypotheses on agenda change and diversity over time. We find that the theory of punctuated equilibrium applies to the agenda of the European Council, which exhibits a degree of kurtosis similar to that found in policy agendas of other institutions located at the juncture between input and output of the policy process. Throughout the 36-year period, agenda-setting dynamics involved both small changes and major shifts but also more frequent medium-sized negative changes than found elsewhere. Given capacity limits to the agenda, large expansions of attention to topics involved large cuts in attention. Cuts were more often medium in size in order to maintain some level of attention to the topics affected, even though issue disappearance from the European Council agenda has been frequent too. This relates to the functions of the European Council as venue for high politics, with expectations about issue attendance rising with increasing policy jurisdictions throughout the European integration process. Studying dynamics over time, we measured entropy to show how the agenda became more diverse but also displayed episodic concentration in an oscillating pattern. This can be accounted for by the nature of the European Council as a policy venue: increasing complexity of this institution pushed the members to produce a more diverse agenda, but capacity limits and the need to be responsive to incoming information led to concentration at specific time-points.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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McElroy Gail, Benoit Kenneth

Policy positioning in the European Parliament

in *European Union Politics* , Vol. 13, n. 1, March , 150-167

Party politics in the European Parliament (EP) consists of competition between transnational party groups, each consisting of multiple national member parties from the 27 member states of the European Union (EU). Identifying the policy space that these parties inhabit and their ideological positions is both practically and conceptually challenging. In this article we characterize this policy competition by tracking EP political groups from three separate, original expert surveys taken in 2004, 2007 and 2010. We look at the relative positioning of the groups on multiple dimensions of policy, as well as changes in party group policy since 2004. Additionally, we characterize the policy cohesion of party groups by examining the relative positions of each group's constituent parties, using independent national-level expert surveys. The results reinforce previous findings that EP party groups occupy the entire range of the left-right spectrum and, moreover, that their national party makeup consists of parties that are broadly cohesive in terms of their policy locations.



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Politiques monétaires: l'histoire sans fin

in *Revue de l'OFCE*, 2011/4 (n°119) , 223-246

Central banks have not yet escaped from the liquidity trap. They were then forced to announce a new set of unconventional measures in September and October 2011. The main tool used by the Federal Reserve, the Bank of England and the Bank of Japan consists in buying long-term Treasury assets. By this way, monetary and fiscal policies are loosened at the same time in the United States and in Japan. In the United Kingdom, the new wave of assets purchases should help cushioning the impact of the fiscal austerity package. Finally, even if the ECB also engaged in such a program, it has not gone as far as the other central banks and would then have leeway.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Alfredo Pérez Rubalcaba

Política exterior para tiempos de crisis

in *Política Exterior*, 144 - Noviembre/Diciembre

España debe relacionarse con el mundo desde Europa y con más Europa, pero con nuestros intereses y principios como eje. La política exterior debe conjugar medidas que nos permitan salir de la crisis y estar presentes en las nuevas estructuras de la globalización.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Lequesne Christian

Pour une Union européenne qui ne renonce pas

in *Europe en formation (L')*, n. 362, 2011/4 , 127-129

In this article, the author addresses the European project of the founding fathers, considering that it has been taken over after the Cold War by a new project at the scale of the continent, promoting Western values, democracy and free market rules. Overall, the new European project is to be considered as a success, that has to be fostered by economic dynamics and the defence of democracy.

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Casolari F.

Prime (difficili) applicazioni del principio di integrazione sistemica da parte della Corte di Giustizia dell'Unione Europea



in *Rivista di diritto internazionale*, vol. XCIV, fascicolo 2 , 433-458

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Jacques de Maillard, Andy Smith

Projecting national preferences: police co-operation, organizations and polities

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 19, Issue 2 2012 , 257-274

Policing policy in member states of the European Union (EU) increasingly overlaps with the latter's laws and policies, but what causes how national actors set and 'project' their respective positions within EU decision-making? Based upon research into the French and British cases in this field over the 2000s and sociological public policy theory, our analysis reveals that while these states formally share strongly centralized systems of co-ordination based on specialized ministries and interministerial mediation, considerable differences exist over the type of inter-administrative competition within each civil service and the linkages to politics this entails. Although national administrations and police forces in both countries have reorganized to engage in EU negotiations, intra-policy community tensions are much greater in France than in Britain. Secondly, the piece shows why British preference formation and projection in this sector is more systematically shaped by parliamentary, media and interest group scrutiny than its French counterpart.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Orbie Jan, Wetzel Anne

Promoting Embedded Democracy? Researching the Substance of EU Democracy Promotion

in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 16, issue 5 , 565-588

ABSTRACT: This article introduces this special issue on the substance of EU democracy promotion. It explains the research question that is central to this special issue: What is the democratic substance that the EU furthers in third countries? First, we provide a review of the literature, arguing that existing studies have mainly focused on the impact and strategies of EU democracy promotion without sufficiently analysing the very substance it furthers in third countries and regions. While academic research has made a rough distinction between a broad and a limited notion of democracy promotion, scholars have not yet systematically and comparatively analysed this topic. Second, we develop a conceptual framework in order to 'map' the substance of EU democracy promotion. Starting from a liberal conception of democracy and based on an adaptation of the model of 'embedded democracy', different components, types and agendas of democracy promotion are identified. Third, we formulate a number of expectations on the substance of democracy advanced by the EU, focusing in particular on the distinction between a 'one-size-fits-all' and a differentiation scenario. This article ends with a summary of the different contributions to the special issue.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Schweickert Rainer, Melnykovska Inna



Prospective NATO or EU membership and institutional change in transition countries

in *Economics of Transition*, Volume 19, Issue 4, October 2011 , 667–692

This article quantifies the impact of incentives related to potential membership on institutional change as measured by the World Bank Governance Indicators. Based on a panel of 25 transition countries for the period from 1996 to 2008, we show that pre-accession incentives provided by EU and NATO clearly matter for institutional development. In addition, path-dependency determined by cultural norms may be overcome by economic liberalization, while foreign aid hampers institutional development.

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Moraru Madalina Bianca

Protection of EU citizens abroad: A legal assessment of the EU citizen's right to consular and diplomatic protection

in *Perspectives on federalism*, Vol. 3, issue 2 , E- 67-105

The wide range of disasters that has recently hit third countries has shown that not even the Member States with the widest network of consular and diplomatic representation can ensure on their own the protection of their nationals located in the affected areas. The present paper addresses the question of whether the EU citizenship confers to the citizens of the Member States real benefits when they find themselves in distress outside of the Union's borders. It critically assesses the legal nature, content and effects in the domestic legal orders of the least developed right recognised to the EU citizen: the right to protection abroad (Art. 20(2)(c) TFEU). The paper will demonstrate that the EU citizen has a clear, individual and directly effective right to receive non-discriminatory protection in third countries abroad from any of the Member States that is represented in loco. Nevertheless, since for the moment, the right to protection abroad is limited to an application of the principle of non-discrimination based on nationality, the paper will show that in practice, the effectiveness of the EU citizen's right to protection abroad is hindered by the divergent regulatory frameworks of the Member States on consular and diplomatic protection of nationals, frameworks which have not, so far, been harmonised by a EU measure. The paper concludes by describing the new roles acquired by the Union after the Lisbon Treaty in the field of consular and diplomatic protection of citizens abroad and how this change influences the role of the Member States in a traditional State-like activity.

Full text available at:

<http://www.on-federalism.eu/index.php/essays/100-protection-of-eu-citizens-abroad-a-legal-assessment-of-the-eu-citizens-right-to-consular-and-diplomatic-protection>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Charl y V ronique

Pr parer une pr sidence : logiques domestiques et transferts de pratiques

in *Politique europ enne* , n. 35, 3, 2011 , 115-138



Even after the Lisbon Treaty, the rotating Presidency of the Council is still considered as a political opportunity to be seized by member states as a tool to prove their level of European integration in terms of administrative capacity and efficiency. As a result, the member state concerned by this exercise often makes a demonstrative effort at both national and international levels. With a view to better preparing for Presidency, member states often choose to implement targeted training programs, and sometimes a 3-months to one-year intensive training program. The main objective of these programs is usually to strengthen the administrative capacity of the officials in charge of European affairs by transferring know-how and good practices. Another overall purpose of these programs is to bring to the foreground a common administrative culture. The complexity of the missions incumbent upon the member state exercising the presidency, justifies this effort in training and transfer of expertise. It also makes the use of this « Presidency momentum » as an instrument of legitimization in relation to national and European public opinion.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Giuliani Jean-Dominique

Quel cadre pour l'Europe militaire ?

in *Revue Défense Nationale*, n° 762, Été

Une Europe militaire peut émerger des circonstances et des besoins collectivement ressentis plus sûrement qu'une Europe de la défense au concept inadéquat. Elle devra repartir des intérêts nationaux et utiliser toutes les occasions favorables pour s'établir pragmatiquement.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Chaltiel Florence

Questions d'Europe

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 553, décembre , 625

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Martín Baumeister Bruno

Recent developments in Community case-law concerning the standing of European regions before the European Courts

in *Revista d'Estudis Autònomic i Federals*, 14 , 233-263

This contribution offers a response to two questions: firstly, what forms of appeal does a region with legislative powers have to challenge Community legislation?; secondly, what does the call for of a privileged action for annulment consist of for certain regions in agreement with Art. 263.2 TFUE / 230.2 TCE? This contribution presents (1) the concept of region with legislative powers, (2) the most frequent petition of the actions used for the infringement of regional powers, (3) the internal coordination procedures between the central government bodies and the regional authorities, (4) community jurisprudence on the subject of Art. 230 TCE with respect to regional bodies, (5) the "political" call for a



privileged action for annulment for regions with legislative powers, and finally, (6) some conclusions and perspectives de lege ferenda.

Full text available at:

http://www10.gencat.cat/drep/binaris/_reaf14_Martin_tcm112-180563.pdf

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Karl Wolfram, Schöpfer Eduard C.

Rechtsprechungsübersicht. Österreichische Rechtsprechung zur Europäischen Menschenrechtskonvention im Jahr 2010

in *Zeitschrift für Öffentliches Recht*, vol. 66, issue 4 , 491-561

ABSTRACT: This is a review of selected decisions passed by Austrian supreme courts in 2010 on the basis of the European Convention on Human Rights. In a first introductory Part I there is a survey of the decisions whereby reference is made not only to the text of the European Convention but also to pertinent Strasbourg case-law. Part II contains short versions of these domestic decisions. As the European Court of Human Rights is overloaded with individual complaints leading to prolonged waiting periods, decentralized jurisdiction by domestic courts is gaining practical importance and interest. This provides one of the reasons for this review. However, it should not be overlooked that the domestic decisions presented here are not always final but may still be subject to scrutiny by the Strasbourg Court.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Mueller Wolfgang

Recognition in Return for Détente? Brezhnev, the EEC, and the Moscow Treaty with West Germany, 1970–1973

in *Journal of Cold War Studies*, Volume 13, Issue 4 - Fall , 79-100

This article draws on Soviet archival documents as well as Western and Russian publications to analyze the background of Leonid Brezhnev's announcements of 1972 regarding the Soviet Union's possible recognition of the European Economic Community (EEC). The analysis takes into account various factors including the integration process, détente, and Soviet relations with West European states. The article shows that Brezhnev's first initiative toward the EEC in March 1972 was designed to facilitate ratification of the Moscow Treaty with West Germany and did not reflect a genuine desire to establish relations with Brussels. The new Soviet approach toward the EEC became manifest only in Brezhnev's second speech on the topic, in December 1972. This strategy, which included mutual recognition and negotiations between the EEC and the Council on Mutual Economic Assistance, was intended to foster détente in Europe and to pave the way toward the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.



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Frédéric Marty, Julien Pillot

Remises de fidélité et abus d'éviction : quelles évolutions dans la pratique décisionnelle de la Commission européenne ?

in *Revue internationale de droit économique* , Vol. 25, n°3 , 379-404

En février 2009, la Commission européenne publiait de nouvelles orientations quant au traitement des pratiques des entreprises dominantes pouvant conduire à des évictions anticoncurrentielles. Parmi les pratiques analysées figuraient les rabais de fidélité, lesquels occupent une place particulièrement importante dans les débats engagés autour des décisions de la Commission et des arrêts de la Cour de justice. En effet, les remises de fidélité constituent l'un des principaux domaines pour lesquels il est reproché aux autorités européennes de privilégier une approche formaliste au détriment d'une analyse au cas par cas des effets concrets des pratiques sur le marché. À ce titre, la décision rendue quelques mois plus tard dans l'affaire Intel témoigne-t-elle de la convergence annoncée vers une approche plus économique ? Au-delà même du cas des abus d'éviction reposant sur des remises de fidélité, il est possible de s'interroger non seulement sur les conditions d'une mise en œuvre d'une telle approche mais également sur l'impact que celle-ci pourrait avoir en matière de sanction des abus de position dominante.

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Martinico Giuseppe, Castaldi Roberto

Rethinking (EU) citizenship

in *Perspectives on federalism*, Vol. 3, issue 2 , I-IX

This special issue of Perspectives on Federalism offers a multidisciplinary collection of pieces dealing with some (selected) issues in the field of citizenship studies.

In order to investigate how citizenship has been reconceived over the years, we decided to propose a multidisciplinary itinerary where scholars interested in political and legal theory, EU, international and constitutional law produced a contribution to defining the new boundaries of this concept

Full text available at:

<http://www.on-federalism.eu/index.php/component/content/article/102-rethinking-eu-citizenship->

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Alec Stone Sweet, Kathleen Stranz

Rights adjudication and constitutional pluralism in Germany and Europe

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 19, Issue 1 2012 , 92-108

The development of a corpus of fundamental rights at the EU level has accentuated the constitutional pluralism that existed within many national legal systems. Illustrating the dynamic, the adjudication of the age discrimination provisions



of the 2000 Framework Directive on Employment Equality in Germany produced two major outcomes. First, interactions between the ECJ and the German labour courts served to upgrade rights protections afforded to workers, relative to national constitutional standards. Second, the structural position of the German Federal Constitutional Court, as a privileged locus of rights protection, was weakened, while the authority of the labour courts was enhanced. Looking ahead, we are entering a new era of rights-based legal integration that will further serve to Europeanize national law, while undermining the (supposed) unity and coherence of national legal orders.

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Hornig Eike-Christian

Risiko Volksabstimmung? Zur Kluft zwischen Parteien und Wählern bei EU-Referenden in Westeuropa im Vergleich

in *Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft*, 21. Jahrgang (2011), Heft 2

Never mind a public vote? Comparing the gap between party elites and voters in the context of EU- and Non-EU-Referenda in Western Europe

The article analyses the relationship between political parties and direct democracy by testing the hypothesis of a gap between political elites and voters in the process of European Integration, as prevalent in the respective literature. Referring to the concept of the partyiness of direct democracy the indicator for the gap is realized as the coherence of positions in the representative arena with referendum results measured as partyiness. Accordingly, the partyiness of 31 EU and 133 Non-EU-votes is calculated by drawing on an extensive original data set of party positions and standard vote and election results from various countries. This first large scale comparison of both referenda groups reveals the partyiness of EU-votes to range about 7% of the electorate lower than the partyiness of Non-EU-Votes. The integration of additional independent variables into the analysis further specifies the nature of this gap.

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Maxime Lefebvre

Réenchanter le rêve européen ?

in *Politique Etrangère*, Vol. 76, n°4 hiver

La crise européenne est d'abord une crise de gouvernance : l'UE élargie n'a pas de structure institutionnelle efficace et légitime. Elle questionne aussi une identité européenne qui s'impose de moins en moins aux logiques nationales. Au-delà, la crise affecte gravement le moral des Européens : le projet européen dans son ensemble paraît usé. Ce projet ne pourrait rebondir qu'en se redéfinissant autour des notions de politisation, de subsidiarité, de solidarité et de différenciation.

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Virginie Guiraudon

Schengen : une crise en trompe l'oeil



in *Politique Etrangère*, Vol. 76, n°4 hiver

La convention de Schengen est souvent vue comme un succès symbolique de la construction européenne, et la crise de 2011, après l'arrivée en Italie de migrants tunisiens, comme la mettant en cause. Conçue initialement pour faciliter la circulation dans le grand marché unique, Schengen a d'abord servi à renforcer les frontières extérieures de l'Union dans une logique sécuritaire et intergouvernementale. En dépit d'échanges parfois acides, la crise de 2011 n'a rien changé à cet état de fait.

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Demostenes FLOROS

Se la tragedia greca diventa pandemia

in *Limes*, n. 6, 2011

Le radici della crisi ellenica e le sue conseguenze sistemiche. Le tre opzioni di Atene: restare nell'Eurozona a qualsiasi costo, tornare alla dracma o accettare l' 'euro dei poveri'. La 'germanizzazione' strisciante dell'Europa. Le grandi potenze con la testa nella sabbia.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Brunkhorst Hauke

Solidarität in der Krise: Ist Europa am Ende?

in *Leviathan. Berliner Zeitschrift für Sozialwissenschaft* , Volume 39, Number 4, December 2011 , 459-477

Solidarity in crisis. Is this the end of a United Europe?

The dialectic of the European constitutional revolutions has caught up with the European Union which today finds itself in the midst of its greatest crisis. The crisis is due not only to one of the greatest breakdowns in the history of the global economy, but also to the fascinating internal evolution of the European constitution since its beginning, shortly after World War II. Parallel to the growth of constitutional law, latent legitimation problems began to arise and grow cumulatively. However, once the big global banks, corporations and hedge-funds began a concerted attack on the European periphery and the Euro itself, the legitimation crisis manifested itself in full.

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Wierich Andrea

Solving Problems Where They Are Made? The European Neighbourhood Policy and Its Effects on the Context of Other Migration-Related Policies of the European Union

in *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, vol. 12, n. 3, September , 225-241

As the end of territorial expansion for the European Union approaches, the European Neighbourhood Policy has been designed as a coherent way of dealing with neighbouring countries. The EU strives to cooperate with these countries in



various fields of policy, one of which is control of the European borders and the management of migration into the EU. This article provides an overview of already existing European policies regarding migration, asylum and border control and the effects on migration that the ENP is likely to have. The text then offers an alternative perspective, regarding these policies from a migrant's point of view and describing the consequences these policies have on migrants on their way to Europe. Finally, the article outlines prospective results of the Stockholm Programme.

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Neuilly, Yves Buchet de

Sous l'emprise de la présidence. Déplacements structurels, construction des intérêts et stratégies des diplomates au Conseil

in *Politique européenne*, n. 35, 3, 2011, 83-103

The access to EU Presidency is usually seen as an opportunity for a member state to put forward his own agenda. But in fact, we cannot understand the effects of EU presidency with such stato-centric, homogenizing approach, which naturalize state's interests. The resources given by this status, and its constraints, change the relative position of Member State's representatives, their options, expectations and strategies. The impact of this structural move is not the same for all representatives of a single Member State (here, the case of France in 2008). The differential holding of the Presidency role depends first on the balances of power, the dynamics and institutions of each field of EU public policy.

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Lucke Albrecht von

Souverän ohne Volk: Der Putsch der Märkte

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, Dezember, 2011, 5-8

The full text is free:

www.blaetter.de/archiv/jahrgaenge/2011/dezember/souveraen-ohne-volk-der-putsch-der-maerkte

„Souverän ist, wer über den Ausnahmezustand entscheidet“, lautet der wohl bekannteste Satz des „furchtbaren Juristen“ Carl Schmitt. Dieses fatale Diktum ist, wenn auch ironisch gebrochen, der Satz zur Lage in Europa. Längst ist die vermeintliche Euro-Krise zu einer Krise der Demokratie und der Souveränität der europäischen Staaten geworden. Die Ironie der Geschichte: Während der Antiliberaler Schmitt Souveränität dezidiert autoritär und anti-demokratisch denkt, geht es heute um den Erhalt gerade der demokratischen Souveränität des Volkes.

Seit Beginn der Finanzkrise – und forciert durch die staatliche Rettung der Banken mittels eigener Verschuldung – ist die demokratische Souveränität der einzelnen Staaten ihrer schwersten Bewährungsprobe seit der autoritären Gefährdung der 30er Jahre ausgesetzt und dabei zunehmend auf dem Rückzug. Offenbar haben wir gegenwärtig den bisherigen Höhepunkt der Krise erreicht: Nach dem Ende der Regierung Papandreou in Griechenland ist auch die Regierung Berlusconi der Macht der Märkte erlegen...

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Caporale Guglielmo Maria, Spagnolo Nicola

Stock Market Integration between three CEECs, Russia and the UK

in *Review of International Economics*, Volume 19, Issue 1, February 2011 , 158-169

This paper estimates a trivariate VAR-GARCH(1,1)-in-mean model to examine linkages between the stock markets of three Central and Eastern European countries (CEECs), specifically the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland, and both the UK and Russia. The adopted framework allows to analyze interdependence by estimating volatility spillovers, and also contagion by testing for possible shifts in the transmission of volatility following the introduction of the euro and EU accession. Further evidence on possible changes in the transmission mechanism (namely, on whether there is contagion) can be obtained by examining the conditional correlations implied by the estimated model over different time periods. The empirical findings suggest that there is significant co-movement (interdependence) of these CEEC markets with both the Russian and the UK ones. Furthermore, whilst the introduction of the euro has had mixed effects, EU accession has resulted in an increase in volatility spillovers between the three CEECs considered and the UK (contagion).

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Ilzkovitz Fabienne, Dierx Adriaan

Structural Reforms: A European Perspective

in *Reflets et perspectives de la vie économique*, Tome L, 2011/3

The resilience of the EU Member States to the onslaught of the 2008 financial crisis depends not only on the countries' ex ante budgetary position, but also on the strength of the structural policy framework. While the Member States with a good track record of structural reforms have not been able to avoid the impact of the crisis, they appear to be recovering more rapidly than countries with a poor record. Looking forward, the Europe 2020 strategy provides a new framework for structural reforms in the European Union: it builds on the lessons learned from the Lisbon strategy, recognising its strengths (the right goals of growth and job creation) but addressing its weaknesses (problem of governance, poor implementation, with big differences between EU countries in the speed and depth of reform). Nevertheless, the perception of only limited change in comparison with the Lisbon strategy is widespread. The paper offers some ideas on how to further strengthen implementation of needed reforms: first, a better monitoring of the reform effort through the systematic collection of data measuring the extent of reforms undertaken; second, sound and convincing analysis illustrating the net gains derived from the reforms undertaken; and third, a better monitoring of EU product markets and sectors, which could provide a more rigorous basis for regulatory reform proposals

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Rinke Andreas

Stunde der Entscheidung. Wie „Merkozy“ die Grundlagen eines neuen Europas schufen

in *Internationale Politik* , 67. Jahrgang, n. 1-2, Januar-Februar

ABSTRACT: Die Länder der Euro-Zone haben die dramatischsten Monate seit der Gründung der Gemeinschaftswährung durchlebt. Deutschland als größte Volkswirtschaft spielte bei der Stabilisierung eine Schlüsselrolle – und war zusammen mit Frankreich treibende Kraft einer völlig neuen Architektur der EU. Eine



Rekonstruktion.

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Avbelj Matej

Supremacy or Primacy of EU Law—(Why) Does it Matter?

in *European law journal*, Volume 17, Issue 6 - November , 744–763

Even 50 years on the principle of supremacy or primacy is still surrounded with ambiguity, which is apparent already on the level of semantics. The principle has not carried a single name, but three. This paper argues that a disparity in the denomination of the principle amounts to much more than semantics. It exhibits conceptual differences. Different conceptualisations of the principle of primacy or supremacy entail different models of structural principles of EU law: the hierarchical, the conditionally hierarchical and the heterarchical model. These are no mere theoretical constructions; rather they have influenced concrete practices of EU law, including the most recent *Kücükdeveci* case as well as the Lisbon decision of the German Constitutional Court. While none of the three models has yet found an unequivocal and conclusive endorsement in the EU practice, there are compelling theoretical and practical reasons for which one of them should be preferred over the others. Whether EU law has supremacy or primacy therefore matters.

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Lordon Frédéric

Sur le toboggan de la crise européenne

in *Monde Diplomatique (Le)*, Novembre

Que se passe-t-il lorsque l'ultime refuge se trouve lui-même secoué par la tempête ? Mercredi 23 novembre, les investisseurs ont boudé un octroi de dette allemande, signe d'une défiance inédite. Pris à leur propre piège, les marchés qui exigeaient la rigueur redoutent désormais la dépression. A ces louvoiements tentent de répondre des « sommets » dont la multiplication démontre l'inutilité.

<http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/2011/12/LORDON/47026>

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P. Mihályi

The 2011 governance reform of the Eurozone: Two well-known problems of the centrally planned economies (An Essay)

in *Acta Oeconomica*, Volume 61, Number 3 , 281-291

The protracted sovereign debt crisis within the Eurozone has given rise to new policy questions. In a paradoxical way, the dilemmas confronting the contemporary EU/EMU reformers are similar to those which Socialist planners faced 30–40 years ago. This will be illustrated by two examples: the inherent contradictions of ex ante coordination, and the



difficulties in hardening the soft budget constraint mechanism. Deep and far-reaching reforms are not possible without a consensus among those experts who have the ear of the elected leaders. This condition is not fulfilled today, due to the lack of consensus on the diagnosis.

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Morano-Foadi Sonia, Andreadakis Stelios

The Convergence of the European Legal System in the Treatment of Third Country Nationals in Europe: The ECJ and ECtHR Jurisprudence

in *European Journal of International Law*, Vol. 22, issue 4 , 1071-1088

This article, based on a broader project, focuses on the interaction between the two European Courts (the Court of Justice of the European Union – ECJ and the European Court of Human Rights – ECtHR) and uses the specific area of expulsion/deportation of third country nationals (non-EU nationals) from European territory as a case study. The work examines the ECJ's and ECtHR's divergent approaches in this area of law, and it then provides some preliminary reflections on the potential of the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights and the EU's accession to the European Convention of Human Rights (ECHR) to achieve a more harmonious and convergent human rights system in Europe. It finally argues that the post-Lisbon era has the potential to enhance the protection of fundamental rights within the continent.

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Delgado Casteleiro Andrés, Larik Joris

The Duty to Remain Silent: Limitless Loyalty in EU External Relations?

in *European Law Review*, Vol. 36, issue 4 , 524-542

No abstract available

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

O'Gorman Roderic

The ECHR, the EU and the Weakness of Social Rights Protection at European Level

in *German Law Journal*, Vol. 12, issue 10 , 1833-1861

The decision of the Council of Europe to exclude most social rights from the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) and address them in a manner different from civil and political rights via the European Social Charter is indicative of the practice of giving social rights a lower level of protection. This decision, taken by the Council of Europe, has also had long-term consequences regarding the standard to which social rights are protected within the European Union. It provided a basis whereby the Court of Justice focused almost exclusively on the protection of civil and political rights in its judgments on the interpretation of Union law. This approach was copper-fastened through the Maastricht Treaty, when the amendments to the Treaties, including references to fundamental rights, excluded potential sources of social rights. The impact of this weak standing of social rights is illustrated in cases where the Court has failed to use



these rights as a means of balancing the impact of the fundamental freedoms on the social services provided by the Member States.

Full text available:

<http://www.germanlawjournal.com/index.php?pageID=11&artID=1387>

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Irrera Daniela

The EU Strategy in Tackling Organized Crime in the Framework of Multilateralism

in Perspectives on European Politics and Society, vol. 12, n. 4, November, Special Issue: European Security Governance after the Lisbon Treaty: Neighbours and New Actors in a Changing Security Environment , 407-419

Transnational organized crime (TOC) is dramatically increasing its ability to perform at a global level. There is not yet, however, a common definition of organized crime, nor a common strategy to fight it. Even though it is currently included in the political agenda on a global level and often associated with transnational terrorism and security issues, organized crime is not an exclusive policy priority. The differences in position among the most important political actors – the US, the EU, the EU member states and the UN – are significant and confused. The EU, in particular, has developed an advanced strategy based either on single member states' experience or on shared principles and perceptions. The main assumption here is that in the broader context of multilateralism and by respecting the leading global actors' view (that of the UN and the US), the EU has built its own strategy, which constitutes an added value to the global struggle against TOC. In the first part of this article, TOC will be analysed as a global threat and towards other challenges as global terrorism, ethnic wars and failed states. In the second part, the EU strategy will be analysed and compared to the most important positions and strategies developed by the leading political actors. The most important changes introduced through the Lisbon Treaty will be stressed as well. The last part of the article presents some conclusions on the perceptions of organized crime within political agendas at the global level.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Federica Bicchi

The EU as a community of practice: foreign policy communications in the COREU network

in Journal of European Public Policy , Volume 18, Issue 8 2011 , 1115-1132

This contribution shows the added value of analysing the European Union (EU), and more specifically the EU foreign policy system, as a community of practice, i.e. a group of people who routinely get together on a common or similar enterprise with the aim of developing and sharing practical knowledge. The paper analyses the COREU network, which allows member states and EU institutions to exchange confidential information about foreign policy. It argues that officials involved display the key features of a community of practice: (1) there is a high degree of mutual engagement; (2) the functions served by the network go well beyond what was first stipulated; (3) there is a shared repertoire of resources to negotiate meaning. The existence of such a community of practice suggests that there is in the EU foreign policy system at least one organizational structure able to transcend national boundaries and based instead on a European practice of foreign policy communications.



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Helene Sjurzen

The EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy: the quest for democracy
in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 18, Issue 8 2011 , 1069-1077

This collection seeks to reorient studies of European foreign and security policy towards the question of democracy. The aim is to blend insights from international relations and democratic theory in order to enhance our understanding of what is at stake.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Basil Germond

The EU's security and the sea: defining a maritime security strategy
in *European Security*, Volume 20, Issue 4 , 563-584

This article comprehensively discusses the maritime dimension of the European Union's (EU's) security, which encompasses military and civilian aspects, intergovernmental and community components as well as institutional and geopolitical elements. First, the article provides a narrative of the development of the maritime element in the EU's security policy since the adoption of the European Security Strategy in 2003. By depicting the interrelations between the sea and the EU's security, the article shows that the maritime dimension of EU security is generally well established, but often obscured by the complicated institutional structure of the Union. Thereafter, the article emphasises the need to define an effective EU Maritime Security Strategy, which would provide a strategic framework for the Union's security-related activities regarding the sea that encompass maritime power projection, as well as maritime security and safety. Accordingly the article provides some recommendations concerning the definition of such a strategy and for appropriate constituting elements: the maritime-related risks and threats, the maritime strategic objectives, the means to implement the strategy, and the theatres of EU maritime operations.

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Lavallée Chantal

The European Commission's Position in the Field of Security and Defence: An Unconventional Actor at a Meeting Point

in *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, vol. 12, n. 4, November, Special Issue: European Security Governance after the Lisbon Treaty: Neighbours and New Actors in a Changing Security Environment , 371-389

Due to its indirect role in the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), the European Commission seems to be a marginal actor in European security governance. As a result, there is little analysis of its role in this field. This approach is somewhat misleading because the EU policy-making process is more complex than it appears. The interdependence between the EU's external policies has increased the interaction between supranational institutions and national governments. Moreover, developments in security and defence at the EU level have opened up a window of opportunity



for several actors. This paper will show that the structuring of the European field of security and defence is the result of interaction among various actors. From a sociological standpoint, the paper aims to understand the role of the Commission by shedding light, not only on its position in the field, but also on its relations with the other actors, both state and non-state, involved in EU security governance. Using this relational approach, the paper will argue that the Commission is the meeting point for the actors in the field, playing a coordinating role on the one hand, but facing many challenges on the other.

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Yordanova Nikoleta

The European Parliament: In need of a theory

in European Union Politics, Vol. 12, n. 4, December, 597-617

The legislative organization of the European Parliament (EP) has far-reaching implications for its ability to solve the democratic deficit problem of the European Union (EU). Recognizing that, this article reviews the literature on the EP organization with a view to consolidating existing knowledge and identifying outstanding research gaps. It calls for a new generation of research to go beyond the congressional theoretical literature and develop theoretical accounts of the EP's internal organizational adaptation in response to its rising legislative powers and the development of true EU bicameralism. Generalizing such accounts can add to broader theories of legislative organization, which have hitherto failed to explicitly incorporate the effect of external (institutional) developments in their predictions.

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Schammo Pierre

The European Securities and Markets Authority: Lifting the veil on the allocation of powers

in Common Market Law Review, vol. 48, issue 6, 1879-1913

ABSTRACT: The European Securities and Markets Authority (ESMA) was established in 2011 in the wake of the financial crisis. As one of the European Supervisory Authorities (ESA), it is part of the new European System of Financial Supervision. In order to carry out its tasks, ESMA was allocated an impressive range of powers which it exercises in relation to national competent authorities or market actors, including Credit Rating Agencies. The aim of this article is to examine ESMA's powers and the questions that they raise. As an EU body, ESMA was delegated certain powers. This fact raises some important issues - notably with respect to the Meroni doctrine - which this article investigates. In particular, it argues that EU actors have mostly been tight-lipped over the precise constitutional limitations of a delegation of powers when vesting powers in ESMA. The main message of this article is that the lack of clarity characterizing the current state of affairs is unsatisfactory and should be addressed.

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Tannam Etain

The European Union and Conflict Resolution: Northern Ireland, Cyprus and Bilateral Cooperation in Government and Opposition, Vol. 47, n. 1, January, 49-73

The aim of this article is to determine the EU's effect on British–Irish and Greek–Turkish cooperation. It examines the EU's actual and potential role in fostering British–Irish and Greek–Turkish cooperation as well as its policies to Northern Ireland and Cyprus themselves. Domestic bureaucratic capacity and institutional design are put forward as explanations for the success of the British–Irish relationship rather than EU membership per se. In the case of Cyprus, the article suggests that increased bilateral cooperation with respect to disputed territory is unlikely to occur in the absence of faster bureaucratic change in both Greece and Turkey. EU membership is not a causal factor in the evolution of cooperation and conflict resolution.

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Petersheim Meredith-Joy

The European Union and Consolidating Democracy in Central and Eastern Europe
in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 34, Issue 1, 75-91

Since the integration process commenced, there has been debate over whether the countries in Central and Eastern Europe have seen a surge or decline in democracy after signing accession treaties to join the European Union (EU). Drawing upon a sample of 24 Central and Eastern European countries, I test whether EU candidates and members have experienced an increase in levels of democracy since the onset of accession, as opposed to their non-EU neighbours. I also test the effects of EU candidacy and membership on state-level civil liberties and political rights. These analyses are conducted while controlling for relevant factors: gross domestic product per capita, trade openness and type of democratic — parliamentary versus presidential — system. All countries in Central and Eastern Europe that have complete and comparable data available are included in the empirical analysis. In conclusion, I find that there is a positive and significant relationship between integration and civil liberties.

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Douglas-Scott Sionaidh

The European Union and Human Rights after the Treaty of Lisbon
in *Human Rights Law Review*, Vol. 11, issue 4, 645-682

This article considers the state of human rights protection in the European Union (EU) after the Treaty of Lisbon. The Lisbon Treaty introduced significant changes to human rights protection in the EU, the most significant of which lie in the amendments to Article 6 of the Treaty on European Union. These provide that the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights is now legally binding, having the same status as primary EU law, and that the EU 'shall accede' to the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR). In the two years since the Lisbon Treaty came into force, the Charter has been referred to on many occasions by the European Court of Justice, and now operates as the primary source of human



rights in the EU. This article examines the import of this case law, some of it ground-breaking and controversial, as well how the higher profile for human rights under the Charter is likely to change the nature of the EU's relationship with the ECHR. The article also examines the complex procedure for the EU's accession to the ECHR, which is now underway, highlighting particularly significant aspects of this. The article concludes with some general reflections about the status of human rights protection in the EU, suggesting that this has become one of the most significant areas of EU law which has had, and continues to have, a crucial impact on the EU's relationships with its Member States, the EU and international law.

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Elena Aoun

The European Union and International Criminal Justice: Living Up to Its Normative Preferences?

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 50, Issue 1, January 2012 , 21-36

European Union Member States have committed themselves, individually and collectively, to the fight against impunity for serious international crimes. The record is, however, ambiguous: support for the current investigations of the International Criminal Court is uneven and Member States are reluctant to exercise universal jurisdiction and develop binding common policies under the 'third pillar'. This article assesses the extent of the discrepancy between stated normative preferences and flexible practices. It argues that this discrepancy results from the clash of accountability with other prevailing norms and interests, on the one hand, and from the lack of effective drivers pushing Member States towards increased commitment to combat impunity through a set of social mechanisms such as rhetorical action and socialization, on the other.

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Afionis Stavros

The European Union as a negotiator in the international climate change regime

in **International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics**, Volume 11, Number 4, November , 341-360

While the leadership role of the European Union (EU) in the climate change regime has been largely acknowledged, less attention has been paid to identifying the reasons why the EU often fails in climate change negotiations. Such an undertaking is deemed imperative following the negative for the EU turn of events at the 2009 Copenhagen climate summit. There is sufficient literature to be found on the link between the Union's unique and complex organizational structure and its inability to act cohesively and purposefully. This study seeks to add to this corpus by looking at the extent to which the EU has been able to learn from its mistakes and incorporate timely remedial action. Even though important, the EU's failures as a global actor cannot be explained by only looking at its ineffective institutional architecture. A more systematic understanding of the reasons behind EU's failures in climate talks is in fact needed. By using Underdal's theory of 'negotiation failure', this study tries to explore the extent to which negotiation theory could help with better comprehending the obstacles that prevented the Union from getting more out of the climate negotiation process.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Geeroms Hans, Moesen Wim, De Corte Stefaan

The European Union at a crossroads: an action plan
in *European View* , vol. 10, n. 2, December , 261-263

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Lorenzo Striuli

The European border control: time for proposals or controversies?
in *CeMiSS - Osservatorio Strategico e Quarterly*, A. IX, Summer , 43-45

During the beginnings of last autumn, it has been recorded a certain activism, on the part of the European Commission, towards the formulation of a proposal able to delegate a central role to the FRONTEX agency for what is concerned with the potential reintroduction of border controls by Schengen area member countries, currently reserved to their only responsibility (since the homonymous Agreements came into force in 2006, some temporary measures for the reintroduction of these controls, never lasting more than thirty days, have been implemented twenty-six times, and usually on the occasion of international sport competitions and high-grade political meetings such as G-8, etc.).

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Ruffert Matthias

The European debt crisis and European Union law
in *Common Market Law Review*, vol. 48, issue 6 , 1777-1805

ABSTRACT: Economic governance in the EU has been undergoing substantial changes since the beginning of the sovereign debt crisis. The re-arrangements are affecting the convergence of European economies, budgetary control and emergency reactions. Some of them are still at proposal stage, such as the "sixpack" proposed by the Commission for a series of legislative measures on convergence and budgetary surveillance, which is still under scrutiny in Parliament and which is accompanied by activity of the European Council (Euro-Plus-Pact, European Semester). Emergency action is being undertaken since May 2010 (Greek package, EFSM, EFSF) and should lead to a newly inserted provision in the TFEU together with a new international financial institution (ESM). From a European constitutional lawyer's view, the soundness of the reforms already at proposal stage, as well as the emergency activity currently undertaken, may be called into question. European constitutionalism is at stake, as core rules of the Treaties are disrespected. Democratic governance is threatened, as most of the new structures are devoid of parliamentary backing. Stability and welfare are jeopardized as the policy of the Union deviates from successful ways of economic governance as enshrined in the Treaties. European legal scholarship must not be reluctant in pointing at such deficiencies and should participate in showing ways out of the crisis.



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Müller Patrick

The Europeanization of Germany's Foreign Policy toward the Israeli–Palestinian Conflict: Between Adaptation to the EU and National Projection

in Mediterranean Politics, Volume 16, Issue 3, November , 385-403

Using the Europeanization concept as framework of analysis, this article examines the interaction of Germany's national policy with Europe's collective foreign policy in a central policy area – the Israeli–Palestinian conflict. It argues that Germany's conflict resolution policy evolved in close interaction with Europe's common foreign policy. Germany has relied on EPC/CFSP as a framework to pursue national objectives and foreign policy priorities more effectively. What is more, four decades of European foreign policy co-operation toward the Israeli–Palestinian conflict also impacted on the substance and practices of Germany's national foreign policy, providing a cover for a more 'even-handed' and active policy.

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Sokhi-Bulley Bal

The Fundamental Rights Agency of the European Union: A New Panopticism

in Human Rights Law Review, Vol. 11, issue 4 , 683-706

The Fundamental Rights Agency of the European Union (FRA) is the European Union's newest, and only, human rights institution. The FRA represents a new way of speaking about rights in the European Union, using 'governance' language. It was not conceived as a traditional human rights monitoring body and the monitoring mission was actively abandoned in favour of an advisory one. This article examines how the FRA's governance-related role actually reveals a type of monitoring best understood as 'surveillance' in a critical, Foucauldian sense. In exercising surveillance tactics, the FRA represents a model of panopticism which allows it to carry out a new form of government. This is an interesting observation not only because of the implications it has for a European Union that is striving to move away from government towards governance, but also because it challenges the assumption of the FRA as a 'beacon on fundamental rights' and a model of apolitical progress.

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Thym Daniel

The Intergovernmental Constitution of the EU's Foreign, Security & Defence Executive

in European Constitutional Law Review, Volume 7 - Issue 03 , 453 - 480

European Union – Common Foreign and Security Policy – Changes with the abolition of the pillar structure by the Lisbon Treaty – Common Security and Defence Policy – Executive order of the EU – Between supranationalism and intergovernmentalism – The role of the High Representative – Joint political leadership – The European External Action Service as an administrative infrastructure – Constitutionalisation of foreign affairs



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Laursen Finn

The Lisbon Treaty: A First Assessment

in Europe en formation (L'), n. 362, 2011/4 , 45-70

This article first looks at the making of the Lisbon Treaty, including the role of Member States as well as the German and Portuguese presidencies. Next it singles out the most important institutional choices made by the treaty and how these changes may be expected to affect the major policies of the Union. Finally the author tries to assess the changes. Although not revolutionary, the changes should contribute to making the Union more efficient and legitimate. A major shortcoming is that the Union's Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) stays intergovernmental, despite the formal abolition of the pillar structure.

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Julie Le Gallo, Sandy Dall'Erba, Rachel Guillain

The Local versus Global Dilemma of the Effects of Structural Funds

in Growth and Change , Vol. 42, n°4 , 466-490

This paper extends the analysis by Dall'erba and Le Gallo dealing with the impact of structural funds on the growth process of European regions. Like most of the other 18 contributions assessing the efficiency of structural funds, our article was based on a global model of β -convergence: one coefficient pertaining to the structural funds variable was estimated for the whole sample. In this paper, we extend this approach by performing local estimations, where one coefficient is estimated for each region, so that the impact of structural funds can be regionally differentiated. As in the previous contribution, the presence of spatial spillover effects is taken into account using spatial econometric techniques, but here we apply a Bayesian locally linear spatial estimation method on a conditional β -convergence model, which allows global and local β -convergence to be viewed in a continuous fashion. Our results indicate that structural funds have a weak global impact on the European Union regional growth process, but that their local impacts are very diverse, with a positive influence on the growth of British, Greek, and southern Italian regions.

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Cygan Adam

The Parliamentarisation of EU Decision-Making? The Impact of the Treaty of Lisbon on National Parliaments

in European Law Review, Vol. 36, issue 4 , 480-500

No abstract available

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Vanhoonacker Sophie

The Presidency in EU External Relations: Who is at the helm?

in *Politique européenne* , n. 35, 3, 2011 , 139-164

The Lisbon Treaty considerably alters the presidency in EU external relations. In the Common Foreign and Security Policy the rotating chair is replaced by the long-term chairmanship of the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy (HR), while other areas of EU external relations remain with the rotating presidency. This contribution first examines the historical development of the Presidency in EU external relations. In line with the focus of this special issue it pays special attention to the position of the Presidency vis-à-vis other institutional players. Secondly, it examines the post-Lisbon situation. The double hat of the HR as chair of the Foreign Affairs Council and Vice President of the European Commission radically affects inter-institutional relations. While the HR may bring more continuity and leadership, the position also raises new coordination challenges : not only within the Council and amongst various institutions, but also amongst different dimensions of EU external relations.

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Portuese Aurelian

The Principle of Subsidiarity as a Principle of Economic Efficiency

in *Columbia Journal of European Law*, Vol. 17, issue 2 , 231-262

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Pasarín Ana Mar Fernández

The Reform of the Council Presidency: paving the way for a new synergy with the European Commission?

in *Politique européenne* , n. 35, 3, 2011 , 29-54

The reform of the presidential system exerts an influence over the dialectic of power between the Council Presidency and the Commission. Since the late 1990s, several key innovations have been introduced to the rotating system in order to improve the continuity of the Council's work. These functional changes such as the new stable, team and super partes presidencies involve a break from the traditional "national profile" of the Presidency. The aim of this article is to analyse this process of institutional conversion and to explore how it seems to affect the relationship with the Commission. The hypothesis rests on the idea that the reform of the presidential system, and in particular the increasing tendency towards communitarisation that it sets in motion, is an intervening variable for the development of co-operative rather than conflictive inter-institutional dynamics.

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Eckes Christina; Mendes Joana

The Right to Be Heard in Composite Administrative Procedures: Lost in between Protection?

in *European Law Review*, Vol. 36, issue 5 , 651-671



No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

de Búrca Gráinne

The Road Not Taken: The European Union as a Global Human rights Actor

in *American journal of international law*, Vol. 105, issue 4 , 649-693

This article challenges the classic narrative of the EU's engagement with human rights by comparing today's system to the long-forgotten European Community human rights framework proposed in the early 1950s. Although the EU's current system is conventionally understood as robust and as the acme of EU progress on human rights protection, it is weaker than the 1950s framework in three respects: its monitoring of human rights in member states, its relationship to the European Convention on Human Rights, and the double standard between internal and external human rights policies.

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Hannesson Ólafur Ísberg

The Status of Non-Implemented EEA Law in Iceland: Lessons from the Judicial Reactions of the Supreme Court to International Law

in *Nordic Journal of International Law*, vol. 80, issue 4 , 425-458

ABSTRACT: In October 2007, the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) Court confirmed that the doctrines of direct effect and primacy could not be generated by the European Economic Area (EEA) Agreement alone. Rather, the effects of non-implemented EEA provisions were to remain in the hands of the EFTA States. Hence, the relevant question is what weight should be accorded to such norms in domestic law? The Icelandic Supreme Court has yet to take a stance on the direct effect question relation to incorrectly or insufficiently transposed EEA law. The issue has, however, been addressed several times in connection with the European Convention on Human Rights, before its incorporation. In order to address the unclear legal status of EEA norms in Icelandic law, this contribution takes a closer look at the judicial attitude of the Supreme Court taken towards international law in general and the Convention in particular. The perceived differences between EEA law and the Convention have made it easy for observers to dismiss such comparison on the grounds that the two kinds of legal regime are not readily comparable. The article questions these apparent differences by pointing out that EEA law in fact shares all of the features of the Convention that led judges to enforce it in the Icelandic legal order.

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David Brown

The Stockholm solution? Papering over the cracks within the area of freedom, security and justice

in *European Security*, Volume 20, Issue 4 , 481-503



In 2010, the EU agreed its third five year programme for internal security, with the Stockholm Programme building on pre-existing arrangements from Tampere and The Hague. This article seeks, firstly, to highlight the nature of the problem that has confronted the EU in the area of internal security, by exploring a range of thematic concerns regarding both the institutional and conceptual construction of the EU's internal security regime, from the lack of an effective statistical analysis into the nature of the problem confronting the member states to the continued fragmentation of the European level as a practical venue for policy-making. Having considered the consequences of these continuing structural flaws, in terms of both the EU's wider credibility and legitimacy as an actor in this key security field, the second half of the article proceeds to critically appraise the solutions contained both within the 2010 Stockholm Programme and the Treaty of Lisbon. Having considered both, it will be argued that, at best, the 'Stockholm solution' simply papers over pre-existing cracks, leaving the EU with a continued credibility gap in this important and developing area of co-operation.

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Richard Gillespie

The Union for the Mediterranean: An Intergovernmentalist Challenge for the European Union?

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 49, Issue 6, November 2011 , 1205-1225

The Union for the Mediterranean (UfM) has had a troubled infancy. French ideas for enhanced Euro-Mediterranean co-operation, influenced by functionalism, actually brought increased disputation among the partners during its first two years. There has been deep disagreement over whether European Union (EU) Mediterranean policy should be based on common positions or accommodate French leadership ambitions. Adverse external conditions have affected the prospects of the infant UfM, but so too have intra-EU differences and problematical institutional structures.

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Klüver Heike

The contextual nature of lobbying: Explaining lobbying success in the European Union

in *European Union Politics* , Vol. 12, n. 4, December , 483-506

Why are some interest groups able to lobby political decisions successfully whereas others are not? This article suggests that the issue context is an important source of variation because it can facilitate or hamper the ability of interest groups to lobby decision-makers successfully. In order to test the effect of issue characteristics, this article draws on a new, unprecedented data set of interest group lobbying in the European Union. Using quantitative text analysis to analyse Commission consultations, this article studies lobbying success across 2696 interest groups and 56 policy issues. The findings indicate that lobbying success indeed varies with the issue context, depending on the relative size of lobbying coalitions and the salience of policy issues, whereas individual group characteristics do not exhibit any systematic effect.

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Oliver Richmond, Annika Björkdahl & Stefanie Kappler

The emerging EU peacebuilding framework: confirming or transcending liberal peacebuilding?
in *British Journal of Politics & International Relations* , Volume 13, Issue 4 , 449-469

The European Union (EU) is now emerging as a major actor in regional and global peacebuilding. Yet its peacebuilding approach and practices are subject to some significant and familiar contradictions. In this article, we identify the basis for what may become an 'EU peacebuilding framework' (EUPF), and argue that, while it aspires to a 'just and durable peace' including practical tools and a normative framework, these need to be set in critical relief. The EU's nascent approach to building peace is compared and contrasted with the evolving liberal peacebuilding consensus and the much criticized statebuilding project which has recently emerged. This is evaluated against recent research focusing on developing a more sophisticated form of contextually relevant peacebuilding. Finally, we assess how the embryonic EUPF might contribute to the development of a just and durable peace, and ask what sorts of issues and dimensions this raises.

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Goldbach Roman, Fahrholz Christian

The euro area's common default risk: Evidence on the Commission's impact on European fiscal affairs
in *European Union Politics* , Vol. 12, n. 4, December , 507-528

Sovereign creditworthiness within the euro area hinges upon the credibility of the Stability and Growth Pact (SGP). We analyse whether political events that worsen the SGP's credibility result in a shared default risk premium for all euro members, therefore leading to a joint deterioration of creditworthiness. We especially examine the decisions and statements of the Commission and the Council of Economic and Finance Ministers. Analysing daily data through the 1999–2005 period with an ARMA-GARCH model, we find the Commission plays a decisive role in affecting investor evaluations, where its credibility-strengthening decisions decrease volatility and statements signalling a weakening of fiscal credibility spark uncertainty on financial markets. Our results stress the importance of creating credible fiscal institutions that preserve sovereign creditworthiness within the euro area.

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TB , WTE

The euro crisis: storm, meet structure

in *European Constitutional Law Review* , Volume 7 - Issue 03 , 349 - 354

On the way to its decision of 7 September 2011 about aid measures for Greece and the euro rescue package, the Bundesverfassungsgericht found itself in the middle of a storm. It had the option of helping the winds blow away the European currency altogether. Instead the Court showed restraint and responsibility towards both the German and the European constitutions. In doing so it gave expression not only to the limits of the law in a state of overwhelming emergency, but also to some of the creative particulars of the situation.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

De Grauwe Paul

The eurozone as a morality play

in *Intereconomics*, Volume 46, Number 5 / October 2011 , 230-231

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Olbrycht Jan, Sapała Magdalena

The future of the EU cohesion policy: how much, what for and how?

in *European View* , vol. 10, n. 2, December , 241-248

This article addresses the ongoing debate on the future of the EU cohesion policy and changes in its management rules, as anticipated by the European Commission, for the period after 2013. There are many reasons to assume that the cohesion policy has entered a new stage of development, as its future outlook will depend much on the intensity of the current economic crisis, the financial difficulties of EU Member States, the ruling atmosphere of euroscepticism and the lack of European solidarity. For supporters of a strong EU cohesion policy, it is as much of a challenge to demonstrate its positive effects on all European regions as it is to introduce the necessary reforms to make it even more effective, modern and central to realising the Europe 2020 strategy.

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R. Daniel Kelemen

The political foundations of judicial independence in the European Union

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 19, Issue 1 2012 , 43-58

This contribution explores the political foundations of judicial independence in the European Union and asks to what degree the ECJ is insulated against court curbing mechanisms that might threaten judicial independence. The contribution reviews the major court curbing mechanisms identified in the literature on American law and politics and assesses the extent to which these mechanisms might be applied in restraining the ECJ. The evidence and analysis suggests that the ECJ is remarkably well insulated against each of the major court curbing mechanisms identified in the literature.

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Christopher Lord

The political theory and practice of parliamentary participation in the Common Security and Defence Policy



in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 18, Issue 8 2011 , 1133-1150

This contribution develops normative arguments for the democratic and parliamentary control of the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP). However, on the Kantian assumption that 'ought implies can', it also tries to make a case for parliamentary control in the face of scepticism about parliamentary politics in general, the capacities of the European Parliament (EP) and national parliaments to exercise satisfactory levels of public control over Union decisions, and the participation of parliaments in security decisions.

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Damian Chalmers, Mariana Chaves

The reference points of EU judicial politics

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 19, Issue 1 2012 , 25-42

Explanations of the dynamics of EU judicial politics must also account for its incidence. Incidence relies on a relationship between three arenas – those for norm-setting, litigation and judgments – with each conditioning the possibilities for action in the others. Through a study of all 2007–2009 preliminary rulings we find two predominant dynamics here. 'Patrol norms' dedicated to securing common policies give rise to low salience judgments dominated by transnational enterprise and national administration litigation. 'Thickly evaluative norms' are concerned with articulating certain values. Dominated by litigation by domestic undertakings and non-commercial actors, these norms generate the Court's most salient judgments.

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Susanne Lechner, Renate Ohr

The right of withdrawal in the treaty of Lisbon: a game theoretic reflection on different decision processes in the EU

in *European Journal of Law and Economics*, Volume 32, Number 3 , 357-375

The ways of decision-making within the EU have significantly changed in the last decades: The rule of unanimity has been more and more substituted by majority voting in order to speed up decision-making processes in a Union of 27 heterogeneous member states. A third possibility is now offered by the Lisbon Treaty including a constitutional right of withdrawal. A member state encountering a loss in its benefits caused by a decision made by majority voting may now demand compensating transfers by using the right of withdrawal. It might threaten to leave the EU if the compensation is denied. Hence, does this mean that member states now have regained a negotiation power comparable to the right to veto? Using a game theoretic approach we investigate the amount of compensating transfers to be offered under majority decisions with exit option compared to decisions requiring unanimity.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Pozzi Lorenzo, Wolswijk Guido

The time-varying integration of euro area government bond markets



in *European Economic Review*, Volume 56, Issue 1, January 2012 , Pages 36-53

We derive a model in which a standard international capital asset pricing model (ICAPM) for government bonds is nested within an ICAPM with impediments to invest in the local government bond markets. Excess returns or risk premiums are then driven by a country-specific or idiosyncratic stochastic factor on top of the common factor which has a time-varying idiosyncratic impact on the premiums. With this model we investigate the financial integration of government bond markets over time through two channels. First, we allow for gradual convergence from the full ICAPM with impediments to the standard model through the vanishing of the idiosyncratic factors. Second, we allow for gradual equalization of the country-specific impacts of the common factor. State space methods are used to estimate the model with weekly government bond risk premiums for Belgium, France, Italy, Germany, and the Netherlands over the period 1995–2009. Our results suggest, first, that the idiosyncratic factors were almost eliminated by 2006 in all countries but Italy but then reappeared due to the financial crisis that started in 2007. Second, the country-specific exposures to the common international risk factor have converged across countries, with no setback during the crisis.

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BARTHOLOMEW PAUDYN

The uncertain (re)politicisation of fiscal relations in Europe: a shift in EMU's modes of governance

in *Review of International Studies (The)*, Volume 37 - Issue 05 , 2201-2220

Europe's numerous fiscal crises – 2003 Stability and Growth Pact (SGP) crisis, its subsequent 2005 reforms, and the recent sovereign debt woes – draw attention to a shift in the management of EMU; namely the inclusion of more uncertainty-based governance. Understood as modalities of government, risk, and uncertainty make the production of this fiscal-monetary space intelligible as a recognised form of knowledge and object of government. Whereas the Pact was devised as the anchor for EMU, it has come to symbolise its weakness. This article argues that the result is an antagonistic relationship between the programmatic and operational dimensions of fiscal governance; otherwise seen as a dialectic between the two competing domains of expertise/law and politics. Starting with the 2005 SGP reforms, and exacerbated by the credit crisis, uncertainty has been mobilised to justify alternative forms of managing fiscal conduct linked to new strategies of calculation and issues of responsibility. Bound to variegated notions of 'fiscal normality', I contend that the 2005 reforms signal the (re)politicisation of the budgetary framework and the reconfiguration of the politics of limits. Rather than marginalising informal judgment, the government through uncertainty places a greater emphasis on creative entrepreneurialism in fostering compliance in ways risk does not.

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Eliot Tretter

The 'Value' of Europe: The Political Economy of Culture in the European Community

in *Geopolitics*, Volume 16, Issue 4 , 926-948

During the 1970s and 1980s the "cultural sector" became one of the primary motors for wealth creation in the European Community. At the European and national scales, a group of actors helped transform Europe's vast array of practices and services (tourism, heritage, books, audio-visual products, etc.) into "cultural industries" and pushed the EC to develop a common cultural policy to support these industries. Documenting these changes at the European scale, I



argue that the perceived impact of cultural policy for particular national economic competitiveness was also significant. Italian MEPs and members of Italy's national government were especially important, as they fought to protect the country's historical heritage and promote tourism. France pushed the strongest and I show how that country's efforts were primarily intended to protect its audio-visual and publishing industries from the EC internal market's liberalisation policies, which were vocally supported by Britain because they would have served that country's national economic interests.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

De Grauwe P.

Towards Financial Stability: A European Perspective

in Rivista Internazionale di Scienze Sociali, n. 1 - 2011

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

van Puyenbroeck Laurens, Vermeulen Gert

Towards Minimum Procedural Guarantees For The Defence In Criminal Proceedings In The EU

in International and Comparative Law Quarterly, Vol. 60, issue 4 , 1017-1038

A critical observer would not deny that the practice of European Union ('EU') policy making in the field of criminal law in the past decade since the implementation of the Tampere Programme has been mainly repressive and prosecution-oriented. The idea of introducing a set of common (minimum) rules, guaranteeing the rights of defence at a EU-wide level, has not been accorded the same attention as the introduction of instruments aimed at improving the effectiveness of crime-fighting. What does this mean for the future of EU criminal policy? Will the EU succeed in the coming years in developing an area where freedom, security and justice are truly balanced? According to several authors, to date the EU has evolved in the opposite direction. As one observer put it:

[I]f Procedural Criminal Law arises from the application of Constitutional Law, or indeed if it may be described as "a seismograph of the constitutional system of a State", then as a consequence the Procedural Criminal Law of the European Union shows the extent of the Democratic Rule of Law, of the existence of a true "Rechtsstaat", within an integrated Europe. This situation may be qualified as lamentable, as the main plank of the EU's criminal justice policy relates to the simplification and the speeding up of police and judicial cooperation—articles 30 and 31 of the Treaty of the EU—but without at the same time setting an acceptable standard for fundamental rights throughout a united Europe.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Simms Brendan

Towards a mighty union: how to create a democratic European superpower

in International Affairs , vol. 88, issue 1, january , 49-62



ABSTRACT: A strong European Union is needed today more than ever: to act as a reliable partner to the United States, Great Britain and the other great democracies; to deal with the growing threats on her southern and eastern periphery; and most pressingly of all, to deal with the euro sovereign debt crisis. In order to do so, Europeans will have to abandon the gradualist fallacy that union will be achieved in small incremental steps and learn the lesson of history that all successful mergers, such as the British and the American, have been carried out in one fell swoop at a time of extreme crisis. They will have to recognize that the road to unity took a fatal turn when the failure of the European Defence Community caused a bifurcation between politico-military and economic integration. Today, as we face potential fiscal and economic meltdown and as the external threats to Europe mount, we have another opportunity. We can only seize it, however, if we realize that full European union, if there is to be one, will be an event, not a process. It must follow more or less the American example with a directly elected presidency, a house of representatives elected by population and a senate, which represents the former nation-states and regions. There is no need for the United Kingdom to be part of this project, but it is essential that both unions work together for the common good. Because the existing political elites are incapable of rising to the occasion—and in many cases are actually antipathetic to it—the task must fall to a new pan-European party: the Party of Democratic Union.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Düzgita Senem Aydin

Turkey's Accession to the European Union: An Unusual Candidacy

in **South European Society & Politics**, Volume 16, Issue 4, December , 602-604

Book Review: Constantine Arvanitopoulos, *Turkey's Accession to the European Union: An Unusual Candidacy*, Heidelberg: Springer/Constantinos Karamanlis Institute for Democracy, 2009

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Barbara Spinelli

Un programma per l'Europa

in **MicroMega**, n. 7

Quando si parla di Europa l'atteggiamento oscilla tra l'ostilità e la acritica compiacenza. Ma non sono più tempi di peana pro o contro l'Europa, ma di battaglie, di critiche inflessibili, di nuove costruzioni. Il tanto invocato 'interesse nazionale' in verità coincide perfettamente – e drammaticamente – con quello europeo. È ora che i politici – e la sinistra in particolare – se ne accorgano.

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Iozzo Alfonso

Un'Italia federale in un'Europa federale

in **Federalista (II)/Federalist (The)**, Anno LIII, n. 2 , 120-132

<http://www.thefederalist.eu/files/PDF/IT/2000/2011-2-IT.pdf>



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Montanari Laura

Una nuova tappa nella definizione della portata della cittadinanza europea: alcune riflessioni sulle sentenze Ruiz Zambrano e McCarthy

in *Comunità Internazionale (La)*, vol. LXVI, n. 3, terzo trimestre , 433-446

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Wiesbrock Anja

Union Citizenship and the Redefinition of the "Internal Situations" Rule: The Implications of Zambrano

in *German Law Journal*, Vol. 12, issue 11 , 2077-2094

Full text available at:

<http://www.germanlawjournal.com/index.php?pageID=11&artID=1400>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Schmoll Julia

Unionsgrundrechte, innerstaatliche Grundrechte und die nationalen Höchstgerichte

in *Zeitschrift für Öffentliches Recht*, vol. 66, issue 4 , 461-489

ABSTRACT: The question of the relation between national and European fundamental rights is controversial in both, the academia and case law. The paper takes the entry into force of the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union as a reason to revisit the question. It starts with the previous discussion on the topic which has acquired new momentum by the wording of Art 51 ECR. For this purpose the scope of application of the European fundamental rights will be identified. In order to do this the limits of their application will be reflected taking into consideration the allocation of competences between the European Union and their Member States. It is then analyzed whether these findings have any impact on the correlation of these two fundamental rights regimes. The last section deals with the enforcement of European fundamental rights. It thereby focuses on the implementation of these rights through national courts.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Manigrassi Luca

Vers une citoyenneté européenne fédérale?. Quelques réflexions sur l'arrêt "Zambrano"

in *Revue du droit de l'Union Européenne*, n. 3 , 411-425



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Gudin H.

Vers une disparition de l'euro?

in *Revue administrative (la)*, n. 383 Septembre-Octobre , 528-529

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Clerc Olivier, Kauffmann Pascal

Vers une nouvelle gouvernance macro-économique dans la zone euro

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 552, octobre-novembre , 589-596

Whatever the exact outcome of the current crisis period, it is a turning point for the EMU. The European Union does not have all the attributes of a federation, and the recent crises show that in this instance, the euro zone is not highly viable on a long term. For that reason, the outlines of a new governance system allowing good resilience and in the end, the durability of the EMU, need to be carefully identified. To do so, we review the progress in this area, resulting from two years of crisis. We also show how the throwback euro zone opt-out scenarios are generally not relevant. We then take a look at the essential issue of the macro-economic supervision system that is to allow, in the future, crisis prevention. Our thoughts also cover the problem of sanctions. The European Council has decided to set up a lasting European stability system (MES), intended to address crises, and we review its operating methods. Lastly, we express a few thoughts on the future of the EMU.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Majocchi Alberto

Verso una finanza federale europea

in *Federalista (II)/Federalist (The)*, Anno LIII, n. 2 , 85-102

<http://www.thefederalist.eu/files/PDF/IT/2000/2011-2-IT.pdf>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Luciano Bardi, Richard S. Katz, Peter Mair

Verso una politica europea

in *Rivista Italiana di Scienza Politica*, Vol. XLI, Numero 3, Dicembre , 347-368



No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Fehér Dániel

Viktor Orbans Politik der Entrechtung

in **Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik**, Januar, 2012 , 21-23

The full text is free:

www.blaetter.de/archiv/jahrgaenge/2012/januar/viktor-orbans-politik-der-entrechtung

Wenn ich in jüngster Zeit – und leider immer öfter – gefragt werde, wieso im Westen niemand hat kommen sehen, dass in Ungarn, dem scheinbar zivilisierten Musterland der europäischen Integration, quasi über Nacht ein antiwestliches, antidemokratisch-autoritäres Regime an die Macht gelangte, so lautet meine ehrliche Antwort: weil wir uns selbst und damit auch Euch belogen haben.

„Wir“, damit meine ich jenen kleinen Kreis von linksliberalen ungarischen Intellektuellen, der seit etwa 150 bis 200 Jahren erfolgreich am Aufbau des demokratischen „Mitteleuropa-Mythos“ gearbeitet hat. Dadurch wurde die diesem Kreis exklusiv zugängliche westliche Öffentlichkeit erst davon überzeugt, dass Ungarn im Prinzip eine abendländisch orientierte Kulturnation sei, der der Anschluss an die zivilisatorischen Erfolge Westeuropas allein durch unglückliche und unverschuldete Faktoren wie Kriege und Fremdherrschaft verwehrt blieb...

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Decker Frank

Von der Euro-Krise zu neuen Ufern? Perspektiven des europäischen Integrationsprojekts

in **Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft** , 21. Jahrgang (2011), Heft 2

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Fabbrini Federico

**Voting Rights for Non-Citizens: The European Multilevel and the US Federal Constitutional Systems Compared
false preview Abstract Article Structure Figures and Tables References**

in **European Constitutional Law Review**, Volume 7 - Issue 03 , 392 - 423

Voting rights – Citizens and aliens – European multilevel architecture – US federal system – Comparative methodology – Different regulatory models for non-citizens suffrage at the state level in Europe – Impact of supranational law – Challenges and tensions – Analogous dynamics in the US constitutional experience – Recent European legal and jurisprudential developments in comparative perspective – What future prospects for citizenship and democracy in



Europe?

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Madeleine O. Hosli, Mikko Mattila, Marc Uriot

Voting in the Council of the European Union after the 2004 Enlargement: A Comparison of Old and New Member States

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 49, Issue 6, November 2011 , 1249-1270

This article explores voting patterns in the Council of the European Union between May 2004 and the end of December 2006, studying the full set of voting records for this institution. It analyses government vote choices in the Council on the basis of ordered logistic regression analysis, explaining the propensity of European Union (EU) Member States to vote 'yes', abstain from voting or vote 'no'. The article explains voting behaviour in the Council on the basis of selected independent variables – notably, governments' absolute and relative positions on the left–right policy dimension, support for European integration among domestic audiences, Member States' population size, and their positions as either net beneficiaries of or net payers into the EU budget. The empirical analysis reveals that voting behaviour is markedly different for the group of older EU Member States compared to its newer ones, with some of the explanatory variables even displaying opposite signs for these two groups in the statistical analyses.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Doug BANDOW

Washington contempla la rivincita della storia

in *Limes*, n. 6, 2011

La crisi europea spaventa gli Usa, che ne temono i contraccolpi. La debolezza di Bruxelles e l'insofferenza dei tedeschi gettano una pesante incognita sul futuro dell'euro. Su un punto Washington non ha dubbi: la crisi non farà dell'Europa una nazione.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Aussilloux Vincent, Emlinger Charlotte, Fontagné Lionel

What Benefits from Completing the Single Market

in *Lettre du CEPII*, n. 316, December 2011 , 1-4

European integration is endangered by rising fears of sovereign default. Against this background, assessing the economic impacts attached to the Single Market is crucial to measuring the overall benefits provided by the European Union to its citizens. Over the last thirty years, substantial progress has been achieved to better integrate the markets of the member states. New evidence on barriers to trade in services and on non-tariffs obstacle to trade in goods confirms however that this process is far from being complete. Our economic simulation using the MIRAGE model concludes that



the elimination of all remaining obstacles to trade would benefit the European Union by an order of magnitude two to three times larger than those already reaped so far. The complete elimination of obstacles to trade across the Single Market is indeed a stylised and unrealistic assumption. However, the magnitude of the potential gains is such that the study confirms undoubtedly the potential of the Single Market as one avenue to boost EU growth in the years to come and to escape from a vicious circle of recession.

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Brobeg Morten

What Is the Direction for the EU's Development Cooperation after Lisbon? – A Legal Examination
in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 16, issue 4 , 539-557

ABSTRACT: Jointly the EU Member States and the European Union provide more than half of all development assistance in the world. The European Union's development cooperation policy was first launched with the Treaty of Rome in 1957, but only in 1992 were specific provisions on EU development cooperation introduced at Treaty level. With the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty, most of these provisions were carried over in the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union. The Lisbon Treaty has, however, introduced a number of both minor and major novelties, and certain parts of the provisions have been re-arranged. Moreover, the Lisbon Treaty proposes to introduce a higher degree of consistency in the European Union's external relations - including also its actions in the field of development cooperation. This article sets out to provide a brief but systematic examination of the extent to which the substantive provisions of the Lisbon Treaty will affect the direction of the Union's development cooperation policy. To this end, it first provides an outline of how this policy has developed from the Union's inception until the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty. It then goes on to identify the changes brought about by the Lisbon Treaty before finally providing an evaluation of the changes.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Dougan Michael

What are we to make of the citizens' initiative?

in *Common Market Law Review*, vol. 48, issue 6 , 1807-1848

ABSTRACT: The citizens' initiative is a novel instrument for direct democratic participation in the functioning of the European Union which was introduced by the Treaty of Lisbon and given effect through the adoption of Regulation 211/2011. This article examines the background, context and content of the Citizens' Initiative, before turning to consider two main sets of legal issues: who precisely a citizens' initiative may claim to represent; and what a citizens' initiative may realistically seek to achieve. It is argued that (on paper at least) the Treaties and Regulation 211/2011 have together created a relatively weak instrument: one which is likely to be activated only by organised civil society; and in any event appears heavily dependent upon mediation through the Union institutions. But whatever its fate as a tool of participatory democracy, the citizens' initiative engages in new and potentially fruitful ways with various broader issues of Union law: for example, the prospects for building a truly borderless Union citizenship; the place of third country nationals within the political dimension to European integration; and the complex task of interpreting and reconciling the Union's core values and objectives.



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Börzel Tanja A., Risse Thomas

When Europeanisation Meets Diffusion: Exploring New Territory

in West European Politics, vol. 35, n. 1 , 192-207

ABSTRACT: The articles in this special issue find ample evidence for the EU's influence on domestic and regional institutions. Its impact is patchy, often shallow but certainly not spurious. This conclusion demonstrates that it is worthwhile to integrate the Europeanisation literature and its theoretical arguments into the larger literature on diffusion. But it also shows limits of the diffusion approaches in the social sciences which tend to privilege structure over agency and, as a result, tend to focus on institutional convergence and isomorphism rather than variation in institutional outcomes. Some general impact of the EU on domestic institutional change in its neighbourhood and beyond is found, as well as some diffusion of EU institutional models of regional integration worldwide. The approach is decidedly agency-centred in focusing on diffusion mechanism and on scope conditions.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Vermeer-Künzli Annemarieke

Where The Law Becomes Irrelevant: Consular Assistance And The European Union

in International and Comparative Law Quarterly, Vol. 60, issue 4 , 965-995

In recent years, the European Union ('eu') has taken a number of initiatives with a view to co-ordinating consular assistance in third countries. Not only have EU citizens an entitlement to consular assistance by any EU Member State in the absence of a representation of their own, but EU Member States themselves are encouraged to co-operate by means of the Lead State Concept and other forms of co-operation. While this may seem relatively unproblematic from the perspective of the EU, it is very difficult to reconcile with general international law. The various EU agreements in this area have no application to third States: some do not have legally binding form and even those that do only apply to the parties to the treaties, ie EU Member States. This article will present the situation, analyse its complexities and offer some reflections on the global application and desirability of the regime created by the EU.

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Susanne K. Schmidt

Who cares about nationality? The path-dependent case law of the ECJ from goods to citizens

in Journal of European Public Policy , Volume 19, Issue 1 2012 , 8-24

The role that the ECJ plays in European integration has been much discussed by political scientists. Less is known about how case law develops. In this contribution, I give a historical–institutionalist account and argue that path dependence explains the course that case law takes. Litigants provide positive feedback in this process, aiming to strengthen their rights by transferring legal arguments from one area to the next, leading to a convergent interpretation of the fundamental freedoms. The contribution traces this development, analysing how legal arguments were transferred



from goods markets to the free movement of workers and citizenship as a result of positive feedback to a distinct legal interpretation. I discard alternative explanations that explain case law by drawing on the preferences of member states or judges.

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Stefanelli Justine N

Whose Rule Of Law? An Analysis Of The UK's Decision Not To Opt-In To The EU Asylum Procedures And Reception Conditions Directives

in International and Comparative Law Quarterly, Vol. 60, issue 4 , 1055-1064

The United Kingdom ('UK') has indicated its intention not to opt-in to two proposals from the European Commission aimed at further developing the Common European Asylum System through the replacement of existing instruments on asylum procedures and reception conditions. The purpose of the European Union ('EU') amendment process is to establish rules that more closely align the legal framework for asylum in the Member States so that asylum seekers receive the same higher standard of treatment in any Member State in which they choose to make their application, and to address criticism that the Directives are incompatible with human rights obligations. The UK asserts that its asylum procedures satisfy the standards imposed by its obligations under international and European law, and does not view further harmonization of asylum matters at EU level as necessary or appropriate. Its decision not to opt-in raises issues regarding sovereignty, subsidiarity, the rule of law and European integration. This article will explore these issues, as well as provide an overview of select provisions from the proposals in light of UK asylum policy.

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Trittin Jürgen

Why Europe must follow Germany's nuclear veto

in Europe's World, Issue 19, Autumn

Nuclear power is dangerous and costly and a hazardous legacy for future generations, argues Jürgen Trittin, a former German environment minister. He says the rest of Europe must follow Germany's lead and make a rapid transition to green energy production.

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21893/language/en-US/Default.aspx

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Neyer Jürgen

Wider die Vereinigten Staaten von Europa. Europas demokratische Rechtfertigung

in Leviathan. Berliner Zeitschrift für Sozialwissenschaft , Volume 39, Number 4, December 2011 , 479-498

Against the United States of Europe: Europe's democratic justification



The European Union is supplementing but not substituting the member states' democracies. Its most important limitation is its structural incapability of becoming a democratic entity. All proposals to develop it into a United States of Europe are established on a deep misunderstanding of its foundational logic and structural limitations. More adequate for critically analysing the EU is an approach based on the right to justification.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Caravita Beniamino

Will Germany save the euro? What is the prize?

in *Federalismi*, Anno IX - Nr. 19

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Möller Almut

Wir gehen dann schon mal vor. Wie viel Ungleichzeitigkeit verträgt Europa?

in *Internationale Politik*, 67. Jahrgang, n. 1-2, Januar-Februar

ABSTRACT: Krisen begleiten die Entwicklung der Europäischen Union seit jeher. Doch die jüngsten Ereignisse stellen das Projekt Europa ernsthaft auf die Probe. Die Union erfindet sich in der Krise neu. Sie hat keine andere Wahl. Ihr Gesicht wird am Ende dieses Prozesses ein anderes sein: Kerneuropa nimmt Gestalt an.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Michael Blauburger

With Luxembourg in mind ... the remaking of national policies in the face of ECJ jurisprudence

in *Journal of European Public Policy*, Volume 19, Issue 1 2012, 109-126

This article analyses EU member state political responses to ECJ challenges. Faced with high consensus requirements at the European level, member states often have to respond unilaterally and explore how to pursue autonomous regulatory goals in 'EU-compatible' ways. Member states' domestic responses to one prominent series of ECJ judgments (Laval, Rüffert, Commission vs Luxembourg) are traced from a Europeanization perspective. The case studies show that, by forging a consensus which includes potential litigants and by building on existing legal precedent, member state governments can preserve significant parts of their original legislation while making it ECJ-proof.

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Orbie Jan, Wetzel Anne

With Map and Compass on Narrow Paths and through Shallow Waters: Discovering the Substance of EU Democracy Promotion

in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 16, issue 5 , 705-725

ABSTRACT: This article presents the conclusions that we have drawn from the contributions to the special issue on the substance of EU democracy promotion. The main findings of the articles are summarized in a table that includes values for the components of the embedded democracy framework across the various countries and regions that were examined. Although some variation can be discerned within the embedded democracy framework and across the different countries and regions, the EU's policies remain firmly entrenched within the notion of embedded liberal democracy. In addition, three common observations on the substance of EU democracy promotion can be discerned: (1) the focus on elections has been more limited than expected, (2) the EU has largely focused on the external context conditions, and (3) the links between the latter and the partial regimes of democracy are under-specified. Thus, while the EU's democracy promotion policies suggest that one model suits all, it is not assumed that one size should fit all. More generally, it appears that EU democracy promotion sits uneasily between a 'narrow' and 'shallow' agenda, which can be explained by different factors. At the same time, it reflects the internal democratic condition of the EU.

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Patrick Artus

Zone euro : les responsables de la crise de la dette

in *Politique Etrangère*, Vol. 76, n°4 hiver

Qui est responsable de la crise des dettes souveraines ? Les concepteurs mêmes de la zone euro. Puis les gouvernements et la BCE, qui n'ont pas vu les dangers de l'alignement sur le bas des taux d'intérêt. Et les régulateurs des banques, qui ont laissé se coupler dette souveraine et risque bancaire. Les investisseurs enfin, qui ont acquis la dette des pays périphériques au même prix que la dette allemande. Seule une action sur tous ces mécanismes permettra de répondre aux défis de la crise.

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n. n.

Zone euro: déni de réalité. Perspectives 2011-2012 pour l'économie européenne

in *Revue de l'OFCE*, 2011/4 (n°119) , 81-127

After a good start during the first quarter of 2011, GDP growth in the second quarter has been curbed down by the rise of inflation and the implementation of restrictive fiscal policies. The rate of growth only reached 0.2% and would not speed up in the following quarters. The negative impact of fiscal consolidation would indeed be amplified by the weakness of leeway of Greece monetary policy and by the synchronisation of the austerity measures that have been scheduled by all EMU countries in 2011 and 2012. The GDP would only grow by 0.9% in 2012 after 1.7% in 2011. Besides, the balance of risks are on the downside as a default of Greece would fuel contagion to other fragile countries which would lead to further restrictions and would put the banking system under a heavy pressure.



Section C) Regional integration processes

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Liebert Ulrike, Müller Henrike

Zu einem europäischen Gedächtnisraum? Erinnerungskonflikte als Problem einer politischen Union Europas in Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte, Band 4, 2012

The full text is free:

www.bpb.de/publikationen/SGQMR0,0,Zu_einem_europ%E4ischen_Ged%E4chtnisraum_Erinnerungskonflikte_als_Problem_einer_politischen_Union_Europas.html

Inhalt:

Einleitung

Erinnerungsnarrative im "alten Europa" nach 1945

Neue Erinnerungskonstellationen im Osten Europas nach 1989

Transitional justice - Formen und Voraussetzungen für Versöhnung

Europäischer Gedächtnisraum als Voraussetzung der politischen Union Europas

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Roger DE WECK

‘Perché l’Europa ci conviene’

in *Limes*, QS - L'importanza di essere Svizzera

Conversazione con Roger DE WECK, direttore generale della Radiotelevisione svizzera, a cura di Lucio CARACCILO

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Lucio CARACCILO, Fabrizio MARONTA

‘Uscire dall’euro non conviene a nessuno’. Conversazione con Alessandro Profumo.

in *Limes*, n. 6, 2011

Intervista a Alessandro Profumo, già amministratore delegato di Unicredit, sui temi della crisi dell'Euro.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process



O'Meara Noreen

“A More Secure Europe of Rights?” The European Court of Human Rights, the Court of Justice of the European Union and EU Accession to the ECHR

in *German Law Journal*, Vol. 12, issue 10 , 1813-1832

European Union (EU) accession to the ECHR will have a number of practical consequences for relations between the Court of Justice of the European Union (CJEU) and the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR). Negotiations on the EU's accession to the ECHR recently concluded with the tabling of a Draft Accession Agreement on 30 June 2011. In light of the need to avert legal difficulties which accession could pose to the relationship between the EU and ECHR legal orders, this Draft Accession Agreement was informed, inter alia, by proposals made by the Presidents of the ECtHR and the CJEU in a Joint Communication delivered mid-way through the negotiation phase.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Azoulai Loïc

“Euro-Bonds” The Ruiz Zambrano judgment or the Real Invention of EU Citizenship

in *Perspectives on federalism*, Vol. 3, issue 2 , E- 31-39

This paper aims to provide a brief analysis of the Ruiz Zambrano judgment (Case C-34/09). Traditionally, the EU citizenship has been mainly construed as a status of integration into the Member States of the Union: a status of transnational integration. The basic claim developed in these pages is that, with Zambrano, the EUCJ moved away from a concept of transnational integration to one of genuine European integration, thus fostering a new vision, based on the existence of Euro-bonds.

Full text available at:

<http://www.on-federalism.eu/index.php/essays/97-euro-bonds-the-ruiz-zambrano-judgment-or-the-real-invention-of-eu-citizenship>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Ignacio Molina

¿Década perdida? La política europea de España 2002-11

in *Política Exterior*, 144 - Noviembre/Diciembre

España vivía su europeización plena en 2002 con la entrada del euro. Desde entonces, tanto el gobierno del PP como el del PSOE han ensayado líneas de actuación exterior propias al margen de la UE. Es momento de elaborar una nueva estrategia europea.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Pretoriusa Joelian



Africa–India nuclear cooperation: Pragmatism, principle, post-colonialism and the Pelindaba Treaty
in *South African Journal of International Affairs* , vol. 18, issue 3 , 319-339

ABSTRACT: The United States–India nuclear agreement, announced in 2005, was a first step in the process to normalise India's international nuclear relations despite the fact that India is not a party to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. Africa is largely seen as a uranium supplier rather than nuclear power producer in the world nuclear order. The position that African states take towards Africa–India nuclear cooperation, uranium supply to India in particular, is informed by two seemingly contrasting factors, namely economic and political pragmatism on the one hand, and non-proliferation imperatives and norms on the other. The African Nuclear Weapons Free Zone Treaty, also referred to as the Pelindaba Treaty, prohibits uranium and nuclear-related exports to states without comprehensive safeguards of their nuclear facilities, but the case of India is still open for interpretation. Africa and India's shared post-colonial consciousness, manifesting in their historical ties, membership of the Non-Aligned Movement and South–South cooperation, is often regarded as another factor facilitating Africa–India nuclear relations. A more critical view points to the different notions of post-coloniality in Africa and India, resulting in different approaches to nuclear non-proliferation that constrain their nuclear relations.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Bruno Ayllón Pino

Agentes transformadores de la cooperación para el desarrollo: Poderes emergentes y Cooperación Sur – Sur
in *Relaciones internacionales : revista publ. por el Instituto de Relaciones Internacionales* , n°40

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

E. Fitriani

Asian perceptions about the EU in the Asia–Europe Meeting (ASEM)
in *Asia Europe Journal*, Volume 9, Number 1 , 43-56

The inauguration of the Asia–Europe Meeting (ASEM) in Bangkok in March 1996 has created enthusiasm and hopes for closer inter-regional relations between Asia and Europe. This article observes how behaviors of European countries representatives in the ASEM process have significantly shaped the perceptions of Asian officials and people about the EU and European intentions to develop mutually beneficial relations with Asia. It employs a constructivist framework in which the ASEM process is treated as a dynamic social setting for not only Asia–Europe inter-regional interactions but also intra-Asia socialization. Methodologically, it is a qualitative research with an inductive process and interpretive method. The research uses qualitative data, gathered from various sources and 82 in-depth interviews with diplomats, scholars, journalists, business peoples and civil society representatives in five Asian countries. This study finds that some behaviors of EU participants at ASEM or ASEM interregional forums are counterproductive for EU efforts to develop robust relations with Asian countries. The polarization between Asian and European groups in the ASEM or ASEM meetings, caused by political issues and colonial memory, contributed to the difficulties in trust-building between Asian and European participants. In addition, by their frequent absence from ASEM Summits, EU leaders squandered rare opportunities for a 'meeting of minds and hearts' with their Asian counterparts. This process seems to be a



precondition for Asians to develop tangible cooperation.

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Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Heron Tony

Asymmetric bargaining and development trade-offs in the CARIFORUM-European Union Economic Partnership Agreement

in *Review of International Political Economy*, Volume 18, Issue 3, 2011 , pages 328-357

On 15 October 2008, CARIFORUM became the first region among the African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) group of countries to sign a 'full' Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA) with the European Union (EU). Although the EPA process has generated widespread critical commentary, few analysts have stopped to consider the motives of individual ACP countries and regions in their approach to the talks. In this article we consider the question of motives in relation to the CARIFORUM-EU EPA. Specifically, it asks why did CARIFORUM feel it necessary or desirable to sign a 'full' EPA, containing numerous provisions not actually mandated by the WTO, when the rest of the ACP was content to sign far less ambitious 'goods only' interim agreements? In order to address this question, the article goes beyond the extant EU-ACP trade literature to build on wider international political economy (IPE) scholarship, which has analysed the actions of developing countries in relation to a whole range of 'WTO-plus' North-South regional and bilateral FTAs. On this basis, the article stands back from the complex details of the agreement to analyse its wider significance, especially in terms of the presumed trade-off between the immediate economic benefits of improved and more secure market access, against the longer term costs of sacrificing the regulatory autonomy, or policy space, deemed necessary to pursue the type of trade and industrial policies deployed successfully in the past by both developed and (some) developing countries. Put simply, the article seeks to ascertain why ultimately CARIFORUM signed an agreement, what it gained from the negotiations and at what cost.

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Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Zhou Weifeng

Beyond A Trade Agenda: EU's Interregional Approach towards East Asia

in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 16, issue 4 , 407-426

ABSTRACT: Through the launching of ASEM, the EU sought to strengthen interregional cooperation and dialogue with East Asia on economic, political and cultural pillars. This paper aims to explore the driving forces of the EU's interregional approach towards East Asia and shed some light on the importance of ASEM in a European perspective. We argue that, firstly, EU seeks to enhance its interregional relation with emerging Asia in order to protect and advance Europe's commercial interests. European business has been given a privileged role to influence the ASEM process for ensuring market access to the dynamic Asian markets. Secondly, the EU seeks to set a normative agenda through the ASEM to promote the human rights and democracy in the Asian region. Exporting European values and norms to its Asian counterparts will not only strengthen Europe's profile as a normative power, but will also further expand its influence as a global actor. Thirdly, the EU tends to enhance its interregional relation with emerging Asia to foster a multipolar world order, countering unilateralism of Washington and future hegemonic power, and to maintain and establish an effective multilateral governance system.



Section C) Regional integration processes

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Lerner Mitch

Climbing off the Back Burner: Lyndon Johnson's Soft Power Approach to Africa
in *Diplomacy & Statecraft*, vol. 22, n. 4 , 578-607

ABSTRACT: The general historiography of United States–African relations in the 1960s holds that the policies of Lyndon Johnson towards this continent were a failure. Johnson, most historians suggest, generally ignored Africa and, in doing so, squandered the good feelings that many Africans had developed towards his more charming and polished predecessor. However, such views do a disservice to the Johnson Administration, which in fact embarked on a quiet African programme rooted in American cultural and economic power, and which proved to be more successful than is generally believed. Two factors lay at the heart of Johnson's decision to rely on a soft power policy in Africa: the domestic political constraints of the civil rights movement at home; and the belief in modernisation theory that had emerged as a guiding principle for many of his advisors. Johnson, to put it simply, may have lacked his predecessor's style but he compensated with a substantive and imaginative policy that quietly produced a superior method of advancing both American and African interests.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Torrent Mélanie

Common Grounds? Strategic Partnerships for Governance in the Commonwealth of Nations and the Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie
in *Round Table (The): the Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs*, Volume 100, Issue 417 , 605-621

At a time when the Commonwealth of Nations and the Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie (OIF) are investigating their long-term relevance and identity in the face of current international challenges, relatively little attention has been paid to the small yet growing number of countries that are now joint members of the two organisations. This group has increased in recent years and 11 countries now have a link with both organisations. As programmes are being implemented in the same polities and as the reflection on global governance progresses, there is a growing need for more comparative studies of Francophonie and Commonwealth commitments that take into account the institutional history of these organisations. In this context, this article investigates the challenges and opportunities created by Commonwealth–OIF programmes in the fields of democracy, human rights and development, in their drive for good governance and new forms of multilateralism.

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Bloom Tendayi

Contradictions in Formal Commonwealth Citizenship Rights in Commonwealth Countries
in *Round Table (The): the Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs*, Volume 100, Issue 417



In at least 11 member states of the Modern Commonwealth, a citizen of another Commonwealth country may not enter without a visa, but may vote, and sometimes stand for office. This paper presents analyses and contextualises newly compiled data on the rights of Commonwealth citizens to stand for office, to vote, to enter without a visa and to undertake employment without a work permit in Commonwealth countries other than their own. It demonstrates how this affects the internal democratic rights of domestic jurisdictions of member states, as well as citizenship rights in other multi-state groupings. Developing a better understanding of this can form part of the wider project of producing a rounder picture of the nature of the Commonwealth and its internal citizenship rights.

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Del Biondo Karen

Democracy Promotion Meets Development Cooperation: The EU as a Promoter of Democratic Governance in Sub-Saharan Africa

in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 16, issue 5 , 659-672

ABSTRACT: This article analyses whether the European Union (EU) has a standard substantive content that it tries to promote in sub-Saharan Africa. It is argued that the EU's policies are both broad and limited. On the one hand, the EU promotes a holistic agenda of 'democratic governance', inspired by the paradigms of international development cooperation, namely good governance, the securitization of development policies and participatory development. This is clearly reflected in the aid programmes. At the same time, there is some differentiation between various sub-Saharan African countries, which can be explained mostly by the specific situation and needs of the countries and by the openness of partner countries to democracy assistance. On the other hand, when looking at EU political conditionality, only a very limited, electoral, democratic model is promoted, with little variation according to the specific situation in the country.

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Milner Chris, Morrissey Oliver, Zgovu Evious

Designing Economic Partnership Agreements to Promote Intra-Regional Trade in ACP Countries

in *South African Journal of Economics (The)*, December 2011 - Volume 79, Issue 4 , 376-391

The final details of Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs) between the European Union (EU) and African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) are being negotiated over the next few years. This paper suggests how EPAs can facilitate intra-regional trade, given that promoting regional integration within ACP was an objective. Specifically, ACP regions may benefit by treating products traded within the region as sensitive for EPAs, hence postponing any reductions on tariffs on imports of such products from the EU. Less directly, if the EU supports measures that enhance the productivity and competitiveness of domestic producers, supply-side capacity can be improved.

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S. R. Tow

Diplomacy in an asymmetric alliance: reconciling Sino-Australian relations with ANZUS, 1971–2007
in *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, Volume 12 Issue 1, January , 71-100

There is an assumption in international relations literature that junior allies must choose between supporting a dominant global alliance partner and engaging with a rising power. Yet, Australian policy-makers have paradoxically managed to deepen Sino-Australian relations despite their bilateral alliance with the United States. They have developed a discrete China policy on the assumption that they could persuade Washington to accept it over time. They reasoned that this outcome was more likely if Australia used diplomacy to facilitate Sino-American cooperation and to develop an Australian China policy non-prejudicial to ANZUS. This article explores how this 'diplomatic formula' supported expansion of Sino-Australian relations under the Whitlam, Hawke, and Howard Governments. It explains Australia's intra-alliance influence and paradoxical foreign policy behavior and contributes to understanding the dynamics of asymmetric alliances during power transition.

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Gratius Susanne

EU Democracy Promotion in Latin America: More a Tradition than a Policy
in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 16, issue 5 , 689-703

ABSTRACT: Although interests are obviously part of inter-regional relations, the European-Latin American partnership is not mainly interest- but value-driven. Since the early 1980s, when nearly all Latin American countries abandoned military regimes, democracy and human rights have had a prominent place in EU-Latin American relations. Today, the mutual commitment to democracy and human rights is stressed in all official documents and cooperation accords between the EU and Latin America. Nonetheless, other regional priorities and the return to electoral democracy began to undermine the common values discourse and marginalize the political role of the EU in Latin America. This article is based on three major arguments: First, the EU's democratic engagement in Latin America still focuses on traditional authoritarian regimes (Cuba) and has not developed into a strategy towards the new political challenges of democratic backlash; second, the substance of democracy promotion mainly consists of technical governance issues and socio-economic support; and third, Spain is still a major actor in EU policy and its low priority of democracy promotion influenced the EU's profile. Based on these assumptions and following a short discussion on underlying principles, this article will address EU's priorities in democracy assistance in Latin America, particularly with regard to the most problematic countries in terms of democracy, such as Cuba, Colombia, and Venezuela

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Tsardanidis Charalambos

EU and South-Eastern Europe: from asymmetrical inter-regionalism to dependencia sub-regionalism?
in *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, vol. 11, n. 4, Special Issue: Human Security in the Balkans , 489-509

The article intends to look at the role of the EU during the post-Cold War period, as an external factor encouraging regional cooperation in South-Eastern Europe and the protection of individuals both as victims and as sources of



insecurity. The paper analyses the implementation of the Stability Pact and the Stabilization and Association Process as clear manifestations of asymmetrical inter-regionalism. It also examines the whole process of the Regional Cooperation Council and argues that it should be considered as a case of 'sub-regionalism through inter-regionalism' which could be named *dependencia sub-regionalism*.

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Paasch Armin, Chemnitz Christine

EU-Indien: Die ungleiche Partnerschaft

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, Februar, 2012 , 19-22

Seit 2007 beraten die Europäische Union (EU) und die indische Regierung über ein bilaterales Handelsabkommen. Ziel der Verhandlungen ist eine möglichst vollständige Deregulierung des Handels zwischen den beiden Partnern. Das Abkommen schließt neben dem Warenhandel weitere Bereiche wie Dienstleistungen, das öffentliche Auftragswesen, Investitionen sowie geistige Eigentumsrechte ein und geht damit weit über Übereinkünfte der Welthandelsorganisation (WTO) hinaus. Geplant ist, das Abkommen auf dem EU-Indien-Gipfel am 10. Februar in Delhi zu besiegeln.

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Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Van Hüllen Vera

Europeanisation through Cooperation? EU Democracy Promotion in Morocco and Tunisia

in *West European Politics*, vol. 35, n. 1 , 117-134

ABSTRACT: The Arab spring has highlighted once more the European Union's failure to bring about democratic change in the Middle East and North Africa through its Mediterranean democracy promotion policy. However, Arab authoritarian countries engage to different degrees in cooperation on democracy promotion, giving the EU more or less influence on domestic institutional change related to political participation, respect for human rights, and the rule of law. A comparison of domestic change and cooperation in Morocco and Tunisia in 2000–2010 shows that the EU has been instrumental in supporting and potentially reinforcing domestic reform initiatives. Yet the EU cannot trigger domestic institutional change in the first place. The degree of political liberalisation determines the fit between the domestic political agenda and external demands for reforms. It reflects different 'survival strategies' between political inclusion and exclusion and is therefore a scope condition for rather than the result of cooperation and change.

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Reynaert Vicky

Explaining EU Aid Allocation in the Mediterranean: A Fuzzy-Set Qualitative Comparative Analysis

in *Mediterranean Politics*, Volume 16, Issue 3, November , 405-426

This article examines the determinants of aid allocation by the European Union to its southern neighbours within the framework of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership and the European Neighbourhood Policy. Starting from the observation that in the two periods 2002–06 and 2007–10 the European Commission committed a considerably larger



amount of aid per capita to Jordan, Lebanon, Morocco and Tunisia than to Algeria, Egypt and Syria, four models regarding aid allocation are identified from the literature and EU documents: donor interest, recipient need, good governance and economic reforms. Subsequently, the hypotheses of these models are tested using a fuzzy-set qualitative comparative analysis. The article concludes that the economic reforms model proves to have the most explanatory value. The EU's aid policy in the Mediterranean has a long-term objective – the promotion of market-based reforms. In addition, a high score for control of corruption is identified as a sufficient condition for receiving a large amount of funding.

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Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Tocci Nathalie, Voltolini Benedetta

Eyes Wide Shut: The European Union and the Arab Minority in Israel

in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 16, issue 4 , 521-538

ABSTRACT: Israel-Palestine has been a constant agenda item in EU foreign policy. Yet there is one dimension of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict that EU policy has largely sidelined: the Arab minority in Israel. The EU is aware of the problems of the Arab citizens of Israel. Yet such awareness has not translated into an EU policy towards the minority. Conditionality has never been considered an adequate policy mechanism with which to influence the situation of the Arab minority. More surprisingly, the EU has tended to focus only marginally on the minority through its declaratory diplomacy and its dialogue with and assistance to Israel. Stemming from this analysis, this article explores the reasons why the EU has tended not to focus on this issue in the context of its multifaceted relationship with Israel. The reasons are both context-specific and general. Generally, in view of the undefined nature of national minorities and minority rights in international and EU laws, the EU has tended not to focus on minority rights in its external action. Specifically, the EU has shied away from acknowledging and acting upon the link between the deterioration of the status of the Arab minority and the broader exacerbation of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Paradoxically, it is precisely the EU's approach to Israel and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict that underpins its lack of policy towards the minority.

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Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Dastoli Pier Virgilio

For a Euro-Mediterranean Community

in *Federalist Debate (The)*, Year XXIV, n. 3, November , 24-28

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

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Sikorski Radoslaw

Fostering Europe's infant democracies

in *Europe's World*, Issue 19, Autumn



A new tool to foster infant democracies in Europe's neighbouring countries is proposed by Poland's Foreign Minister Radoslaw Sikorski. As well as supporting pluralism, media freedom and "deep democracy" it would also enable the EU to act more quickly and flexibly.

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21921/language/en-US/Default.aspx

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Bosse Giselle

From 'Villains' to the New Guardians of Security in Europe? Paradigm Shifts in EU Foreign Policy towards Libya and Belarus

in *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, vol. 12, n. 4, November, Special Issue: European Security Governance after the Lisbon Treaty: Neighbours and New Actors in a Changing Security Environment , 440-461

This article analyses the EU's relations with Libya and Belarus over the past few decades. It is argued that the EU's pursuit of its internal security interests has led to significant U-turns in its perceptions of and policies towards autocratic regimes in its neighbourhood. Both Libya and Belarus were largely ostracized by the EU and the majority of its member states because of their grave concerns over democratic conduct and repeated violations of human rights in those countries. However, their increasingly important role in EU security (and, in particular, border security and the 'flight' against 'illegal' migration) has changed their image in and leverage over the EU. This paper first maps the competing paradigms of democracy promotion and the pursuit of internal security in EU foreign policy, followed by an outline of the key instruments used by it to implement its policies towards its neighbouring states. In the empirical parts that follow, the article examines the complex interplay between the two paradigms in the EU's policy towards Belarus and Libya and assesses their implementation in the political practice of day-to-day relations between the EU and both countries. By way of conclusion, the article's findings are placed in the broader context of the EU's normative power and future role as a 'successful democratiser'.

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Kuroda Tomoya

Instauration du système de préférences généralisées de la Communauté européenne, 1968-1971

in *Bulletin de l'Institut Pierre Renouvin*, n. 34, Automne

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

R.E. Kelly

Korea-European Union relations: beyond the FTA?

in *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, Volume 12 Issue 1, January , 101-132



In 2009, Korea and the European Union (EU) signed a free trade agreement. Using a traditional list of state goals in foreign policy – national security, economic growth, prestige-seeking, and values-promotion – I examine the prospects for cooperation and integration in the future. I find that deeper engagement is unlikely. Most importantly, neither side is relevant to the basic security issues of the other. Specifically, the EU cannot assist Korea in its acute security dilemma, and ‘sovereigntist’ Korea does not share EU preferences for soft power, regionalization, and multilateral collective security. However, Korea is likely to pursue the relationship for cost-free prestige-taking. And the EU will understand this ‘Asian bridge’ as a success for the promotion of liberal-democratic values in a non-European context. Pro-regionalist elites, most notably the ‘eureaucracy’, may pursue ‘inter-regional’ ties for internal institutional reasons, but deep Korean attachment to the Westphalian state model will likely stymie such efforts.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Jiang Shixue

La cooperación Sur-Sur de China y Latinoamérica

in *Política Exterior*, 145 - Enero/Febrero

La envergadura y la rápida evolución de las relaciones con América Latina han llevado a que China las califique de ‘estratégicas’. Aunque el principal eje es el económico, los vínculos se extienden al ámbito político, cultural y militar, y son un modelo de la cooperación Sur-Sur.

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C. Atkinson, G. Chiozza

Leadership and Commitment: The United States of America and the Future of the Northeast Asian Order

in *Pacific Focus*, Vol 26 Issue 3, December , 287–315

Since the end of World War II, peace, prosperity, and democracy have flourished in Northeast Asia in large part due to the USA's willingness to devote extraordinary resources and exert leadership through a series of bilateral commitments to the nations of the region. In the past two decades, crises in other parts of the world have captured US attention and resources: in Eastern Europe after the fall of the Soviet Union and now in the Middle East. What are the consequences of these demands on how the USA envisions its future role in Northeast Asia? We assess these consequences by evaluating the strategies that the USA has elaborated for the region and how those strategies resonate with people in the USA and in the region. Our analysis focuses on two questions: How does the USA envision its role in Northeast Asia? Does the USA have the political will to bear the costs to fulfill this role? We argue that despite increased demands on its attention and resources, the USA remains firmly committed to its leadership role in the region and the US-centric security architecture of bilateral institutions. Multilateral institutions will remain relatively ineffective and inefficient in addressing the most pressing regional issues.

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Kawakibi Salam

Let's be clear - the Arab spring is a genuine revolution



in *Europe's World*, Issue 19, Autumn

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21880/language/en-US/Default.aspx

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Reisen Helmut

Like it or not, the Asian tiger's rise has lessons for African governments

in *Europe's World*, Issue 19, Autumn

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21919/language/en-US/Default.aspx

Section C) Regional integration processes

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N'Guettia Kouassi René

Long-term ways China should underpin its aid to Africa

in *Europe's World*, Issue 19, Autumn

China needs to make sure that its economic co-operation brings lasting benefits to Africa's people in the form of development and better governance. Otherwise the relationship is in danger of souring, warns René N'Guettia Kouassi.

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21918/language/en-US/Default.aspx

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Marie-Pierre Rey

L'Europe occidentale dans la politique extérieure soviétique de Brejnev à Gorbatchev, évolution ou révolution?

in *Relations internationales*, n°147, 73-84

L'article retrace l'évolution majeure, qui au plan des pratiques comme des représentations, a caractérisé la politique soviétique à l'égard de la CEE, de l'arrivée de Leonid Brejnev au poste de secrétaire général du PCUS en 1964 à la disparition de l'URSS en 1991. Alors que, de 1957 à 1964, l'URSS, campée dans un schéma hérité de la guerre froide, apparaît comme viscéralement hostile à la CEE, une évolution sensible se dessine à la fin des années 1960. Toutefois, le rapprochement qui s'esquisse alors (l'URSS reconnaît de facto la CEE en 1972) reste circonstanciel et limité. En revanche, avec la nouvelle pensée lancée en 1986, ce rapprochement, d'envergure inédite, change de nature et s'inscrit désormais dans la révolution idéaliste impulsée par Mikhaïl Gorbatchev.



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Youngs Richard

L'Union européenne : de la munificence à la géostratégie

in *Confluences Méditerranée*, N. 79

Avec les évolutions du « Printemps arabe », l'approche par l'Union européenne de cette région n'a pas manqué d'être soulignée. L'auteur revient sur cet aspect, en démontrant que, n'ayant pas été à la hauteur de ses moyens jusqu'à peu, la diplomatie européenne prend toujours le risque de manquer le tournant des évolutions arabes. Or, entre une présence perçue comme encombrante par les pays arabes et un retrait distant, un juste milieu existe, qui permettrait à l'UE de consacrer sa présence dans la région tout en développant des ressorts favorables à l'évolution de celle-ci.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Brok Elmar

Nice words, but facts would speak louder still

in *Europe's World*, Issue 19, Autumn

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21908/language/en-US/Default.aspx

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Hollis Rosemary

No friend of democratization: Europe's role in the genesis of the 'Arab Spring'

in *International Affairs*, vol. 88, issue 1, january, 81-94

ABSTRACT: The argument advanced in this article is that EU policies helped to trigger the so-called Arab Spring, not by intention but by default. This contention is advanced through an examination of four strands of EU policy towards those countries designated as Mediterranean Partner Countries (MPCs) under the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership Programme (EMP) and the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP), namely: trade and economic development, political reform, the 'peace process', and regional security (including migration control). What emerges is that the EU has not just departed from its own normative principles and aspirations for Arab reform in some instances, but that the EU has consistently prioritized European security interests over 'shared prosperity' and democracy promotion in the Mediterranean. The net result is a set of structured, institutionalized and securitized relationships which will be difficult to reconfigure and will not help Arab reformers attain their goals.

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Cadier David, Parmentier Florent

Où va le partenariat oriental ? L'UE et ses voisins européens

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 552, octobre-novembre , 597-602

This article is taking stock of EU's latest initiative towards its Eastern periphery - the Eastern Partnership (EaP) - two years after its inception and amidst the Commission's review process of the European Neighborhood Policy (ENP). The rationales behind the EaP, its content, the reactions it triggered as well as its future perspectives are successively examined. This policy was born out of Central European member states desire to tip EU's institutional spotlight towards the East. It fails however to innovate much beyond traditional ENP tools and due to its meager budget it was welcomed with limited enthusiasm by the partner states (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova, Ukraine). Its originality lies rather in its regional dimension. At the same time, it is precisely this logic of "programmatic regionalization" which leads to put in competition the Eastern and Southern peripheries, as much as they differ in their respective situations.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Josef Drexl

Perspectives européennes sur la politique de la concurrence dans l'espace OHADA

in *Revue internationale de droit économique* , Vol. 25, n°3 , 281-304

ur le plan supranational en Afrique, le droit de la concurrence est visé par les systèmes d'intégration existants ou émergents comme ceux de l'UEMOA en Afrique de l'Ouest et de la CEMAC en Afrique centrale. Par contre, jusqu'à l'heure actuelle, l'Organisation pour l'Harmonisation en Afrique du Droit des Affaires (OHADA) ne s'occupe pas du droit de la concurrence, ce qui pose la question de savoir si l'OHADA devrait avoir un rôle à jouer dans ce domaine. Le présent article aborde cette question dans une perspective européenne, en analysant l'approche de l'Union européenne en matière d'harmonisation du droit de la concurrence de ses États membres. En particulier, cette analyse met en relief les particularités du droit de la concurrence par rapport à d'autres matières du droit des affaires. Ces particularités peuvent expliquer les raisons pour lesquelles l'UE, jusqu'à maintenant, n'a pas harmonisé le droit de la concurrence dans les États membres. Mais la nécessité d'appliquer le droit de l'Union d'une manière décentralisée et les règles procédurales qui en résultent ont abouti à une harmonisation « souple » des droits nationaux. Pour l'OHADA, l'expérience européenne explique que la création d'une loi uniforme, en conformité avec l'approche traditionnelle de l'OHADA, ou la création d'un droit de la concurrence supranational de l'OHADA, qui s'ajouterait aux systèmes existants, ne produiraient guère des réponses adéquates. Par contre, l'article propose la création d'une politique concurrentielle pour l'Afrique, basée sur des recommandations ou des lignes directrices non contraignantes, qui pourraient être appliquées par les autorités nationales et supranationales existantes ou émergentes en Afrique subsaharienne. De même, il fait l'analyse critique de la politique de l'UE envers les pays en développement qui, dans le cadre des négociations pour des accords de partenariat économique (APE), pourrait facilement mener à un « regroupement géographique » des systèmes d'intégration économique en Afrique. Par conséquent, l'Europe ferait mieux de promouvoir l'idée d'un centre de politique de la concurrence africain qui, en formulant des recommandations ou des lignes directrices relatives à la politique de la concurrence pour l'Afrique, contribuerait davantage au développement durable des économies africaines et à leur intégration dans l'économie mondialisée.

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Shujie Yao

Por qué China no puede rescatar a los europeos

in *Política Exterior*, 145 - Enero/Febrero

Con 3,2 billones de dólares en reservas y un enorme superávit con la UE, su mayor socio comercial, muchos líderes europeos han mirado a China en busca de apoyo ante los problemas de deuda. Varias razones explican por qué Pekín no ha respondido a la llamada europea.

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Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Gloser Günter

Practical ways Europe can harness the Arab spring

in *Europe's World*, Issue 19, Autumn

Europe needs to radically re-think half a century of political and economic relations with the Arab world, warns Günter Gloser. He sets out practical proposals for creating a fruitful dialogue with Arab countries and their public opinions.

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21879/language/en-US/Default.aspx

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Nitoiu Cristian

Reconceptualizing 'Cooperation' in EU-Russia Relations

in *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, vol. 12, n. 4, November, Special Issue: European Security Governance after the Lisbon Treaty: Neighbours and New Actors in a Changing Security Environment , 462-476

This paper argues that although the EU is yet to develop a common policy towards Russia, 'cooperation' with Russia stems from a pattern of enhanced bilateral relations with Moscow that most member states have sought to develop. These enhanced relations have been characterized by strong economic and energy security ties modelled on the approaches of big EU players such as Germany and France. Moreover, such approaches have impeded any solid practical promotion of the EU's norms and values both in Russia and its Eastern Neighbourhood – or any coherent CSDP actions, for that matter. This has happened although, rhetorically, states such as France and Germany present a highly normative discourse about the EU's role in its Eastern Neighbourhood. A second goal of this paper is to evaluate the way this pattern of 'cooperation' impacts on the EU's policy towards its Eastern Neighbourhood and on the geopolitics of the region. Consequently, the paper suggests that the practice of developing enhanced relations with Russia opens the way for Moscow to be viewed by the EU's Eastern neighbours as a power that can offer short-term solutions to pressing problems. At the same time, the shared framework for 'cooperation', which seems to inform the behaviour of most EU member states, de facto legitimizes Russia's bid to have the Eastern Neighbourhood under its sphere of influence.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Trenin Dmitry

Russia and the New Eastern Europe

in **Russian politics and law**, vol. 49, n. 6, November-December , 38-53

The author argues that the countries of the New Eastern Europe (Ukraine, Belarus, and Moldova) now constitute a distinct and durable geopolitical reality. He discusses their relationships with Russia, the European Union (EU), and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Casier Tom

Russia's Energy Leverage over the EU: Myth or Reality?

in **Publius: The Journal of Federalism**, vol. 41, n. 4, October, Special issue: The States as Facilitators or Obstructionists of Local Government , 493-508

Today, the EU is less dependent on Russian energy than it was two decades ago. Nevertheless, EU-Russia energy relations are more widely understood in terms of power, security and zero-sum geopolitical competition. This article challenges this Neo-Realist argument. Drawing on Keohane's and Nye's concepts of interdependence sensitivity and vulnerability, it both tests the actual degree of EU energy dependence and the extent to which dependence may create Russian leverage. It is found that the actual EU supply dependence is overrated and is mainly due to the EU's internal divisions. Secondly, Russia's potential leverage is undermined by its high dependence on EU energy demand. Thirdly, its potential energy leverage is at least counterbalanced by other dimensions of asymmetrical interdependence outside the energy context. Explaining how geopolitical power-related explanations became dominant in the analysis of EU-Russia relations, this article refers both to structural changes in the energy market and also to new perceptions that resulted from a renewed geopolitical logic in early decisions over pipelines, changing attitudes as Russia grew stronger and the different nature of the energy markets in the EU and Russia. While geopolitical considerations may occasionally sneak in, the core of EU-Russia energy relations is still predominantly economic and commercial.

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Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Moshes Arkady

Russia's European policy under Medvedev: how sustainable is a new compromise?

in **International Affairs** , vol. 88, issue 1, january , 17-30

ABSTRACT: This article argues that Dmitry Medvedev's term in office, despite the continuity in Russia's foreign policy objectives, brought about a certain change in Russia's relations with the European Union and the countries of the Common Neighbourhood. The western perceptions of Russia as a resurgent power able to use energy as leverage vis-à-vis the EU were challenged by the global economic crisis, the emergence of a buyer's market in Europe's gas trade, Russia's inability to start internal reforms, and the growing gap in the development of Russia on the one hand and China on the other. As a result, the balance of self-confidence shifted in the still essentially stagnant EU–Russian relationship. As before, Moscow is ready to use all available opportunities to tighten its grip on the post-Soviet space,



but it is less keen to go into an open conflict when important interests of EU member states may be affected. The realization is slowly emerging also inside Russia that it is less able either to intimidate or attract European actors, even though it can still appeal to their so-called 'pragmatic interests', both transparent and non-transparent. At the same time, whereas the new modus operandi may be suboptimal from the point of view of those in the country who would want Russia's policy to be aimed at the restoration of global power status, it is the one that the Kremlin can live with—also after the expected return of Vladimir Putin as Russia's president. Under the current scheme, the West—and the EU in particular—does little to challenge Russia's internal order and leaves it enough space to conduct its chosen course in the former Soviet Union.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Mikheev Vasilii

Russia-China. "Reloading" the Relationship

in **Russian politics and law**, vol. 49, n. 6, November-December , 74-93

The author assesses the current state and future prospects of the Russian-Chinese "strategic partnership." He surveys the negative perceptions that exist on both sides and suggests ways to overcome them.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Verlin Evgenii, Inozemtsev Vladislav

Russia-China. Time for a Course Correction

in **Russian politics and law**, vol. 49, n. 6, November-December , 54-73

The authors analyze Russian-Chinese relations and assess alternative scenarios for their evolution, emphasizing the threats posed to Russia by China's economic and demographic power in combination with its reliance on Russian natural resources.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Hanafi Hazem

The Arab Spring, Federalism and Euro-Arab Relations

in **Federalist Debate (The)**, Year XXIV, n. 3, November , 29-32

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

D'Alema Massimo

The Arab spring is a make or break challenge for the EU's global role



in *Europe's World*, Issue 19, Autumn

Europe propped-up discredited Arab regimes and failed to create worthwhile economic and political ties with its own southern neighbourhood. Massimo D'Alema warns that a concerted and ambitious EU development strategy is already slipping away thanks to European divisions and irresolution.

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21876/language/en-US/Default.aspx

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Corm Georges

The Arab spring risks turning sour

in *Europe's World*, Issue 19, Autumn

The bright promise of Arab popular protests and revolutionary change risks souring, warns Lebanon's former finance minister Georges Corm. He explains why foreign interference and the exploitation of internal divisions in Arab societies must be vigilantly guarded against.

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21878/language/en-US/Default.aspx

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Landaburu Eneko

The EU can yet seize the opportunities of the Arab spring

in *Europe's World*, Issue 19, Autumn

The European Union's neighbourhood policy has promised much and delivered little. Eneko Landaburu argues that now the Arab spring offers the EU a chance to put its money where its mouth is, and the signs are that it could achieve real change.

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21874/language/en-US/Default.aspx

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Stahl Anna Katharina

The Impact of China's Rise on the EU's Geopolitical Reach and Interests in Africa

in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 16, issue 4 , 427-446



ABSTRACT: The African continent has traditionally been considered as Europe's 'backyard' or 'pré-carré'. Yet, perceptions of Africa are gradually changing, with emerging powers such as China increasing their engagement on the continent. From this arises the fundamental question of how the European Union's (EU) position as an established actor in Africa is affected by the rise of China. While it has been widely acknowledged that the growing Chinese activities in Africa have various implications for the EU, this article revisits the prevailing argument that the Chinese (re)involvement on the African continent poses a threat to the EU's geopolitical reach in the region by challenging its norms and practices. On the contrary, this article takes the view that the alternative presented by China has encouraged the EU to act as a more coherent and consistent international actor and to start redefining the nature of its partnership with Africa. As a result, new opportunities arise for Sino-European cooperation in Africa.

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Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Védrine Hubert

The Issue : When is it right to oust a tyrant? My Verdict : In Libya it was justified, but it's an unsound precedent in Europe's World, Issue 19, Autumn

The successful military operation backing Libya's rebels may mark a geopolitical turning point, argues former French foreign minister Hubert Védrine, but it doesn't legitimise the so-called "right to intervene" in another country's affairs.

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21913/language/en-US/Default.aspx

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Bauer Patricia

The Transition of Egypt in 2011: A New Springtime for the European Neighbourhood Policy? in Perspectives on European Politics and Society, vol. 12, n. 4, November, Special Issue: European Security Governance after the Lisbon Treaty: Neighbours and New Actors in a Changing Security Environment , 420-439

As we have witnessed in the first few weeks of 2011, the Tunisian and the Egyptian people have promoted a fundamental change in government and leadership within their countries. In the case of Egypt, the direction and likeliness of a deep societal democratization process are still unclear. The role and ability of foreign actors such as the European Union (EU) and its member states to support this process have so far not been shaped into a new political strategy of the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP). Before the Arab revolutions of 2011, the foreign policy of the EU towards the Mediterranean countries was often characterized by the dilemma between the EU's stability and democratization goals. The change from the EMP to the ENP was assumed to imply a reorientation of EU foreign policy goals from a normative long-term oriented democratization to a strategic short-term stabilization of authoritarian systems on the Southern shore of the Mediterranean Sea. This ambivalence of EU foreign policy is due to the environment of authoritarian rule and restrictions it has had to act within during the last few decades.

The article will first give an empirical overview of the ENP policy towards Egypt. The empirical results show a multilayer policy of the EU, containing different goals and working with a combination of interest-based and normatively oriented



tools. In this respect, the ENP towards Egypt mirrors the ambivalent objectives and ideas of the EU's role in the Southern Mediterranean. Secondly, the article will survey the first EU initiatives and actions after the revolution in Egypt. It will analyse the short-, medium- and long-term steps of the EU to support the starting process of democratic and economic transition and compare them with the existing ENP policies in order to identify commonalities and changes in the EU approach. The normative questions on the democratic power of the EU will be discussed in this context.

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Ammor Fouad

**The lessons to be learned from the UfM's mistakes
in Europe's World**, Issue 19, Autumn

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21875/language/en-US/Default.aspx

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

S. V. Valentine

**Towards the Sino-American Trade Organization for the Prevention of Climate Change (STOP-CC)
in Chinese Journal of International Politics (The)**, Volume 4 Issue 4 Winter , 447-474

There is an adage in China 'Wú Yuè tóng zhōu' (Wú Yuè tóng zhōu), which translates as 'Wu and Yue in the same boat'. This purportedly refers to events during the Spring and Autumn Period (770–221 BC) of the Zhou Dynasty that forced two rival states, the Wu and the Yue, to cooperate in dealing with widespread flooding. The phrase characterizes situations in which adversaries must join forces to overcome a common challenge, and is possibly the etymological foundation of the English phrase 'to be in the same boat'. Certain scholars contend that the axiom exemplifies the political relationship between the United States and China.

Yan Xuetong has recently introduced in the Chinese Journal of International Politics the genesis of a fruitful discussion that has been carried forward by Alastair Iain Johnston in regard to explaining the Sino-American relationship. Essentially, Yan has put forth a theory of 'superficial friendship' wherein he argues that mutually unfavourable interests exceed mutually favourable interests in the Sino-American relationship. This, coupled with high expectations that both nations have in regard to support from one another, engenders the development of a 'superficial friendship'. Yan further posits that superficial friendships are unstable relationships that propagate exaggerated highs and lows, which helps to explain why the Sino-American relationship tends to exhibit wild oscillations.

Subsequently, Johnston provides a three-part critique of Yan's theory for understanding the oscillating nature of the Sino-American relationship. He starts by asserting that explaining this phenomenon is subject to epistemic bias, and introduces insights from psychological research that offer a compelling alternative explanation for this phenomenon. He further suggests that Yan's approach to coding may be open to interpretative challenge and that issues are 'missing from the lists', arguing that these two threats to internal validity potentially undermine Yan's classification of the relationship.



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Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Carbone Maurizio

Trapped in Regionalism: The EU and Democracy Promotion in the South Pacific

in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 16, issue 5 , 673-687

ABSTRACT: This article analyses the substance of EU democracy promotion in the Pacific members of the African, Caribbean, and Pacific group (PACP) in the first decade of the new century. The PACP region represents a compelling, yet overlooked, case for several reasons: The EU has limited commercial and political interests but has strongly committed to the promotion of democracy in the region; the South Pacific represents a unique case of regional integration, including two larger countries like Australia and New Zealand and fourteen smaller states like the PACP countries and integrating traits typical of liberal democracies with more traditional forms of governance. Drawing on published and unpublished documents and confidential interviews, this article finds that by promoting inter-regional political dialogue with the Pacific Islands Forum (PIF), the EU has been entrapped by its own commitment to regionalism and has (unwillingly) delegated the substance of democracy promotion to Australia and New Zealand. This situation slightly started to change towards the end of the 2000s, when the EU sought to project an autonomous approach on democratic governance.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Bechev Dimitar

Turkey's rise as a regional power

in *European View* , vol. 10, n. 2, December , 173-179

Turkey has become a regional power, thanks to its economic success and democratic achievements catalysed by the EU. Under the AKP, the Turkish neighbourhood policy has grown increasingly assertive, especially in the Middle East. Yet the Arab Spring caught Turkey, much like the West, off guard. As a result Ankara is recalibrating its foreign policy. This presents a chance to reinvigorate relations with the EU and the US despite tensions and challenges.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Zwolski Kamil

Unrecognized and Unwelcome? The Role of the EU in Preventing the Proliferation of CBRN Weapons, Materials and Knowledge

in *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, vol. 12, n. 4, November, Special Issue: European Security Governance after the Lisbon Treaty: Neighbours and New Actors in a Changing Security Environment , 477-492

This article assesses the role of the EU as an actor in the area of non-proliferation of chemical, biological, radiological and nuclear (CBRN) weapons, materials and know-how. It focuses primarily on the Russian Federation. Russia's extensive CBRN programmes, combined with bad economy, weak security and high unemployment among CBRN



scientists, have become a major source of concern for the international community following the end of the cold war and after the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001. The EU is the only non-state actor that got involved in addressing this threat right at the beginning of the 1990s, renewing its commitments after 9/11. This article revisits the concept of 'actorness' in order to examine the past, present and possibly future role of the EU in preventing the proliferation of CBRN capabilities. This means that in addition to evaluating past policies, this contribution analyses the impact of the Lisbon Treaty reforms and the changing international security environment on the position of the EU as an aspiring international non-proliferation actor.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Saryusz-Wolski Jacek

What Europe must do to regain credibility around the Mediterranean in Europe's World, Issue 19, Autumn

The EU has so far been slow and cautious in its response to the Arab spring. Jacek Saryusz-Wolski, who played a major role in the EU's 2nd eastern neighbourhood strategy, looks at the track record of the Mediterranean partnerships and sets out the next steps to be taken there.

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21881/language/en-US/Default.aspx

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

François Godement

¿Cuál es el precio de China para salvar el euro?
in *Política Exterior*, 145 - Enero/Febrero

La UE necesita capital externo para romper el círculo vicioso de austeridad pública y recesión económica. Las miradas están en China. Los europeos tienen aún la posibilidad de decidir el modo en que podría prestarse esta ayuda y cuál sería el precio de la dependencia.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1. Federalism

Lluch Jaime

Autonomism and Federalism

in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, vol. 42, n. 1, Winter , 134-161

This article aims to understand autonomism as an ideology of territorial order and institutional design. In particular, I ask whether the theory and practice of autonomism is consonant with federalist principles. "Autonomism" is a normative term that advocates the use of autonomist principles, and it has an intricate relationship with federalism, but is generally distinct from it. Autonomists are wary of federalism because they believe it has homogenizing and uniformizing tendencies. Autonomism as an ideology of territorial order and institutional design exhibits a number of clear



anti-federalist stances, but yet it is based on the general federalist principle that multiple levels of government can lead to better governance in multinational states. To this complex anti-federalist and federalist hybrid stance, autonomism adds a nuanced anti-secessionism stance.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1.Federalism

Buttà G.

Federalismo e sovranità degli Stati. Qualche nota sul dibattito americano
in **Pensiero Politico (II)**, Anno XLIV, n. 2, maggio-agosto 2011

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1.Federalism

Hernández Antonio Maria

Informe Sobre el Federalismo Argentino
in **Cuaderno de federalismo**, vol. XXIV , 17-23

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1.Federalism

Regazzoni Bernardino

L'esperienza del federalismo in Svizzera
in **Federalismi**, Anno IX - Nr. 19

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1.Federalism

Toniatti Roberto

La 'nazione costituzionale': genesi e consolidamento dell'identità repubblicana dell'ordinamento federale statunitense quale Stato-nazione
in **Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo**, n. 3 , 1150 - 1172

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1.Federalism



Malandrino C.

**Studi e discussioni sul federalismo e lo Stato tra modernità e postmodernità
in Pensiero Politico (II)**, Anno XLIV, n. 1, gennaio-aprile 2011

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1. Federalism

Pistone, Sergio

Un'Italia federale in un'Europa federale

in Cittadinanza europea (La), Fascicolo 2 - 2011

L'unificazione italiana su base federale è una idea che fu presente in modo significativo nel dibattito politico-culturale del Risorgimento. Ma la situazione internazionale caratterizzata da una strutturale lotta per la potenza fra gli stati europei e la arretratezza complessiva dell'Italia imposero una scelta rigidamente centralistica. Un'evoluzione in senso federale dello stato italiano è diventata possibile dopo il 1945, perché il processo di integrazione europea ha comportato il superamento dei rapporti di potenza fra gli stati europei e permesso una decisiva attenuazione (se non ancora il pieno superamento) dei divari economico-sociali, territoriali e ideologici presenti in Italia. Il completamento dell'unificazione europea in termini federali è la condizione ineludibile perché l'Italia continui a progredire e per impedire che la spinta alla trasformazione in senso federale del paese diventi un fattore di crisi dell'unità statale invece che di una sua modernizzazione.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1. Federalism

Miller David

Will Kymlicka 'Multicultural citizenship within multination states': A response

in Ethnicities, Vol. 11 n. 3

Will Kymlicka's diagnosis of the dilemmas involved in integrating culturally distinct immigrant groups into multinational societies is characteristically acute, and in this comment I take for granted the basic parameters of his discussion: namely that some version of federalism is the only legitimate form of government in such societies, and that the cultural integration of immigrant groups is an important goal of social policy, in education and elsewhere. This is tantamount to saying that we share the view that questions of collective identity are important, and cannot be sidestepped, as some liberals would advocate, by arguing that so long as the state respects human rights and treats its citizens as equals, no further questions of legitimacy arise. Our philosophical starting points are similar, therefore, and our political disagreements (which are not great) arise from somewhat different estimates of the likely future of multination states as he describes them. According to Kymlicka, these states "contain deep and unresolved cleavages around national identity and nationhood". These cleavages have been handled by developing institutions

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Dixon Paul



A Rejoinder to a Reply

in *Nations and Nationalism*, Volume 18, Issue 1, January 2012 , 129–131

The full text is free:

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1469-8129.2011.00537.x/full>

Nagle and Clancy claim Consociationalists have levelled ‘very serious charges’ against me but spoil the fun by not telling us what these are. Such is their outrage at my ‘well-known’, ‘anti-consociationalist’ views that they failed to read the title of my article before responding. I did not argue that Nagle and Clancy conflate Social Transformationist and Civil Society approaches because I am guilty of that particular charge. Civil Society is my preferred term for the Social Transformationists. What I argue is that Nagle and Clancy conflate the Civil Society approach (and its instrumentalism) with Constructivism. This is why my article is called ‘a constructivist critique of [both] consociational and civil society theories’. I argue: ‘This makes constructivists distinct from both the pessimistic, ‘conservative realist’ essentialism of consociationalism and the over-optimistic, voluntaristic ‘idealism’ and radical instrumentalism of the civil society approach’ (Dixon 2012, my emphasis).

But what clearly rankles with Consociationalists is my claim that Consociationalism is constructed on a Primordialist or essentialist understanding of ‘ethnic’ identity. Primordialism is a type of biological essentialism, which is ‘the belief that the major features of social reality or identity lie in inherent, inalienable qualities’ (Calhoun 2002). It has provided intellectual legitimacy for extreme nationalists and murderous ethnic chauvinism because it suggests that the inevitable outcome of natural, primordial attachments is a state for every nation, which leads to war, genocide and ‘ethnic cleansing’. Primordialism became discredited through its association with the Nazis and other extreme nationalists. Yet Primordialism continues to be echoed in media reports of conflict and among popular opinion (see, for example, over the collapse of Yugoslavia)...

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Miller-Idriss Cynthia, Rothenberg Bess

Ambivalence, pride and shame: conceptualisations of German nationhood

in *Nations and Nationalism*, Volume 18, Issue 1, January 2012 , 132-135

The full text is free:

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1469-8129.2011.00498.x/full>

ABSTRACT. This article examines complex everyday expressions and understandings of nationhood in Germany, focusing on citizens' articulations of national pride and their relationship with the nation. Through an analysis of ninety semi-structured interviews with ‘ordinary’ Germans conducted between 2000 and 2002, we argue that the prevailing, elite-centred approach to studying nationhood has not adequately captured the complex relationships that individuals have to the nation. We examine how individuals actively process and interpret nationhood in ways that reveal ambivalence, confusion and contradictory emotions towards the nation. Such individual variation is not neatly captured by official, elite, public or institutional presentations of the nation. We argue for further research on everyday understandings of nationhood and on ordinary people's views on national pride and national identity.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Hickmott Alec Fazackerley

Charles Schmitt Prize Essay 2011: 'Brothers, Come North': the Rural South and the Political Imaginary of new Negro Radicalism, 1917–1923

in *Intellectual History Review*, Volume 21, Issue 4, December, 395-412

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Becker Heike

Commemorating Heroes in Windhoek and Eenhana: Memory, Culture and Nationalism in Namibia, 1990–2010

in *Africa: The Journal of the International African Institute*, Volume 81, Issue 4, November, 519-543

In post-colonial Namibia public memory of the liberation war prioritizes the armed struggle from exile. This master narrative of national liberation, having become the new nation's foundation myth, legitimizes the power of the post-colonial SWAPO elite as the sole, heroic liberators from apartheid and colonialism. It has not remained uncontested, however. The article develops the complex transfigurations of liberation war memory, culture and nationalism in post-colonial Namibia around a discussion of two memory sites. The National Heroes' Acre near Windhoek, inaugurated in 2002, appears as the cast-in-stone nationalist master narrative, aimed at homogenizing the multi-faceted agencies during the liberation war, whereas the Heroes' Memorial Shrine at Eenhana, constructed in 2007, expressly recognizes the heterogeneity of war-time experiences. The Eenhana site further gives visual expression to recent Namibian unity-in-diversity discourses, which have followed, and partly been running alongside, a period of ideational emphasis on nation building, based on a national culture supposedly forged through the nation's joint struggle against oppression and colonialism. I argue that the social processes of remembering and forgetting political resistance, on the one hand, and those of cultural reinvention in the new nation on the other, are entangled, and that both registers of imagining the Namibian nation have shifted since the country's independence in 1990.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Nagle John, Clancy Mary-Alice C.

Constructing a shared public identity in ethno nationally divided societies: comparing consociational and transformationist perspectives

in *Nations and Nationalism*, Volume 18, Issue 1, January 2012, 78–97

The full text is free:

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1469-8129.2010.00474.x/full>

ABSTRACT. In order to bolster sustainable peace building in violently divided societies, a normative suggestion is that efforts should be made to construct a shared public identity that overarches ethnic divisions. A number of different centripetal/transformationist processes are identified as engineering a shared identity in comparison to consociational arrangements, which are accused of institutionalising ethnic differences and perpetuating conflict. These



transformationist approaches essentially rest on the premise that because ethnicity is constructed it can be reconstructed into new, shared forms. Looking at Northern Ireland, we argue that there are limits to the extent that ethnicity can be reconstructed into shared identities. By analysing consociational and centripetalist/transformationist approaches to division, we conclude that although consociationalism will probably not deliver a common identity, it does provide a robust form of conflict regulation.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Alexandra Coșofan

**Creating Authenticity: Banal nationalism in Henri Coandă Airport
in Development**, Vol. 54, n°4 , 520-524

Alexandra Coșofan analyzes the retail spaces of the Henri Coandă International Airport in Bucharest, Romania's largest international airport. She looks at how authenticity is created through the interactions among the company, staff and passengers in the production of 'banal nationalism'.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Ghisalberti Carlo

Dal Piemonte sabauda al Regno d'Italia

in Ventunesimo Secolo. Rivista di Studi sulle Transizioni, Anno X, n. 26, novembre

After the defeat of Novara, d'Azeglio and Cavour pursue a foreign policy with a view to improve diplomatic relations with West European nations and East European populations sharing similar nationalistic aspiration. Together with a 'diplomazia delle sette' (W. Maturi), centred on conspiracy, which played an important role in to the diffusion abroad of the Italian cause, we also find a 'diplomazia di governo', of which Cavour was the highest exponent. The latter approach was a decisive factor to the solution of the national question.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Piccolino Giulia

**David against Goliath in Côte d'Ivoire? Laurent Gbagbo's war against global governance
in African Affairs**, Volume 111, Issue 442, January

While a doctrine of liberal interventionism seems to be gaining acceptance, it remains constrained by the resilience of state sovereignty and by the resistance of internal elites to externally driven prescriptions. This article looks at Côte d'Ivoire's tortuous peace process and at the recent post-electoral crisis, exploring how former Ivoirian President Laurent Gbagbo developed strategies for neutralizing the threat that international peacemaking and peacekeeping intervention posed to his rule. It is argued that a particular ideological discourse played a crucial role in Gbagbo's struggle against 'global governance'. Such a discourse combined the legalistic exaltation of state sovereignty, a fierce anti-colonial nationalism, and religious overtones in portraying the Ivoirian crisis as a 'war of second independence' against a wide range of international enemies. While nationalist rhetoric had been toned down after the conclusion of the Ouagadougou



Political Agreement in 2007, the confrontation between Gbagbo and the international community reignited during the 2010–11 post-electoral crisis. A series of new developments – in particular the UN's certification mandate – rendered Gbagbo's political tactics and the recourse to nationalism ineffective and contributed to his fall.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Catterall Peter

Democracy, cosmopolitanism and national identity in a 'globalising' world

in National Identities, vol. 13, n. 4 November, Special Issue: National Identities in Retrospect , 329-347

Broadly globalising processes have been in train for centuries, but contemporary discourse about globalisation is here located within a specific historical context, particularly characterised by new forms of communications and the pressures on states produced by the decline of Keynesianism and the end of the Cold War. Coincident changes also led to a growing interest in national identities, marked not least by the founding of this journal in 1999. Globalisation, a series of processes rather than a single force, has a range of effects on states, nations and national identities, including accommodation and adaptation as well as resistance. Indeed, globalising forces, such as democratisation, are shown to require nation-building. Attempts to impose order on international society through cosmopolitan devices are arguably more inimical to national identities. As with nations, cosmopolitanism involves an imagined community. Because this necessarily exists outside time, the building of a sense of trust and commonality across people and territory is however more challenging. Without popular ownership, it is argued, cosmopolitanism is often more likely to appear a threat than a boon. Building a global civil society, or indeed local democracies, is also unlikely when so many societies still lack local versions anchored in some form of national identity.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Gidakou Isabella, Kazakopoulos Leonidas, Koutsouris Alex

Economic immigrants in Greek rural areas: socio-economic integration and questions of ethnic exclusion

in South European Society & Politics, Volume 16, Issue 4, December , 533-553

The current paper, based on field research in two rural areas in Greece, focuses on the attitudes and perceptions of both farmers-employers and immigrants on various aspects of the latter's integration into the local socio-economic system(s). The results show that farmers are positive as far as immigrants' contribution to agriculture is concerned but hold 'defensive' views and rather ambivalent, ethnocentric attitudes in relation to a multicultural local society. Additionally, farmers' views are, more or less, differentiated between the two research areas. Finally, immigrants' views denote a positive perception of their integration into their host societies.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Storm Ingrid

Ethnic nominalism and civic religiosity: Christianity and national identity in Britain

in Sociological Review, Volume 59, Issue 4, November 2011 , 828–846



Abstract

The relationship between religion and national identity is a contested topic in public debates about cultural diversity and immigration. In sample surveys only a minority the British population identify themselves as belonging to a Christian religion, and far fewer practise their faith. Nevertheless, nearly a quarter of the population think it is important to be Christian to be truly British. This study explores the complex relationships between religious and national identities in Britain, using data from the 2008 British Social Attitudes Survey. Three different forms of national identity were identified through factor analysis: civic-symbolic, cultural-aesthetic and ethnic national identity. Ethnic national identity is the only dimension of national identity that is positively associated with thinking it is important to be Christian to be British. While churchgoing Christians are more likely to feel national in response to secular cultural symbols, they are less likely to associate religion with nationality than those with a nominal Christian affiliation. The results indicate that Christianity has cultural significance for national identity primarily as a proxy for ethnic identity.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Özsu U.

Fabricating Fidelity: Nation-Building, International Law, and the Greek–Turkish Population Exchange
in *Leiden Journal of International Law*, Volume 24 - Issue 04 , 823 - 847

Supported by Athens and Ankara, and implemented largely by the League of Nations, the Greek–Turkish population exchange uprooted and resettled hundreds of thousands. The aim here was not to organize plebiscites, channel self-determination claims, or install protective mechanisms for minorities – all familiar features of the Allies' management of imperial disintegration in Europe after 1919. Nor was it to restructure a given economy and society from top to bottom, generating an entirely new legal order in the process; this had often been the case with colonialism, and would characterize much of the Mandate System in the interbellum. Instead, the goal was to deploy a unique legal mechanism – not in conformity with European practice, but also distinct from most extra-European governance regimes – in order to resolve ethno-national conflict by redividing land, reshaping national identities, and unleashing new processes of capital accumulation.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Shahzad Farhat

Forging the nation as an imagined community

in *Nations and Nationalism*, Volume 18, Issue 1, January 2012 , 21-38

Abstract

This article examines the ways in which young Canadians represent the 'the War on Terror' in their narratives. I explore how a hegemonic nationalist narrative enters into this representation in different ways and positions itself in a dynamic tension with the USA, at times eliding the difference and at times affirming it. I illustrate that these students do not simply tell the narrative of the war, but use the deixis of 'we/us/our' or 'them/they/their' in a way that constructs multiple



imagined communities. I argue that these presumably benign representations of Canadian involvement in the war produce banal nationalism that excludes 'others', and binds human imagination into a framework that works against critical thinking.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Bell Daniel A., De-Shalit Avner

From Nationalism to Civicism

in *New Perspectives Quarterly*, Vol. 29, Issue 1, Winter , 57-60

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1540-5842.2012.01297.x/abstract>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Rowley David G.

Giuseppe Mazzini and the democratic logic of nationalism

in *Nations and Nationalism*, Volume 18, Issue 1, January 2012 , 39-56

ABSTRACT. This article brings the thought of Giuseppe Mazzini back into the field of nationalism studies, from which it has been largely missing for a half century. It suggests the following: that Mazzini is much more modern and secular than he is usually portrayed; and that his commitment to liberal policies while rejecting liberal principles suggests that the distinction between civic and ethnic nationalism has been misconceived. Nationalism, to Mazzini, was not an end in itself but a means to an end – government of, by and for the people. The demand for such a government was manifested in three popular demands in nineteenth-century Europe: in the West as democracy, in the East as national sovereignty (the precondition for democracy) and in both East and West as social democracy. Thus nationalism may be instrumental rather than an end in itself, and it may be attributable not to ethnic groups' natural striving for autonomy but to the pursuit of democracy.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Quagliarello Gaetano

I Cattolici, il Risorgimento e l'Italia Liberale

in *Ventunesimo Secolo. Rivista di Studi sulle Transizioni*, Anno X, n. 26, novembre

This essay explores the origins of the complex relationship between Church and State in Italy. The author traces the historical and political context and analyzes the various phases of the slow process of interpenetration between Catholics and Liberals in the life of the new State: from the absolute intransigence of dawn of Unity, to the early loosening of the opposition at the turn of the twentieth century, to the structuring of an autonomous presence of Catholics in politics, followed by the final settlement of 1929. From his analysis is crucial the weight of historical contingencies in the evolution of relations between Church and State.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Stolte Carolien, Fischer-Tiné Harald

Imagining Asia in India: Nationalism and Internationalism (ca. 1905–1940)

in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Volume 54, Issue 1, January , 65-92

Asianisms, that is, discourses and ideologies claiming that Asia can be defined and understood as a homogenous space with shared and clearly defined characteristics, have become the subject of increased scholarly attention over the last two decades. The focal points of interest, however, are generally East Asian varieties of regionalism. That “the cult of Asianism” has played an important role on the Indian subcontinent, too—as is evident from the quote above—is less understood. Aside from two descriptive monographs dating back to the 1970s, there has been relatively little scholarly engagement with this phenomenon. In this article, we would like to offer an overview of several distinct concepts of Asia and pan-Asian designs, which featured prominently in both political and civil society debates in India during the struggle for Independence. Considering the abundance of initiatives for Asian unification, and, in a more abstract sense, discourses on Asian identity, what follows here is necessarily a selection of discourses, three of which will be subjected to critical analysis, with the following questions in mind:

- What were the concrete motives of regional—in this case Indian—actors to appropriate the concept of Asianism? Is the popularity of supranational frames of reference solely to be explained as an affirmation of a distinctive identity vis-à-vis the imagined powerful West, or are there other motives to be found?
- What were the results of these processes of appropriation, and how were these manifested politically and culturally?
- What tensions resulted from the simultaneous existence of various nationalisms in Asia on the one hand and macro-nationalistic pan-Asianism on the other?

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Muhoma Catherine, Nyairo Joyce

Inscribing memory, healing a nation: post-election violence and the search for truth and justice in Kenya Burning

in *Journal of Eastern African Studies* , Volume 5, Issue 3, November , 411-426

The violence in the wake of the Kenya general elections in December 2007 found one of its most profoundly haunting, provocative and creative expressions in a photographic text called Kenya Burning. This article renders a reading of photographs in Kenya Burning in an attempt to lay bare the complex sphere of multiple narratives that speak to the issues of what ails Kenya. We argue that as an artistic piece of work, the picture-text represents the ways in which the photographers as artists have constructed representations of the realities of Kenya's socio-political life around and up to the eruption of the post-election violence. In engaging with these pictures, we unveil the complex history of Kenya's multi-party politics and the burden of ignored or forgotten narratives. We navigate a terrain of sordid pictures capturing death, destruction and mayhem, pictures that attest to the truth that the memory of the collective populace cannot be “shut down” just for political expediency. The article's conclusion signals the ways in which versions and subversions around the pictures embrace a spirit of remembering and shared collective experience that speaks volumes to the place of the creative arts in confronting violence and building bridges between divergent communities in Eastern Africa.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Baumann Hannes

Introduction: Nationalism and Ethnicity in the Arab Revolutions

in *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism* , vol. 11, n. 3, December , 509-512

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Mangas Martín Araceli

Kosovo y Unión Europea: una secesión planificada

in *Revista Espanola de Derecho Internacional*, vol. 63, n.1 , 101-123

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Calamo Specchia Marina, Fabiano Laura

L'idea di nazione in Serbia, Montenegro e Kosovo tra lunga transizione e frontiere mobili

in *Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo*, n. 3 , 1037 - 1069

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Pinto Carmine

La Nazione unita. Biografie, temi e ricerche nella recente storiografia italiana

in *Ventunesimo Secolo. Rivista di Studi sulle Transizioni*, Anno X, n. 26, novembre

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Grassi Orsini Fabio

La memoria della patria: anniversari a confronto.

in *Ventunesimo Secolo. Rivista di Studi sulle Transizioni*, Anno X, n. 26, novembre

Full text available Italian)at: <http://www.ventunesimosecolo.org/node/1573>.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Giovanni Schininà

La nazione austriaca: una costruzione novecentesca

in *Memoria e ricerca* , Fascicolo 38

The construction of the Austrian Nation has been a troubled process, which was only able to begin after 1945 and finally strengthened starting from the 1960s. The author firstly identifies the factors, which inhibit a specific Nation Building during the Habsburg Monarchy. Afterwards he analyses how in the First Republic, characterized by a weak political and economic legitimation and heavy external influences, the first theories and interpretations of an Austrian nation historically and culturally separated from that of Germany arose. Only the tragic experience of Anschluss and the end of II World War permitted in the course of the Second Republic the construction of a collective national identity, supported by economic success, pragmatism of the political élite and an inedited international role. The affirmation of a national identity intertwined with "Opfer-Mythos" and to the theme of co-responsibility regarding Nazism, is finally subjected to reworkings following the entry of Austria into The European Union.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

J. Alberto Del Real Alcalà

La teoría del Estado de F. Meinecke: modelos de Estado moderno según las doctrinas «Staatsnation» y «Kulturnation».

in *Revista de Estudios Políticos* , n. 154

F. Meinecke nos proporciona dos modelos de Estado moderno: el Nationalstaat moderno de «sentido político» y el Nationalstaat moderno de «impronta cultural». En el primer modelo, el Estado (fundado según la doctrina Staatsnation) es esencialmente «político», tiene carácter «formal», contenido «aleatorio» y «voluble», sustento «contractualista» y su unitarismo es de concepción «jacobina». Mientras que en el segundo modelo, por el contrario, el Estado (fundado sobre la base de la doctrina Kulturnation) está considerado un «producto cultural», tiene carácter «sustancial» (que presupone un contenido «fijo» y «no-voluble» en relación a la sustancia originaria —cultural— concebida como «hecho fundante básico» del Estado), es de concepción «jacobina» y su soporte es intensamente «organicista». La importancia de la teoría del Estado de Meinecke reside en que sus modelos tipológicos permiten categorizar la mayoría de los casos de formación y evolución del Estado moderno en Europa y Latinoamérica desde el siglo XIX hasta nuestros días.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

CRUZ RODRIGUEZ, Edwin

Los movimientos indígenas y la cuestión nacional en Bolivia y Ecuador: Una genealogía del estado plurinacional.

in *Análisis político* , Vol. 23, issue 70 , 125-172

En las dos últimas décadas, el proyecto de Estado plurinacional de los movimientos indígenas despertó oposición en diversos sectores que lo interpretaron como un intento de fracturar la unidad de sus estados naciones. Este trabajo analiza el conflicto entre los movimientos y sus adversarios por la definición del significado de la nación o el imaginario



nacional en este período, que desemboca en el reconocimiento del Estado plurinacional en las nuevas constituciones de Bolivia y Ecuador. También examina las implicaciones que sobre el Estado nación tiene la identificación de los movimientos como "naciones originarias" o "nacionalidades indígenas" y el uso de un discurso de autodeterminación en sus demandas y proyectos de nación. Los movimientos indígenas no plantean la autodeterminación al margen de sus estados naciones sino un conjunto de transformaciones y una forma de integración diferente, que reconozca su diferencia y les permita tener un papel activo en la construcción de la nación, sintetizada en el Estado plurinacional.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Valeria Burgio

Luces sobre las naciones el discurso político en la 54 Bienal de Venecia

in *Revista de Occidente*, n. 364 , 79-96

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Ndahinda Felix Mukwiza

Marginality, Disempowerment and Contested Discourses on Indigeness in Africa

in *International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights*, Volume 18, Number 4, "Contrasted Perspectives on Recognition and Implementation of Indigenous Rights" , 479-514

The present article discursively explores the contentiousness of indigenous identification and claims in Africa. In recent decades, a growing number of mainly hunter-gatherer and pastoralist communities have adopted a new form of identification as the indigenous peoples of Africa. Claimant communities have liaised with groups from other parts of the world - with an active support from indigenous rights advocates - in claiming special legal protection under the emerging (international) indigenous rights framework. Substantively, they seek redress for patterns of marginalization and dispossession. The present analysis discursively explores the sources and substance of indigenous identification and rights on the African continent. To avoid an oversimplification of complex socio-political and cultural realities, indigenous claims are examined against the backdrop of the multiple forms of expression of identity in the inherently plural African states. The analysis ultimately questions the suitability of the indigenous rights framework as the appropriate channel for efforts aimed at empowering claimant hunter-gatherer, pastoralist and other communities.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Banting Keith, Soroka Stuart

Minority nationalism and immigrant integration in Canada

in *Nations and Nationalism*, Volume 18, Issue 1, January 2012 , 156-176

The full text is free:

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1469-8129.2011.00535.x/full>



Abstract

Immigrant integration is currently a prominent issue in virtually all contemporary democracies, but countries in which the historic population itself is deeply divided – particularly those with substate nations and multiple political identities – present some interesting questions where integration is concerned. The existence of multiple and potentially competing political identities may complicate the integration process, particularly if the central government and the substate nation promote different conceptions of citizenship and different nation-building projects. What, then, are the implications of minority nationalism for immigrant integration? Are the added complexities a barrier to integration? Or do overlapping identities generate more points of contact between immigrants and their new home? This article addresses this question by probing immigrant and non-immigrant ‘sense of belonging’ in Canada, both inside and outside Quebec. Data come from Statistics Canada's Ethnic Diversity Study. Our results suggest that competing nation-building projects make the integration of newcomers more, rather than less, challenging.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Veronica Ronchi, Franco Farinelli

Nascita di una nazione?

in *Equilibri*, anno XV, n. 3, dicembre , 533-540

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Odello Marco

On Cultural Rights: The Equality of Nations and the Minority Legal Tradition

in *International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights*, Volume 18, Number 4, "Contrasted Perspectives on Recognition and Implementation of Indigenous Rights" , 545-548

Book review: William Kurt Barth, *On cultural rights: the equality of nations and the minority legal tradition*, Brill, 2008

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Pertici Roberto

Parabola del “revisionismo risorgimentale”

in *Ventesimo Secolo. Rivista di Studi sulle Transizioni*, Anno X, n. 26, novembre

Within the framework of the persistent historiographic and public debate on the “Risorgimento problem” – to use the famous definition of Rosario Romeo – which has always characterised the Italian political cultures, this essay will focus on the development of “Risorgimento revisionism.” Exemplified by Romeo and by the querelle running between Nicola Matteucci and Augusto Del Noce between the 1950s and 1960s, the question of Risorgimento revisionism finds its origins in the thinking of Alfredo Oriani, which already contains all the topoi of revisionism: the incompleteness of the Italian revolution, the outcome based on compromise and opportunism and the absence of a post-Unification ideal. This



imprint would be enlarged and re-articulated thereafter: first of all by Mario Missiroli who would focus on the hypothesis of the lack of religious reform, a thesis that in turn would be analysed by Piero Gobetti. Then, the revisionism elaborated by the Fascist regime and the anti-revisionist response provided by anti-Fascist historiography (i.e. Croce, Omodeo, Salvatorelli), by Antonio Gramsci and the analysis of the Justice and Liberty movement. After that, the less well-renowned interpretations of Giuseppe Antonio Borgese, Giulio Colamarino, and Fabio Cusin. The essay ends with a reference to the considerations of Del Noce, which presented as "revisionist" in actual fact in recuperating the pivotal nature of Vincenzo Gioberti's Risorgimento proposal, the philosopher – argues the author – offer us an anti-revisionist analysis. And lastly, Romeo's critique of Risorgimento historiography (Marxist and non-Marxist) accused of not having understood the great theme of modernisation which indeed draws its origins from the Risorgimento.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Pastukhov Vladimir B.

Perestroika, Second Edition. Revolution and Counterrevolution in Russia
in *Russian politics and law*, vol. 50, n. 1, January-February , 7-35

The author assesses the prospects of a "second perestroika" based on his interpretation of modern Russian history in terms of the concepts of revolution and counterrevolution.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Mattern Jens

Polnische Nationalisten: Der Marsch in die Mitte
in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, Januar, 2012 , 24-28

Die Antrittsrede des polnischen Ministerpräsidenten Donald Tusk zu Beginn seiner zweiten Legislaturperiode drehte sich erwartungsgemäß ums Sparen – um Einschnitte in den Staatshaushalt und das Überleben der Wirtschaft. In seinem Schlussappell forderte der Ministerpräsident die Bevölkerung jedoch genauso dringlich dazu auf, eine „politische Mitte zu bauen, die Polen vor dem Links- und Rechtsradikalismus schützt“. Denn diese hätten den nationalen Feiertag, den Unabhängigkeitstag „attackiert“ ...

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Haberman Robb K.

Provincial Nationalism: Civic Rivalry in Postrevolutionary American Magazines
in *Early American Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, vol. 10, n. 1, Winter , 162-193

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism



Bandelj Nina

Relevance of nationality in cross-border economic transactions

in *Nationalities Papers*, Volume 39, Issue 6, 2011 , 963-976

Abstract

How relevant is nationality in global economic behavior? The aim of this paper is to scrutinize the relevance of nationality affiliations and nationality conceptions in cross-border economic transactions, using the case of foreign investment exchanges. In particular, I examine how nationality affiliations may shape the types of commitments that actors will want to realize through foreign investment transactions, and how nationality categorizations influence the evaluation of potential partners in economic transactions. I also stipulate when nationality affiliations and categorizations play a more- or less-salient role. To develop these propositions I use illustrations from cases of foreign investment attempts in which investors from the West try to acquire firms in post-socialist Slovenia. The analysis is grounded in economic sociology and advances a relational understanding of nationality, seen as interpretive codes embedded in actors' cultural repertoires, situationally invoked, and made relevant (or not) in interactions.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Brubaker Rogers

Religion and nationalism: four approaches

in *Nations and Nationalism*, Volume 18, Issue 1, January 2012 , 2-20

ABSTRACT. Building on recent literature, this article discusses four ways of studying the relationship between religion and nationalism. The first is to treat religion and nationalism, along with ethnicity and race, as analogous phenomena. The second is to specify ways in which religion helps explain things about nationalism – its origin, its power or its distinctive character in particular cases. The third is to treat religion as part of nationalism, and to specify modes of interpenetration and intertwining. The fourth is to posit a distinctively religious form of nationalism. The article concludes by reconsidering the much-criticised understanding of nationalism as a distinctively secular phenomenon.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Nagle John, Clancy Mary-Alice C.

Reply to 'The politics of conflict: A constructivist critique of consociational and civil society theories'

in *Nations and Nationalism*, Volume 18, Issue 1, January 2012 , 122–128

The full text is free:

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1469-8129.2011.00538.x/full>

As junior academics, the authors welcome all constructive replies to their work in the hope that the intellectual exchange will sharpen our arguments and contribute to ongoing debates regarding the appropriateness of consociationalism as a



method of conflict regulation. As Paul Dixon is well-known for his anti-consociationalist views, we hoped that his response to our article (Nagle and Clancy 2012) would provide us with just such an opportunity. However, in his critiques of the work of Brendan O'Leary and John McGarry in general (Dixon 1996; 1998), and consociationalism in particular (Dixon 1997), it has been demonstrated that his vituperation often comes at the expense of scholarly rigor (McGarry and O'Leary 1996; O'Leary 1998). In terms of consociationalists, it has been convincingly argued that his claim that they promote sociopolitical apartheid is 'unfair and unsubstantiated' and that '[t]o knowledgeable readers his argument may appear little more than "nonsense upon stilts"’ (Kerr 2009: 208–9). As this earlier argument reappears in his reply to our article, and given its many errors of fact and interpretation, we feel that we have been subjected to a polemic rather than a serious critique. Owing to space constraints, we will only outline those errors which directly affect our arguments...

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Pierluigi Pironti

Restaurare il corpo ferito della nazione. L'assistenza agli invalidi e mutilati della Prima guerra mondiale in Germania

in *Memoria e ricerca* , Fascicolo 38

The disabled and mutilated veterans of the World War I in Germany have different meanings: they are symbols of patriotic propaganda, instruments of experimentation for orthopaedics, a social problem for labour and social policy experts. They are at the same time both "heroes" because of their sacrifice and a possible threat for the social and economic order of Germany. The State reintegrates them in the community and to do so requires a complex bureaucratic apparatus, which not only assists them, but also determines a new quality of public intervention in social policy. Therefore if disabled veterans become the object of a paternalistic and at times strongly authoritarian "Work Therapy" on the one hand, on the other hand their presence helps the development in the country of a new debate on the rights that their disability earned them. The debate brings about the idea of a debt of the Nation towards war disabled that the Weimar Republic will be asked to liquidate.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Ciuffoletti Zeffiro

Risorgimento

in *Ventunesimo Secolo. Rivista di Studi sulle Transizioni*, Anno X, n. 26, novembre

The author examines the national unity process through a reconstruction of political ideas, actors and different strategies of the Italian Risorgimento, from the "triennio giacobino" to the "decennio cavouriano". His analysis shows the importance of the propulsive role of liberal thought. One of the most relevant effect was a general modernization of the institutions and of political, economic and social relations.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Anderson Warwick, Pols Hans



Scientific Patriotism: Medical Science and National Self-Fashioning in Southeast Asia
in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Volume 54, Issue 1, January , 93-113

Physicians and scientists dominated the first generation of nationalists in at least three East Asian colonies in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries: the Philippines under the Spanish and United States' regimes, the Dutch East Indies, and the Japanese territory of Taiwan. There is substantial evidence that, in each place, decolonization was yoked to scientific progress—not only in a practical sense, but symbolically too. The first generation to receive training in biological science and to become socialized as professionals used this education to imagine itself as eminently modern, progressive, and cosmopolitan. Their training gave them special authority in deploying organic metaphors of society and state, and made them deft in finding allegories of the human body and the body politic. These scientists and physicians saw themselves as representing universal laws, advancing natural knowledge, and engaging as equals with colleagues in Europe, Japan, and North America. Science gave them a new platform for communication. In the British Empire, for example in India and Malaya, medical science also proved influential, though it seems lawyers cognizant of precedent and tradition more often dominated decolonization movements. This essay will examine how scientific training shaped anti-colonialism and nationalism in the Philippines and the East Indies, concluding with a brief comparison of the situation in Taiwan.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

'Dejo Olowu

Southern Sudan beyond Self-Determination. Lessons, Challenges and Prospects
in *India Quarterly*, Vol. 67, n°4 , 291-306

After decades of sanguineous struggle for political and economic self-determination, the peoples of South Sudan eventually voted en masse for the emergence of the newest African state: the Republic of Southern Sudan. Beyond the euphoria of national liberation, however, this article traces similar experiences in the assertion of self-determination and how their dynamics could relate to post-liberation Southern Sudan. It is argued that beneath the broadly unifying theme of 'national' resistance to northern oppression lies more complex and ongoing struggles over the ownership and control of core historical narratives, identities, symbols and resources. Despite the pervasive ambience of fear, scepticism and caution in which Southern Sudan will ultimately emerge as a full-fledged sovereign state in July 2011, this article highlights certain variables that could turn out to be the lessons for and from this embryonic state. While not failing to point to the inherent frailties of this new state, this article strongly canvasses the collaboration of internal and external forces in turning Southern Sudan's challenges and opportunities into veritable vehicles for making this entity a successful African story in post-independence nation-building and development as well as a unique contribution to self-determination discourses in an atmosphere of sustainable peace and prosperity.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Lagi S.

Stato e Nazione nel pensiero politico austriaco: Karl Renner e Adolf Fischhof (1869-1899)
in *Pensiero Politico (II)*, Anno XLIV, n. 1, gennaio-aprile 2011

No abstract available



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Boris Dubin

The "Special Path" and the Social Order in Today's Russia

in Russian Social Science Review, Vol. 52, n°6 , 70-90

Research data show that Russians still strongly adhere to the notion of a uniquely Russian path as a source of identity, but that this sense of uniqueness is based more on a negative view of the other than a positive view of the contents of Russian uniqueness. This view reinforces a degree of Russian isolation from the outside world, a sense of being surrounded by hostile forces, and a rejection of the West.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Sidel John T.

The Fate of Nationalism in the New States: Southeast Asia in Comparative Historical Perspective

in Comparative Studies in Society and History, Volume 54, Issue 1, January , 114-144

In two landmark essays published in 1973, the eminent anthropologist Clifford Geertz offered an early assessment of what he termed "The Fate of Nationalism in the New States," referring to the newly independent nation-states of Asia, Africa, and the Middle East. Ranging with characteristic ease and flair across Burma, India, Indonesia, Lebanon, Malaysia, Morocco, and Nigeria, Geertz argued that an "Integrative Revolution" was under way, but one complicated and compromised by the inherent tension between "essentialism" and "epochalism," between "Primordial Sentiments and Civil Politics in the New States." Geertz argued:

The peoples of the new states are simultaneously animated by two powerful, thoroughly interdependent, yet distinct and often actually opposed motives—the desire to be recognized as responsible agents whose wishes, acts, hopes, and opinions "matter," and the desire to build an efficient, dynamic modern state. The one aim is to be noticed: it is a search for identity, and a demand that the identity be publicly acknowledged as having import, a social assertion of the self as "being somebody in the world." The other aim is practical: it is a demand for progress, for a rising standard of living, more effective political order, greater social justice, and beyond that of "playing a part in the larger arena of world politics," of "exercising influence among the nations."

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Gardels Nathan

The Global Populist Revolt: The Tea Party, True Finns and Singing Red

in New Perspectives Quarterly, Vol. 28, Issue 4, Fall , 2-5

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1540-5842.2011.01275.x/abstract>



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Colls Robert

The Lion and the Eunuch: National Identity and the British Genius

in *Political Quarterly* , Volume 82, Issue 4, October-December 2011 , 574-595

The Lion and the Eunuch challenges the failures of British politicians to adequately understand the complexities, and the subtleties, of British national identity, and goes on to define it for them. It also explains reasons for our current confusions over who we are in the world. In 1940 Orwell wrote *The Lion and the Unicorn* as a rallying cry for a richly identifying country that was still able to imagine itself, and re-imagine itself, as the need arose. This essay suggests that without a radical change of government policy and thought, that power will continue to decline with far reaching consequences for the peoples of these islands.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Howard, Joshua

The Making of a National Icon: Commemorating Nie Er, 1935–1949

in *Twentieth-Century China (Official Journal of the Historical Society for Twentieth-Century China)*, Vol. 37, n°1 , 5-29

The choice of his song, "March of the Volunteers," as the PRC's national anthem catapulted Nie Er to fame, but the groundwork for his iconic status began soon after his death in 1935. This article examines the relationship between the politics of commemoration and the development of sonic nationalism, in both its textual and performative dimensions, between 1935 and 1949. I argue that Nie's mass songs both represented and served as media for the expression of a class-inflected nationalism. Leftist cultural workers highlighted Nie's music and compositional method to advocate "popularization" and to reject the popular music associated with Li Jinhui and "academy" music informed by the Western musical tradition. Nie's iconic status derived from a combination of Communist cultural policies, grassroots mobilization in the form of the national salvation choral movement, and the international reception accorded to his "March of the Volunteers" as mediated by Liu Liangmo and Paul Robeson.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Bromwich David

The Meaning of Patriotism in 1789

in *Dissent*, Summer 2011

If you look at recent academic discussions about the good and bad energies brought into play by patriotism, you are struck by a certain elusiveness regarding the commitment of the commentators. Patriotism, the love of our country, is sometimes presented as a profound requirement of human nature; yet it is admitted that some people are more urgently moved by patriotism than others, and that the feeling is acquired and not innate. More often, patriotism is treated as a contingent good. The analogy is with religious belief. It is said that good people do not need to believe in God, but most people cherish such a belief, and it acts as a restraint on the viciousness of people who are not good, so we ought not to



speak against religion. Indeed, we ought to encourage it as an engine of moral unification and restraint. So too with the love of one's country. It is often defended or deferred to by scholars as a contingent good, beneficial to many people and not to be shunned by any...

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Akbaba Yasemin, Fox Jonathan

The Religion and State-Minorities dataset

in **Journal of Peace Research**, Volume 48, Number 6, November , 807-816

This article presents the Religion and State-Minorities (RASM) dataset addressing its design, collection, and utility. RASM codes religious discrimination by governments against all 566 minorities in 175 countries which make a minimum population cutoff. It includes 24 specific types of religious discrimination coded yearly from 1990 to 2002. Religious discrimination measures the absence of the human right of religious freedom which includes limits on religious practices such as worship as well as limits on religious institutions such as churches and mosques which are not placed on the majority group. Thus the dataset focuses on the restriction of religious group rights. Most similar datasets, including those that focus on human rights in general, include a single discrimination score for a country. RASM is the first to contain an accounting of religious discrimination against all relevant religious minorities on an individual basis while avoiding some methodological problems of previous similar data collections. In order to demonstrate the utility of the dataset, we examine the relationship between religious identity and religious discrimination. We find that both majority and minority identities matter in predicting the treatment of religious minorities. This demonstration that codings for individual minorities add to our understanding of the correlates of religious discrimination is illustrative of the potential uses of this dataset. It also indicates that this type of data can be useful in other types of studies where dyads based on religious identity are relevant, such as studies of ethnic conflict and civil war.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Voronkova Ol'ga A., Sidorova Aleksandra A., Kryshtanovskaia Ol'ga V.

The Russian Establishment. Paths and Means of Renewal

in **Russian politics and law**, vol. 50, n. 1, January-February , 84-100

The authors analyze the changing structure of the Russian government elite in terms of age, length of service, place of birth, level and type of education, and work experience. They discuss the respective roles played by loyalty and professionalism as mechanisms of elite recruitment.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Rozov Nikolai S.

The Specific Nature of "Russian State Power". Its Mental Structures, Ritual Practices, and Institutions

in **Russian politics and law**, vol. 50, n. 1, January-February , 36-53

The author develops a dynamic theory of "Russian state power" as an ideal type and emphasizes the roles played by



frames, symbols, and rituals. He considers the conditions under which the cycle of disintegration and restoration of authoritarian regimes may be broken.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Eugster Beatrice, Strijbis Oliver

The Swiss: A Political Nation?

in *Swiss Political Science Review - Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft - Revue suisse de science politique*, Volume 17, Issue 4, December 2011 , 394–416

Abstract: Proponents of constitutional patriotism advocate the promotion of a political national identity. Whether a national identity founded on common political values is viable, however, remains a matter of dispute. The Swiss nation is one of the few empirical cases cited by those who argue that a political national identity can be a sufficient guarantor of institutional stability and social coherence; indeed, Switzerland is widely regarded as a prototype of the political nation. The aim of our analysis is to empirically test this claim. In doing so, we rely on classical typologies of national identity. We propose to use a more finely graded typology than the usual dichotomies, however – one which allows for combined types – and to focus on individual perceptions of national identity at the mass- and elite-levels. The empirical analysis of whether the Swiss nation can correctly be classified as a political nation draws on data from mass and MP surveys. Our conclusion is that the Swiss imagine their nation in both political and cultural terms, and the essence of their cultural identity is Swiss linguistic pluralism and regional diversity.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Hughes Steven C.

The limits of cultural nationalism: Italian Switzerland from a risorgimento perspective

in *Nations and Nationalism*, Volume 18, Issue 1, January 2012 , 57-77

ABSTRACT. This article critiques the 'cultural turn' in Italian Risorgimento historiography by examining Italian Switzerland, and specifically Ticino. This area paradoxically aided and abetted Italian patriots, especially Giuseppe Mazzini, yet rejected becoming part of the Italian national project. This paradox is heightened by the fact that the vast majority of the Italian nationalist literary canon, as identified by Alberto Maria Banti, was republished in Ticino. The paradox is explained in terms of the conflict between long-standing traditions of local autonomy and the idea of any form of uniform or centralised control, as originally represented by the Cisalpine Republic and then by both versions (Napoleonic and Piedmontese) of the Kingdom of Italy. However, I also use Banti's cultural concepts to demonstrate the creation of a powerful counter-myth of Italian Swiss nationalism in the character of William Tell.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Dixon Paul

The politics of conflict: a constructivist critique of consociational and civil society theories

in *Nations and Nationalism*, Volume 18, Issue 1, January 2012 , 98–121



The full text is free:

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1469-8129.2011.00503.x/full>

ABSTRACT. This article presents a (critical realist) constructivist critique of both consociational and civil society/transformationist approaches and their crude understandings of politics and the prospects for political change. Consociationalism's primordialist or essentialist foundation leads it towards a world-weary, pessimistic, conservative realism about how far 'divided societies' may be transformed. Advocates of the civil society approach, in contrast, take an instrumentalist view of identity and are optimistic that a radical transformation can be achieved by mobilising the people against 'hard-line' political representatives. The constructivist approach can provide a framework in which a more complex and nuanced understanding of identities is possible. This better equips us for understanding the prospects of bringing about desirable political change. The first part of this article is a critique of Nagle and Clancy's consociationalism. The second part provides a brief outline of a constructivist critique of both the consociational and civil society understandings of politics and their contribution to understanding the politics of managing conflict.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Varvaro Paolo

Tra fascismo e Resistenza: il lungo cammino del secondo Risorgimento

in Ventunesimo Secolo. Rivista di Studi sulle Transizioni, Anno X, n. 26, novembre

Albeit abused during the rhetoric of Fascism, the word homeland acquired an outdated meaning during the Resistance. Benedetto Croce believed that love for one's homeland – corroded by rhetoric – had been mortified by Fascist Nationalism. It was thus being resumed in its original form, "a peculiar form, closer to us, embracing all of mankind and serving all of mankind". Croce concluded that being the idea of homeland a moral idea, "it is intimately bound to the idea of freedom". The historic bond the Liberal philosopher suggested aimed at reminding the Risorgimento about the Resistenza, in the representation of a common idea of freedom which characterized – albeit in different contexts – Italy's birth and rebirth. The following step was the definition of the liberation movement seen as a "second Risorgimento", thus confirming a historic simplification which classified the Fascist experience as an adulterated product of Italian history.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Davies Stephen

Trade, Mercantilism and Nation-Building

in Economic Affairs, Volume 31, Issue 3, October 2011 , pages 18–22

Most treatments of protectionism by economists try to account for the departure on a case-by-case basis. However, protectionism is often an element in a systematic political economy. This was developed by authors such as List, and persists today. Debating it requires normative as well as analytical arguments in a political economy approach.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Kunze Thomas, Vogel Thomas



Von der Sowjetunion in die Unabhängigkeit

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 49-50, 2011

The full text is free:

www.bpb.de/publikationen/FEHO7F,0,Von_der_Sowjetunion_in_die_Unabh%E4ngigkeit.html

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Einleitung

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Nationale Identitäten

Ausblick

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Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Robert G. Parkinson,

War and the Imperative of Union

in *William and Mary Quarterly*, Volume 68, number 4, October

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Melchionni Maria Grazia

Emilio Colombo: aspetti del pensiero e momenti dell'azione politica europea

in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Volume 78, n. 3, luglio-settembre , 331-344

This article reproduces, with some more details, the story told to Alessandra Peralta, film maker at Rai Educational, by Maria Grazia Melchionni on November 27, 2010 in Rome. It aims at showing how Emilio Colombo, who has been a protagonist on the European scene for more than thirty years – either as Minister of Agriculture, Minister of Industry and External Commerce, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Minister of Treasury, President of the Council of the Italian Republic, either as member of the Monnet Committee and President of the European Parliament –, contributed to building a united Europe. His conception of Europe appears to have been very similar to that of the Founding Fathers, particularly of his master of Europe Jean Monnet with whom he kept in friendly and respectfully for many years. In several of the remarkable events that shaped European integration's history Colombo played a prominent role, which is precisely reconstructed in this article as far as concerning the negotiations for the Common Agricultural Policy, the 'empty chair' crisis, the Colombo-Genscher Act and the Declaration of the Nine on the Middle East, issued at Venice on June 13, 1980, thanks also to number of oral history sources.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Light Paul C.

Federalist No. 1: How Would Publius Define Good Government Today?

in **Public Administration Review**, Volume 71, Issue Supplement s1 , s7–s14

Federalist No. 1 sets the basic framework for interpreting the U.S. Constitution. It contains an implied definition of “good government” that occupied the founders as they built a stronger national government. This essay explains the conflict embedded in the debate between the two theories of good government offered by Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson and asks how the competing definitions might be reconciled with recent experience.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Newbold Stephanie P.

Federalist No. 27: Is Transparency Essential for Public Confidence in Government?

in **Public Administration Review**, Volume 71, Issue Supplement s1 , s47–s52

One of the great themes of The Federalist Papers is that good government is dependent on good administration. In Federalist No. 27, Publius underscores two important themes. First, he argues that in order to preserve citizen confidence in government, there must be competent administration, and second, he maintains the need for a strong national government to safeguard the republican principles embedded within the Constitution. Publius's contribution to democratic theory and American republicanism proves as enlightening today as it was when he first published this essay in 1787, and it continues to provide important lessons for public administration and the democratic governance process.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Maestri Gabriele

Gianfranco Miglio: il contributo al dibattito federalista in Italia e il 'falso federalismo' tedesco

in **Federalismi**, Anno IX- Nr. 21

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Lang Michael

Globalization and Global History in Toynbee



in *Journal of World History*, Volume 22, Number 4, December , 747-783

Abstract:

This article traces the intellectual history of Arnold J. Toynbee. It centers on early twentieth-century British social thought and its synthesis of idealism and evolution. Toynbee used this framework to interpret imperial and international affairs, and, like his mentors, he focused especially on the unprecedented, progressive possibilities of global integration. With the failure of the Paris Peace Conference, however, Toynbee began to regard globalization as a contradiction between social unity and spiritual disjuncture. *A Study of History*, his endeavor to bring historical writing into its global present, followed from this opposition, which he sought to explain and hoped to resolve. By the mid 1930s, world events finally overwhelmed Toynbee's commitment to the old conceptual synthesis. He returned to such thinking after World War II, but his brief declaration of methodological limitations illuminated for historical study the antinomy of the global scale.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Benhabib Seyla

Habermas: An Intellectual Biography by Matthew G. Specter

in *Constellations*, Vol. 18, Issue 4, December , 589-595

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1467-8675.2011.00660.x/abstract>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Albertini Mario

Il federalismo e la crisi dell'impegno politico giovanile

in *Federalista (Il)/Federalist (The)*, Anno LIII, n. 2 , 133-135

<http://www.thefederalist.eu/files/PDF/IT/2000/2011-2-IT.pdf>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Di Nuoscio, Heritier e Silvestri, Ocone, Felice

Il liberalismo di Einaudi

in *Reset*, Numero 127, Settembre / Ottobre

A 50 anni dalla morte del primo presidente eletto con la Costituzione.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea



Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Bosetti Giancarlo

Il nostro presidente su Einaudi: libertà e riformismo

in **Reset**, Numero 128, Novembre / Dicembre

Alla terza grande sfida cui sono chiamate – la ricostruzione nel 1945, il crollo del muro di Berlino nel 1989, la crisi dell'euro oggi – le élite europee sono arrivate fino sull'orlo di un fallimento. La tesi che Giorgio Napolitano, il Presidente della Repubblica, consegna in una lettera a «Reset» è che le leadership politiche arrivano «in affanno» a un appuntamento che avrebbe dovuto essere quello di un deciso passo avanti nell'integrazione dell'Unione Europea. Non sembrano essere all'altezza della prova perché condizionate e impaurite dalla necessità di un riscontro elettorale a breve termine, al seguito di un elettorato altrettanto impaurito. E nello stesso tempo non riescono a ristabilire un legame forte di condivisione con quegli stessi elettori che i leader politici blandiscono e temono.

<http://www.reset.it/magazine/128/356>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Vannucci Andrea

Il ruolo della Germania nel processo di costruzione della Federazione europea nei primi scritti di Altiero Spinelli

in **Federalismi**, Anno IX- Nr. 21

Andrea Vannucci

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Bennington Geoffrey

Kant's Open Secret

in **Theory, Culture & Society**, Volume 28, n. 7-8, December , 26-40

It is argued that Kant's claimed reconciliation of politics and ethics in the Appendix to 'Perpetual Peace' founders on an irreducible element of secrecy that no amount of 'publicity' could ever dissipate. This shows up figuratively in images of veiling, and more especially in the paradoxical 'very transparent veil' associated with British politics in a footnote to 'The Contest of Faculties'. This figure suggests that the structure of the 'public' itself involves a kind of transcendental secrecy that cannot be 'publicly' overcome, and that public space therefore cannot become fully visible to itself. This structural problem, it is claimed, prevents Kant from securing his proposed distinctions between the 'moral politician' and the 'political moralist', and between 'political prudence' or expediency and 'political wisdom'. A similar problem reappears in the supplementary 'Secret Article' that Kant includes in the second edition of 'Perpetual Peace', which specifies, 'secretly', that heads of state should take secret counsel from the open and public discussions of philosophers. In giving away this secret, even as he declares it to be a secret, Kant essentially repeats the gesture of revealing the violent origin of the state, shown in the 'Rechtslehre' to be illegal, and in so doing condemns the philosopher at best to a kind of exile with respect to political time and space, a marginal place that is here aligned with the place of 'ius aequivocum'



addressed in the Appendix to the Introduction to the 'Rechtslehre', where appeals to equity on the one hand and the right of necessity on the other are described as being inaudible in the system of public right. It is suggested that these marginal and equivocal places all show up an internal frontier in the transcendental account of public space, and that this frontier zone, the very place of politics, sets a limit to the prospects of Enlightenment itself. In conclusion, it is proposed that thinking through these problems would require less a turn toward ethics than a rereading of the concept of nature, on the basis of its Heraclitean penchant for hiding or veiling itself.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Gilles Gauthier

La généalogie de la position fédéraliste de Claude Ryan au Devoir

in **Politique et sociétés**, revue de la **Société québécoise de science politique**, Volume 29, numéro 3 , 77-95

À ses premières années à la direction du Devoir (1964-1968), Claude Ryan adopte sur la question nationale une attitude ouverte de recherche. Bien qu'adhérant à des a priori fédéralistes, il conçoit comme envisageable et légitime le projet de souveraineté du Québec. C'est seulement au moment où le débat se durcit en s'incarnant dans l'affrontement entre René Lévesque et Pierre Elliot Trudeau que Ryan bascule franchement du côté fédéraliste. Il a cherché, auparavant, à définir la « spécificité du Québec » par des concepts d'égalité et de dualité. Sa reconnaissance du Québec comme société distincte et sa proposition d'un statut particulier s'arc-boutent sur un anationalisme : tenir à l'écart la question de la nation.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Bosetti Giancarlo

Luigi Einaudi e l'Italia di oggi

in **Reset**, Numero 127, Settembre / Ottobre

Quello che più spaventa della tempesta finanziaria e dei venti di recessione è proprio il ritorno in scena di un incubo, che viene da lontano, che credevamo non riguardasse mai più noi, qui, in Italia, in Europa: è la paura stessa a spaventare nelle sue dimensioni crescenti, un contagio che si insinua a corrodere le certezze che pensavamo acquisite, la solidità delle grandi banche come quella di tante piccole imprese, la garanzia delle pensioni, dei risparmi, di uno standard di servizi di cui capitava di lamentarsi, che pensavamo casomai di migliorare, ma che davamo per scontati.

<http://www.reset.it/magazine/127/344>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Mazzini, la Giovine Polonia e gli esuli polacchi in Europa occidentale

in **Clio - Rivista trimestrale di studi storici**, a. 46, n. 3



No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Mehta Harish C.

North Vietnam's Informal Diplomacy with Bertrand Russell: Peace Activism and the International War Crimes Tribunal

in **Peace & Change**, vol. 37, issue 1, january , 64-94

ABSTRACT: This article offers a new interpretation of the combined peace activism of the British philosopher-activist Bertrand Russell and the North Vietnamese. Three new perspectives are offered on their global activism, which had a significant—but grossly understated—impact on the U.S. government. First, the article writes ordinary Vietnamese people into the diplomacy of the Vietnam War, which has largely been written from the perspective of powerful world leaders. Second, it shows that the North Vietnamese performed an important, though unacknowledged, role in the creation of the Russell war crimes tribunal that put the United States on trial in 1967. Finally, the article presents evidence of the Russell tribunal's considerable impact on the U.S. government. It shows that the Lyndon Johnson administration made plans to respond to the tribunal by holding its own “counter seminar.” The administration also launched a propaganda campaign to discredit Russell tribunal staff.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Luciano Gallino

Olivetti, capitalista democratico

in **MicroMega**, n. 8, 2011

Ormai da qualche decennio siamo stati abituati a pensare – indottrinati da ‘maestri’ del liberismo come Milton Friedman e dalle varie traduzioni pratico-divulgative del suo pensiero – che l'unica responsabilità sociale dell'impresa sia quella di fare buoni affari (per gli azionisti). Ma esiste un modo diverso di produrre, fondato sul riconoscimento della dignità del lavoro, sull'investimento nell'innovazione, sulla valorizzazione del territorio: è il modello della Olivetti, una lezione industriale niente affatto superata nel tempo della competizione globale.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Watt Fergus

Peace Today in a Globalized World

in **Federalist Debate (The)**, Year XXIV, n. 3, November , 42-45

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

Section D) Federalism as a political idea



Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Ashkenazi Ofer

Reframing the Interwar Peace Movement: The Curious Case of Albert Einstein
in *Journal of Contemporary History*, Volume 46, Issue 4, October , 741-766

The diversity of transnational interrelations within the peace movement has been commonly overlooked in studies on the anti-war struggle in the interwar years. Consequently, these studies have often provided an over-simplified view of the formation of anti-war ideologies, worldviews, and objectives. Contrary to this tendency, this article examines Albert Einstein's engagement with the peace movement in a way that emphasizes its transnational facets. Associating Einstein's worldview with ideas that were prevalent in transnational organizations in the decade preceding the second world war, it explains the scientist's propensity to endorse seemingly incompatible ideas as inherent to the nature of these organizations. Focusing on his relationships with two apparently contradictory organizations – the War Resisters' International and The New Commonwealth Society – I argue that Einstein's views reflect a set of principles that were held by many supporters of both organizations. Mainly, these principles constituted a revision of nineteenth-century liberal thought which sought to marginalize the impact of nationalist sentiments, redefine the social responsibilities of the state, and restrict its sovereignty. Thus, shifting the emphasis to the transnational aspects of the peace movement would not only make sense of Einstein's 'confused' politics, but also shed new light on interwar pacifism, its objectives, popularity, and enduring influence.

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Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Urbinati Nadia

Republicanism after the French Revolution: The Case of Sismonde de Sismondi
in *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Volume 73, Number 1, January , 95-109

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Vatter Miguel

The People Shall Be Judge - Reflective Judgment and Constituent Power in Kant's Philosophy of Law
in *Political Theory* , Volume 39, n. 6, December , 749-776

This essay offers an interpretation of Kant's republicanism in light of the problem of political judgment. Kant is sometimes thought to base his conception of law on an idea of sovereignty drawn from Hobbes and Rousseau, which would leave little room for popular contestation of the state. In this essay, I reconstruct Kant's account of the rule of law by bringing out the importance of his theory of judgment. I argue that for Kant the civil condition is ultimately characterized by a contest between the judgment of the sovereign and the judgment of the people, which corresponds to the determinative and reflective employments of political judgment, respectively. On this view, popular sovereignty is ultimately located in the people's power to judge politically and contest publicly the state.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Napolitano Giorgio

Un'eredità per il riformismo e per tutti

in *Reset*, Numero 128, Novembre / Dicembre

<http://www.reset.it/magazine/128>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Giordano Filippo Maria

Willem Adolph Visser't Hooft e il federalismo europeo. Dalla Resistenza alle iniziative per l'unità europea nel dopoguerra

in *Cittadinanza europea (La)*, Fascicolo 2 - 2011

Con questo contributo l'autore vuole introdurre al lettore la personalità del pastore e teologo olandese W. A. Visser't Hooft, una delle figure più rilevanti del protestantesimo riformato della prima metà del XX secolo. L'articolo mira a ricostruire la figura del primo Segretario generale del Consiglio ecumenico delle Chiese attraverso la genesi del suo pensiero europeista e l'attività di coordinamento della Resistenza europea a Ginevra. Il contributo si articola in tre parti, ciascuna delle quali affronta cronologicamente un passaggio della riflessione politica di Visser't Hooft, da cui emerge chiaramente la volontà di affermare l'idea di una federazione europea, quale superamento definitivo dell'ideologia nazionalista e della guerra.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Vayssière Bertrand

« Mettre les parlementaires européens devant leurs responsabilités » : l'action fédéraliste auprès du Conseil de l'Europe (1949-1951)

in *Parlement(s): revue d'histoire politique*, n. 16, février

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Lemke Thomas

'Marx sans les guillemets'. Foucault, la gouvernementalité et la critique du libéralisme

in *Actuel Marx*, N° spécial (octobre 2011)

No abstract available



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Skinner Richard M., Masket Seth E., Dulio David A.

527 Committees and the Political Party Network

in *American Politics Research*, Vol. 40, n. 1, January , 60-84

We investigate the links between 527s and other political organizations through the employment histories of 527 staff. We find that 527s are highly central to modern political party networks and are in positions to facilitate coordination within a party and to employ key party personnel. Furthermore, we find important differences between the networks charted out by the two major parties. The Republican Party, the majority party during the period under study, had a more hierarchical network than the Democratic Party did.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Coen David, Alasdair Roberts

A New Age of Uncertainty

in *Governance*, Vol. 25, n. 1, January , 5-9

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1468-0491.2011.01559.x/abstract>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Malesky Edmund J., Merchant-Vega Nina

A Peek under the Engine Hood: The Methodology of Subnational Economic Governance Indices

in *Hague Journal on the Rule of Law*, Vol. 3. issue 2 , 186-219

In recent years, The Asia Foundation (The Foundation) has conducted a series of Economic Governance Indexes (EGIs) in countries throughout South and Southeast Asia including Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Vietnam, Cambodia, and Indonesia. EGIs are country-specific diagnostic tools used to assess and rank sub-national units (provinces, states, districts, etc.) on various aspects of their regulatory environments.

This article reviews the basic theoretical and programmatic rationale for the EGI. The overall rationale for this tool stems from the idea that economic governance impacts private sector development – independent of structural endowments such as location, infrastructure, and human capital. Therefore, good economic governance practices explain why some sub-national units out-perform others in spite of having similar initial endowments. EGIs have become an important tool to provide relevant economic governance information to policy makers, business leaders and citizens. Examining the methodological principles underlying the index approach, this article also describes how the three primary EGI methodological elements anticipate potential pitfalls and how they have been addressed within the methodology.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Klabbers Jan

**Accountability for Human Rights Violations by International Organisations
in International Organizations Law Review**, vol. 8, n. 1 , 273-278

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Mark Sedra

**Afghanistan and the folly of apolitical demilitarisation
in Conflict, Security, and Development**, Volume 11, Issue 4 , 473-496

Demilitarisation is widely viewed as a key to the success of stabilisation and peace-building operations in post-conflict environments. Although a highly politically sensitive process that, in effect, seeks to re-order power relations, demilitarisation efforts tend to be treated by international actors as an apolitical, technical exercise. The disconnect between the heightened political stakes of demilitarisation and the marginal investment of political capital to advance it has undermined implementation time and time again. A classic case study of this phenomenon is Afghanistan after 2001, which saw the launch of one of the most ambitious and expensive DDR programmes in history with only tepid political engagement from key local and international stakeholders. This paper will argue that the failure to build a robust political consensus on demilitarisation among both domestic and international stakeholders doomed the Afghan process to failure.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Albena Azmanova

**After the Left–Right (Dis)continuum: Globalization and the Remaking of Europe’s Ideological Geography
in International Political Sociology** , Volume 5, Issue 4 , 384–407

This article examines the status of globalization as a causal factor in political mobilization and proposes a research agenda for diagnosing the impact of global socio-economic dynamics on ideological orientation in national polities. Focusing on Europe’s established democracies, the article outlines recent shifts in Europe’s ideological landscape and explores the mechanisms generating a new pattern of political conflict and electoral competition. It advances the hypothesis that the knowledge economy of open borders has brought about a political cleavage intimately linked to citizens’ perceptions of the social impact of global economic integration. In this context, the polarization of life chances is determined by institutionally mediated exposure to both the economic opportunities and the hazards of globalization. Fostered by the increasing relevance of the international for state-bound publics, new fault-lines of social conflict are emerging, giving shape to a new, “opportunity-risk,” axis of political competition. As the novel political cleavage challenges the conventional left–right divide, it is likely to radically alter Europe’s ideological geography.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Sandro Paolo

An Axiomatic Theory of Law

in *Res Publica*, Volume 17, Number 4, November , 343-354

This paper presents in outline Luigi Ferrajoli's axiomatic and general theory of law, as developed in his lifelong work *Principia Iuris*. The first section focuses on the three main aspects of the theory: the methodological, the theoretical and the pragmatic, which respectively represent the theory's syntax, semantics and its pragmatics. Ferrajoli identifies three deontic gaps of norms: firstly, the one between their validity and efficacy; secondly, the one between their justice and validity; and finally, and most importantly, the one between validity and existence (i.e. normative force). The presence of such gaps is, according to Ferrajoli, the extraordinary innovation that entrenched constitutions have brought into modern legal systems, by establishing norms that are superior to statutes and case law. In this sense, all normative phenomena (except for the constitution itself) can be conceived both as norms and as facts. In the second section the role of juridical science is briefly discussed.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Lo Alex Y

Analysis and democracy: the antecedents of the deliberative approach of ecosystems valuation

in *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, Volume 29, Issue 6, December , 958-974

As a political institution, open deliberation on public policy can enhance legitimacy and procedural justice. As a science, decision-aiding deliberative procedures can help overcome bounded rationality of individuals. Integrating the two modes of inquiry would be perfect for capturing the plural values of the environment. However, the analytic requirements seem to point in a different direction from the political ideals. Legitimacy problems arise when the supposedly unconstrained process is professionally 'guided'. But rigorous decision aids fail to work without some degree of cognitive guidance. A trend in ecosystems valuation research is the use of analytic techniques in the deliberative processes of value articulation. In this paper an analytic – deliberative approach is assessed against a deliberative democracy theory. This approach seeks to facilitate deliberation within individuals and to engineer preference towards instrumental rationality. The evaluative framework allows predetermination of the range of outcomes. Little room has been made for value debates, thus the moral need for actual discussion is weak. Being expert centred, the framework provides constricted spaces for empowerment. Alternative expressions unintelligible to the science may be put at a disadvantage. The scope for a reflexive democratic institution appears limited. A promising deliberative valuation approach should be integrative, including analytic and political elements as complementary to each other, and should be democratic in its production.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Levy Carl

Anarchism and cosmopolitanism

in *Journal of Political Ideologies* , Volume 16, Number 3 / October , 265-278



Until recently, the relationship between theories of international anarchy and anarchism has been ignored. Very recent work has started to bridge the gap between International Relations theory and the usefulness of anarchism and anarchist theory for the understanding of global politics. This article takes this discussion one step further by examining the relationship between classical anarchism (1860s–1940s), cosmopolitanism, post-anarchism and the global justice movement. It then investigates the linkages between the works of the 19th- and 20th-century anarchists, Rudolf Rocker and Gustav Landauer, and contemporary examinations of the linkages between cultural nationalism, cosmopolitanism and the classical and post-anarchist projects.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Carte Alan

Anarchism: some theoretical foundations

in *Journal of Political Ideologies*, Volume 16, Number 3 / October, 245-264

This article considers two different, yet related, theoretical approaches that could be employed to ground the anarchist critique of Marxist-Leninist revolutionary practice, and thus of the state in general: the State-Primacy Theory and the Quadruplex Theory. The State-Primacy Theory appears to be consistent with several of Bakunin's claims about the state. However, the Quadruplex Theory might, in fact, turn out to be no less consistent with Bakunin's claims than the State-Primacy Theory. In addition, the Quadruplex Theory seems no less capable of supporting the anarchist critique of Marxism-Leninism than the State-Primacy Theory. The article concludes by considering two possible refinements that might be made to the Quadruplex Theory.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Schenker David

Arab Spring or Islamist Winter?

in *World Affairs*, Vol. 16, n. 1, January / February

The end of authoritarian regimes is a positive development, but disillusionment has grown in the Middle East and the West as theocratic forces threaten to reverse the progress of last year's revolutions.

<http://www.worldaffairsjournal.org/symposia/arab-spring-or-islamist-winter-three-views>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Abdul-Hussain Hussain

Arab Spring or Islamist Winter?

in *World Affairs*, Vol. 16, n. 1, January / February



Mohamed Bouazizi, a twenty-six-year-old street vendor, is given credit for touching off the Arab Spring by setting himself on fire to protest the arrogance and corruption of the Tunisian government, but in fact the massive changes associated with this movement had been brewing for some time, with US policy toward the region playing a major role in their development.

<http://www.worldaffairsjournal.org/article/arab-spring-or-islamist-winter-1>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Totten Michael J.

Arab Spring or Islamist Winter?

in *World Affairs*, Vol. 16, n. 1, January / February

The number of genuinely liberal democracies to emerge soon in the Arab world is likely to be one or zero.

<http://www.worldaffairsjournal.org/symposia/arab-spring-or-islamist-winter-three-views>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Kammerhofer Jörg

Begging The Question? The Kosovo Opinion And The Reformulation Of Advisory Requests

in *Netherlands International Law Review*, Vol. 58, issue 3 , 409-424

The ICJ's 2010 Kosovo advisory opinion opens many interesting avenues of research, but one feature may have been overlooked in the recent commentary on the opinion: in answering the question put, the Court reformulated or changed it. Whether the Court may do so will be discussed in this article. The Court obviously felt that it was entitled to do what it had earlier done, but this is not enough to justify it doing so. This article proceeds in three steps. First, the case law of the PCIJ and the ICJ on the issue is reviewed. Second, the Kosovo opinion is discussed in the light of the precedents. Third, and centrally, the legal framework together with the doctrinal opinions and theoretical considerations is discussed to answer the question whether the Court may change the question. Concluding, this article opines that – whenever interpretation becomes change – the Court is prohibited from doing so by Article 107 of the Rules of Court.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Sassen Saskia

Borders, Walls, and Crumbling Sovereignty

in *Political Theory* , Volume 40, n. 1, February , 116-122

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea



Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Shenggen Fan

Cash-strapped Europe should still do more to tackle global poverty

in *Europe's World*, Issue 19, Autumn

The EU is beset by problems at home and abroad, but that doesn't mean it can't do much more to alleviate the hunger that is the constant scourge of one billion people. Shenggen Fan sets out a checklist of actions that Europe's aid donors have yet to take.

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21915/language/en-US/Default.aspx

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Napolitano Giorgio

Centocinquanta anni di unità dell'Italia

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLIII, numero speciale, n. 165 , 14-26

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

N. Fobih

Challenges to Party Development and Democratic Consolidation: Perspectives on Reforming Ghana's Institutional Framework

in *Journal of Asian and African Studies* , Vol. 46, No. 6, December , 578-592

The second half of the twentieth century witnessed the emergence of the party system and democracy in African countries, for example Ghana, in the period preceding the postcolonial era. This article looks at some of the challenges facing Ghana's democratic consolidation and party development, and some of the institutional benchmarks required to help to promote effectively an accountable, participatory and democratic party system in the country in order to consolidate further its democracy. The study concludes with the view that regardless of their apparent weaknesses, political parties in Ghana are generally important institutions that grease the wheels of the country's democratic governance in the post-transition era.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Mitsuru Kitano

China's Foreign Strategy

in *Asia Pacific Review*, Volume 18, Issue 2 , 37-59

This article introduces four trends of China's foreign strategy. Analysis of China's diplomacy since the 1980s based on



these concepts demonstrates China's intent to become a great power and its aspirations for a China-centric order.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Willett Thomas, Chiu Eric M.P., Dechsakulthorn Sirathorn (B.J.), Ghosh Ramya, Kibesse Bernard, Kim Kenneth, Kim Jeff (Yongbok), Ouyang Alice

Classifying international aspects of currency regimes

in *Journal of Financial Economic Policy*, Volume 3 issue 4 , pp. 288 - 303

Purpose – There has been significant interest in the classification of exchange rate regimes in order to investigate a wide range of hypotheses. Studies of the effects of exchange rate regimes on crises and other aspects of economic performance can have important implications for policy choices. The paper provides a guide to the major new large data sets that classify exchange rate regimes and to critically analyze important methodological issues.

Design/methodology/approach – The study surveys and critiques the literature and provides theoretical analysis of major issues involved in classifying exchange rate regimes.

Findings – The study finds that all of the new data sets have problems but some have more problems than others and several of them are substantial improvements on what was previously available. It is also shown that the best ways to classify depend on the issue being addressed and that for detailed studies variants of measures using the concept of exchange market pressure are the most promising. Directions for future research are also discussed.

Originality/value – The paper makes researchers aware of the new data sets that are available and discusses their strengths and weaknesses. It also presents original analysis of several of the major conceptual issues involved in classifying exchange rate regimes.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Frantzeskaki Niki, Koppenjan Joop, Loorbach Derk, Ryan Neal

Concluding editorial: Sustainability transitions and their governance: lessons and next-step challenges

in *International Journal of Sustainable Development*, Volume 15, Issue 1-2 , 173-186

In this concluding editorial, we present the central observations regarding the theoretical, empirical and methodological explorations of the various articles that make up this special issue on the governability of societal transitions towards sustainability. We elaborate on the specific contributions of each article to the governance of sustainability transitions and the transition management approach and identify interesting similarities and differences between the various articles. Next, we revisit the guiding questions we formulated in the introductory editorial, and we answer these questions by synthesising the contributions of the eight articles regarding: 1) which theoretical perspectives are fruitful; 2) which empirical pathways and governance principles are available and valuable for governing sustainability transitions; 3) what we learnt about the governability of sustainability transitions; 4) how special sustainability transitions are as far as efforts to govern them are concerned; 5) which normative issues are at stake when attempting to govern sustainability transitions. We conclude the present editorial with an agenda of next challenges for both the practice and the study of the governance of sustainability transitions.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Chiassoni Pierluigi

Constitutionalism Out of a Positivist Mind Cast: The Garantismo Way

in Res Publica, Volume 17, Number 4, November , 327-342

Among contemporary forms of constitutionalism, Luigi Ferrajoli's Garantismo may be considered as the rather unfashionable attempt to build up a comprehensive and multi-layered theory, which still takes seriously the positivist heritage. This paper offers, in brief outline, a synthetic view of the social setting, the philosophical background, and the basic features of this conception of constitutionalism, when compared with legal positivism and other mainstream forms of (neo)constitutionalism.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Ndahinda Felix

Contrasted Perspectives on Recognition and Implementation of Indigenous Rights

in International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights, Volume 18, Number 4, "Contrasted Perspectives on Recognition and Implementation of Indigenous Rights" , 413-418

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Tronti Leonello

Crisi e scambio politico. Impresa, territorio, comunità

in Biblioteca della Libertà, Anno XLVI, n. 202, Settembre-Dicembre

La bassa crescita e le perduranti difficoltà dell'economia italiana pongono il tema del disegno di un nuovo modello di sviluppo, che consenta al paese di riprendere il cammino di progresso interrotto ormai più di 15 anni fa. Se a livello macroeconomico l'obiettivo è di riequilibrare lo scambio politico «masochistico» che ha prodotto in Italia salari più bassi e prezzi più alti che nei partner europei, a livello microeconomico occorre una pervasiva reingegnerizzazione dei luoghi di lavoro fondata sulla partecipazione cognitiva dei lavoratori al processo produttivo, che va sostenuta con innovazioni tanto tecnologiche quanto organizzative. Vengono definite le linee di rinnovamento dell'impresa italiana, tenendo conto della necessità di plasmarne l'organizzazione al fine di valorizzare il capitale umano e di trasformare le qualifiche possedute dalla manodopera in competenze polifunzionali effettivamente agite. Viene analizzato il tema del riconoscimento della comunità di lavoro di appartenenza, avendo a riferimento essenzialmente l'impresa o il territorio. Il saggio evidenzia pregi e difetti di entrambe le alternative, mettendo in luce l'utilità dell'applicazione dell'art. 46 della Costituzione come necessario elemento di riequilibrio, nella contrattazione, del potere datoriale fortemente rafforzato dal nuovo contesto globalizzato.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Kyong Chun Wendy Hui

Crisis, Crisis, Crisis, or Sovereignty and Networks

in Theory, Culture & Society, Volume 28, n. 6, November , 91-112

This article addresses the seemingly paradoxical proliferation of coded systems designed to guarantee our safety and crises that endanger us. These two phenomena, it argues, are not opposites but rather complements; crises are not accidental to a culture focused on safety, they are its *raison d'être*. Mapping out the temporality of networks, it argues that crises are new media's critical difference: its exception and its norm. Although crises promise to disrupt memory – to disturb the usual programmability of our machines by indexing 'real time' – they reinforce codes and coded logic: both codes and crises are central to the production of mythical and mystical sovereign subjects who weld together norm with reality, word with action. Codes and states of exception are complementary functions, which render information and ourselves undead. Against this fantasy and against the exhaustion that crisis as norm produces, the article ends by arguing that we need a means to exhaust exhaustion, to recover the undecidable potential of our decisions and our information through a practice of constant care.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Brunkhorst Hauke

Critique of Dualism: Hans Kelsen and the Twentieth Century Revolution in International Law

in Constellations, Vol. 18, Issue 4, December , 496-512

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1467-8675.2011.00655.x/abstract>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Posner Paul, Blondal Jon

Democracies and Deficits: Prospects for Fiscal Responsibility in Democratic Nations

in Governance, Vol. 25, n. 1, January , 11-34

The financial crisis had significant implications for the fiscal positions of OECD. As nations seek to cope with the economic contraction, budget deficits and debt have risen to near record postwar levels. As the crisis in Europe and other advanced economies has deepened, fiscal consolidation will have to be coupled, and even preceded, by actions to jump-start crippled economies. Nonetheless, when fiscal consolidation becomes necessary, nations that procrastinate by waiting for a crisis to provide cover for the politically hard choices will pay a steep price indeed both economically and politically. Many in the academic and policy community have raised questions about whether advanced democracies have the political wherewithal to respond to gathering fiscal pressures through early and timely action. Recent fiscal actions in advanced nations suggest that democracies are not doomed to wait for market shocks and crises. Rather,



leaders have shown that fiscal sacrifice can be achieved in ways that promote electability. In this article, we discuss the impetus for democratic fiscal actions and the strategies used to gain public support.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Armstrong Chris, Mason Andrew

Democratic citizenship and its futures

in *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, Vol. 14, n. 5, December , 553-560

<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/13698230.2011.617118>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Swepton Lee

Discrimination, Indigenous and Tribal Peoples, and Social Indicators

in *International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights*, Volume 18, Number 4, "Contrasted Perspectives on Recognition and Implementation of Indigenous Rights" , 419-431

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Trautmann Thomas R.

Does India Have History? Does History Have India?

in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Volume 54, Issue 1, January , 174-205

It was the unanimous opinion of the early Orientalists of British India that India had no history, at least in the sense of historical writings. Like every consensus, it contained many variations of detail, as we shall see, but as the view of experts it was widely influential for a long time. For example, R. C. Majumdar gave a thoughtful version of this view at the beginning of the multivolume *History and Culture of the Indian People* (Majumdar 1951) by Indian scholars, published shortly after independence. But the consensus was eroded by the rise of what we may call the "colonial knowledge" paradigm, which asserted a close connection between European rule and European knowledge of India. It tended to discredit the old consensus and to lighten the specific gravity of Orientalist knowledge, simplifying it as an object of historical explanation. This development has cleared an opening, in recent decades, for a rush of new studies tending to create an opposing consensus, that India did have history of a kind, it being the task of scholars to explicate what kind, exactly, that was (for example, Pathak 1966; Warder 1972; Thapar 1992; Wagoner 1993; Ali, ed. 1999; Narayana Rao, Shulman, and Subrahmanyam 2001; Guha 2004; Mantena 2007). This in itself has been very much to the good, by reopening questions that had been closed by the old consensus. The old consensus itself, by contrast, was dismissed without much examination, and was attributed to colonial interest, cultural misunderstanding, or insufficient grasp of Indian languages and literatures. The old consensus now is seen as a simple ideological projection, easily explained and dismissed, with little complexity or interest for historical investigation. But this simplifying action of the



prevailing paradigm renders invisible some of the very real effects of the old consensus, effects whose explanation can be very valuable to us. In order to gain the benefit it holds we have to take it seriously, trying both to explain it historically and to decide whether or in what way it is true.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Burnell Peter

Does Political Party Aid compensate for the Limitations of International Elections Observation in Representation, Volume 47, Issue 4, November

International elections observation cannot make an election free and fair. In any case this would not guarantee well-institutionalised political parties and party competition or the consolidation of liberal democracy. Parties influence elections. Could international assistance to parties help compensate for the limitations of elections observation? The reality is that party aid has limitations of its own. Closer coordination of elections and party support may offer a partial solution but is not unproblematic.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Öhler Hannes, Nunnenkamp Peter, Dreher Axel

Does conditionality work? A test for an innovative US aid scheme in European Economic Review, Volume 56, Issue 1, January 2012 , Pages 138-153

Performance-based aid has been proposed as an alternative to the failed traditional approach whereby donors make aid conditional on the reform promises of recipient countries. However, hardly any empirical evidence exists on whether ex post rewards are effective in inducing reforms. We attempt to fill this gap by investigating whether the Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC) was successful in promoting better control of corruption. We employ a difference-in-difference-in-differences (DDD) approach, considering different ways of defining the treatment group as well as different time periods during which incentive effects could have materialized. We find evidence of strong anticipation effects immediately after the announcement of the MCC, while increasing uncertainty about the timing and amount of MCC aid appears to have weakened the incentive to fight corruption over time.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Manuel Herrera Gomez, Antonio Romero Lazaro

El mosaico comunitarista: una propuesta analítica y tipológica.
in *Revista de Estudios Políticos* , n. 154

El objetivo de estas páginas es reconstruir las grandes líneas de desarrollo que en el pensamiento sociológico se han ocupado del tema comunitario, verificar las novedades aportadas por los filones neo-comunitaristas post-modernos, intentado diseñar una tipología de los planteamientos esbozados respecto al tema de la comunidad. Se distinguen



cinco tipos ideales: comunidad clásica, comunidad territorial, comunidad comunicativa, comunidad estética y neo-comunitarismo.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Luther Jörg

Elementi per una storia della Regione Piemonte

in *Quaderni Regionali* , n. 1

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Hafner-Burton Emilie M., Helfer Laurence R., Fariss Christopher J.

Emergency and Escape: Explaining Derogations from Human Rights Treaties

in *International Organization*, vol. 65, issue 4 , 673-707

ABSTRACT: Several prominent human rights treaties seek to minimize violations during emergencies by authorizing states to “derogate”—that is, to suspend certain civil and political liberties—in response to crises. The drafters of these treaties envisioned that international restrictions on derogations, together with international notification and monitoring mechanisms, would limit rights suspensions during emergencies. This article analyzes the behavior of derogating countries using new global data sets of derogations and states of emergency from 1976 to 2007. We argue that derogations are a rational response to domestic political uncertainty. They enable governments facing serious threats to buy time and legal breathing space from voters, courts, and interest groups to confront crises while signaling to these audiences that rights deviations are temporary and lawful. Our findings have implications for studies of treaty design and flexibility mechanisms, and compliance with international human rights agreements.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

RONNIE HJORTH

Equality in the theory of international society: Kelsen, Rawls and the English School

in *Review of International Studies (The)*, Volume 37 - Issue 05 , 2585-2602

This article examines the idea of equality in the theory of international society. Contrary to the widespread contemporary notion of equality as a corollary principle to sovereignty, the central argument of the article is that equality and sovereignty can and ought to be disconnected, and that the concept of equality, when uncoupled from sovereignty, is a better point of departure when theorising international society than is, for example, non-intervention or sovereignty. An alternative approach to deal with equality of states and other entities within international society is sketched out.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous



Volker Perthes

Europe and the Arab Spring

in *Survival*, Volume 53, Issue 6 , 73-84

As the Middle East undergoes upheaval and transformation, Europe has an interest and a responsibility to expand its cooperation with the region's states.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Grundy John, Smith Miriam

Evidence and equity: Struggles over federal employment equity policy in Canada, 1984–95

in *Canadian Public Administration*, Vol. 54, issue 3 , 335–357

This article traces debates about federal employment equity policy in Canada in the 1980s and 1990s, focusing specifically on the role of data and statistics in policy-making. The authors interpret policy-makers' extensive use of evidence-based policy instruments in the implementation of employment equity as an attempt to offer a technical solution to the deeply politicized problem of workplace discrimination. By exploring policy debates from the Royal Commission on Equality in Employment (the Abella Commission) (1984) to the passage of the reformed Employment Equity Act in 1995, the authors show how recourse to evidence-based deliberation failed to contain political conflict, because the meaning and use of statistical data became the object of political struggle among the main policy stakeholders. The article concludes by considering the implications of this case study for the broader comparative debate on the role of evidence-based methods in policy-making.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Ainley Kirsten

Excesses of Responsibility: The Limits of Law and the Possibilities of Politics

in *Ethics and International Affairs*, vol. 25, n. 4, winter , 407-431

ABSTRACT: Since 1945 responsibility for atrocity has been individualized, and international tribunals and courts have been given effective jurisdiction over it. This article argues that the move to individual responsibility leaves significant 'excesses' of responsibility for war crimes unaccounted for. When courts do attempt to recognize the collective nature of war crime perpetration, through the doctrines of 'command responsibility', 'joint criminal enterprise' and 'state responsibility', the application of these doctrines has, it is argued, limited or perverse effects. The article suggests that instead of expecting courts to allocate excesses of responsibility, other accountability mechanisms should be used alongside trials to allocate political (rather than legal) responsibility for atrocity. The mechanisms favored here are 'Responsibility and Truth Commissions', i.e. well-resourced non-judicial commissions which are mandated to hold to account individual and collective actors rather than simply to provide an account of past violence.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Martens Wilfried



Failing and rising states in international politics

in *European View*, vol. 10, n. 2, December, 151-152

Failed states have been a central preoccupation of scholars and international policy makers in the post-Cold War period. In addition to the violence wrought by loss of control in these states, they are charged with creating refugee flows, impeding economic development, facilitating narcotics trafficking, and providing safe haven for terrorists—leading to calls for them to be fixed by the international community. This chapter argues to the contrary that, first, failed states are not monolithic; second, violence and state failure are not synonymous; and third, the international community contributes to state failure as much as it may facilitate state rebuilding.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Gruzinski Serge

Faire de l'histoire dans un monde globalisé

in *Annales: Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, année 66, n. 4, novembre, 10871-1091

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Ferrara Alessandro

Ferrajoli's Argument for Structural Entrenchment

in *Res Publica*, Volume 17, Number 4, November, 377-383

This paper engages with Ferrajoli's contribution to the philosophical debate on constitutional democracy and in particular his conception of 'structural entrenchment', or the basis upon which one can defend the normativity of the Constitution as 'higher law', which can trump or limit legislation, without infringing democratic principles. Ferrajoli's own understanding of 'structural entrenchment' is compared to Rawls's and Dworkin's arguments in support of it. Ferrajoli's position is neither grounded on a philosophy of history, as in Rawls, nor on a version of moral realism, as for Dworkin, but on a formal understanding of the nature of fundamental rights, and in a conception of democratic sovereignty as 'joint ownership.'

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Wen Lei, Zhou Haiwen

Financial and Product Market Integration under Increasing Returns to Scale

in *Eastern Economic Journal*, Volume 38, Issue 1 (Winter 2012), 18-36

The impact of financial integration and product market integration is studied in a general equilibrium model with increasing returns in both the manufacturing sector and the financial sector. Firms engage in oligopolistic competition. An increase of the degree of competition in the financial sector resulting from financial integration may not change the degree of competition in the product market. With product market integration, the level of technology, the wage rate, and



the interest rate paid to depositors increase. Joint integration increases the level of technology, the wage rate, and the interest rate paid to depositors. The impact of separate financial integration or separate product market integration will not be reversed under joint integration. Social welfare increases under all integration regimes.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Svåsand Lars

Financing Elections in Malawi: between National Processes and the International Community in Representation, Volume 47, Issue 4, November

This article analyses the extent of international involvement in Malawi's electoral processes. It places international support for elections within the general category of support for democracy, documenting the extent and manner in which Malawi's elections are financed in part by the international community. Although progress has been made with regard to improving many aspects of the electoral process, many long-term objectives of strengthening the capacity of the Malawi electoral commission have not been reached. The article also offers some possible explanations why—in spite of extensive external financial support, combined with the donor's signalling of its importance—democratic progress has been limited, and even to some extent has regressed. Although Malawi depends on the international community, the donors also face the problem of 'sunk cost', they have multiple and partly competing objectives for development assistance and there is competition for influence. The Malawian authorities therefore do not face a cohesive donor community with one set of priorities.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Faber Gerrit, Gerritse Michiel

Foreign determinants of local institutions: Spatial dependence and openness in European Journal of Political Economy, Volume 28, Issue 1, March 2012, Pages 54-63

There are both empirical and theoretical arguments for the thesis that foreign factors have an impact on domestic institutional quality. Yet the literature is divided over whether exposure (openness to the world economy) or the kind of institutions in surrounding countries (relative location) determines the quality of local institutions. This paper confronts these hypotheses empirically, addressing the issues of strong cross-sectional dependence and the endogeneity of openness. In a 107-country cross-section, both trade openness and relative location have a positive impact on local institutions. The institutional quality of neighbouring countries is not found to be statistically significant when considering openness to foreign direct investments instead of trade, but the statistical performance of that model is poorer.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Urata Kenji

From Hiroshima to Fukushima: A New Look at Our Starting Point in Federalist Debate (The), Year XXIV, n. 3, November, 47-49



No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Deléage Jean-Paul

Fukushima, les sacrifiés du nucléaire

in *Ecologie et politique*, n. 42 - Les écologies politiques aujourd'hui 3. Afrique , 5-16

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Shani Ornit

Gandhi, citizenship and the resilience of Indian nationhood

in *Citizenship Studies*, vol. 15, issue 6/7 , 659-678

ABSTRACT: This article examines Gandhi's legacy in the shaping of citizenship in India and its implications for the resilience of Indian nationhood. I contend that a conception of citizenship that can be extrapolated from Gandhi, and that persisted as a practice, as well as a political language, instilled in the dynamics of Indian citizenship attributes that played an important role in securing the resilience of Indian unity and its democratic viability. The Gandhian conception of citizenship was developed after independence in conjunction with three other primary concomitant notions of citizenship. The ongoing multifaceted interplay between the four competing conceptions of citizenship, and the tensions and shifting balance of power between them became part of the mechanism that enabled the sustainability of some conflicts within the Indian polity to the detriment of other more threatening divisions. In the effect of this process Indian citizenship has been able to inhibit the tensions that had the potential to break the country apart.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Lebow Richard Ned

German Jews and American Realism

in *Constellations*, Vol. 18, Issue 4, December , 545-566

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1467-8675.2011.00658.x/abstract>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Michael Lang

Globalization and Global History in Toynbee

in *Journal of World History*, Vol. 22, n°4 , 747-783

No abstract available



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Frantzeskaki Niki, Loorbach Derk, Meadowcroft James

Governing societal transitions to sustainability

in *International Journal of Sustainable Development*, Volume 15, Issue 1-2 , 19-36

Our paper addresses the inherent tension between the open-ended and uncertain process of sustainability transitions and the ambition for governing such a process. We explore this tension from two theoretical angles: the sustainability and the governance angles; by showing the implications of sustainability targets in governance processes and governance attempts. We propose transition management as a governance approach that has the potential to overcome this tension through selective participatory processes of envisioning, negotiating, learning and experimenting. Transition management includes a portfolio of tools that have a common objective to enable change in practices and structures directed towards sustainable development targets. We present the transition arena and the transition experiments as two transition management tools elaborating on their process design, expected outcomes and illustrating their application in the Dutch construction transition.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Milja Kurki

Governmentality and EU Democracy Promotion: The European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights and the Construction of Democratic Civil Societies

in *International Political Sociology* , Volume 5, Issue 4 , 349–366

The European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR) is often considered the “jewel in the crown” of the European Union’s democracy promotion. Its mandate encompasses the funding of democratizing civil society organizations and thus the facilitation of democratization “from below.” It is argued here that if we apply Foucauldian governmentality tools to the analysis of the workings of the EIDHR, we can see that, despite the pluralistic rhetoric that guides it, the Instrument’s objectives and management structures facilitate particular kinds of democratic visions. Neoliberal governmentality, it is argued, may be hidden deep within the expectations set for EU-funded civil society “democratizers.” This has important consequences for how we understand the model of democracy that the European Union promotes and the power relations of the European Union’s “locally owned” democracy promotion.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Du Chunmei

Gu Hongming as a Cultural Amphibian: A Confucian Universalist Critique of Modern Western Civilization

in *Journal of World History* , Volume 22, Number 4, December , 715-746

Intellectuals around the world debated the meaning of civilization during the World War I era. This article reexamines the life and ideas of the so-called Chinese sage Gu Hongming. Born and raised in British Malaya, Gu grew up as an English-educated Romanticist, but he ended as a staunch monarchist and eminent Confucian propagandist to the early



twentieth-century Western world. In contrast to the traditional label of "cultural conservative," I propose the new concept of "cultural amphibians" to characterize Gu and his contemporary "spokesmen of the East." Because of their social "hybrid vigor" and transcultural competence at a time of rapid global transformations, these men were able to forge "authentic" identities across national, ideological, and cultural boundaries. Seemingly rooted in a cultural and ideological confrontation between the West and the non-West, their discourses on "Eastern-Western civilizations" are in fact better seen as marked by a global intellectual syncretism.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Matías Esteban Ilivitzky

Habermas y la constelación posnacional

in *Estudios internacionales : revista del Instituto de Estudios Internacionales de la Universidad de Chile*, Vol. 44, No. 170 , 31-53

This article aims to explore the definitions and conceptual schemes made by the German sociologist and political thinker Jürgen Habermas regarding the international sphere in general and the future developments of the «Postnational Constellation» of nations, as he calls it, in particular. Therefore, differences between his project and other diagnoses about the current state of foreign affairs and international relations will be dealt with. The State's historical development will also be analyzed.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Barthelet Philippe

Hugo von Hofmannsthal ou l'Europe de l'esprit

in *Revue des deux mondes*, Decembre

«La langue allemande est un grand mystère. Elle est votre destin, celui du peuple allemand et celui de chaque individu. Goethe a souffert d'elle et quiconque n'est pas Goethe et veut s'exprimer en elle véritablement court le danger d'être dévoré par elle » : ces mots, Hugo von Hofmannsthal les fait dire par un diplomate français, Pierre Viénot, attaché au cabinet civil du maréchal Lyautey au Maroc, en 1925. La langue allemande, qui «transmue constamment l'esprit en corps, le corps en esprit», le poète autrichien en reçoit l'éloge à Salé, sur le toit plat de la médersa, à l'heure qui précède le coucher du soleil :

« Le lointain semblait très proche, la proximité insaisissablement spiritualisée. Tout frémissait en soi-même mais une complète harmonie maintenait le tout dans un équilibre tenant de la magie et la révélation du beau semblait prendre une immense signification qui, sentions-nous, l'instant d'après se dévoilerait à nous pour constituer un bien impossible à perdre. »

Section D) Federalism as a political idea



Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Michel Veuthey

Humanitarian Intervention and International Humanitarian Law

in *Quaderni di Relazioni Internazionali* , n. 15, novembre 2011 , 58-65

Humanitarian intervention and International humanitarian law are related in many ways. The terms were coined in the 19th and 20th centuries. Both aim at protecting humanity in time of armed conflict. Humanitarian intervention involves the use of military force against the wishes of a State «to prevent widespread death or suffering amongst the population»¹, and is linked to the law to wage war (jus ad bellum). International humanitarian law is the law regulating hostilities and protecting victims of war (jus in bello). Both could be understood in the context of just war (bellum justum)².

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Caccamo Domenico

I cables di WikiLeaks. Gli Stati Uniti verso una diplomazia tripolare

in *South European Society & Politics*, Volume 13, Number 1, March , 351-378

The diplomatic cables published by Julian Assange's organization illustrate the main directives of American foreign policy at the time of transition between Presidents Bush and Obama and during the global economic crisis. They throw light on the events leading up to the Arab Spring and the Libyan War, showing that the United States' aversion toward the regimes of Tunis, Cairo and Tripoli had deep roots. The reports from Moscow betray frequent oscillation between a reset policy and a policy of containment. The reports from Beijing hint a potential Chinese-American collaboration in the economic sphere, but those from African capitals express concern about the increasing integration of the African countries with Chinese economy. Overall, these cables show a tripolar orientation, with an emphasis placed on the United States and the People's Republic of China, as two actors of comparable power, while acknowledging the necessity of a third actor, the Russian Federation, albeit with a narrower role. Regarding the China question, two directives emerge to maintain solidarity in the financial and economic field, but also to counterbalance the effects of exuberant Chinese expansion. In this context, one could consider that the current American engagement in northern Africa may be motivated by the desire to counterbalance the excessive Chinese expansion in the Gulf of Guinea region.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Ragazzoni David

Identity vs. representation: what makes 'the people'? Rethinking democratic citizenship through (and beyond)

Carl Schmitt and Hans Kelsen

in *Perspectives on federalism*, Vol. 3, issue 2 , E- 1-30

The concept of 'citizenship' has significantly evolved since the work by Thomas Marshall in 1950: the emergence of various kinds of 'identity/difference' politics, the transformation of political representation within our 'glocal' democracies and the theoretical challenges posed by the EU (especially about pivotal notions such as sovereignty, constituent power



and peoplehood) questioned the traditional account of liberal democratic citizenship (sect. 0). Combining political history and theory, the present paper looks backwards to the debate between Carl Schmitt and Hans Kelsen in 1920s Weimar over the fate of parliamentary democracy to distill useful insights for rethinking citizenship via representation. Mapping their topography of democratic governments and their diverging understanding of what keeps a community of citizens together (sects. 1-2) will help developing a more sophisticated notion of 'the people' beyond standard dichotomies in democratic theory: namely, those of identity (Schmitt)/representation (Kelsen), constituent (Schmittian)/constituted (Kelsenian) power, substantial (Schmittian)/procedural (Kelsenian) democracy also recurring in the normative understanding of the Union (sect. 3).

Full text available at:

[http://www.on-federalism.eu/index.php/component/content/article/99-identity-vs-representation-what-makes-the-people-rethinking-democratic-citizenship-through-and-beyond-carl-schmitt-and-hans-kelsen-](http://www.on-federalism.eu/index.php/component/content/article/99-identity-vs-representation-what-makes-the-people-rethinking-democratic-citizenship-through-and-beyond-carl-schmitt-and-hans-kelsen)

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Arcangelo Marucci

Il Diritto Internazionale Umanitario nell'epoca della globalizzazione: l'accezione islamica in Informazioni della Difesa, n. 4, 2011 , 15-23

Storicamente il diritto internazionale trova le sue origini nella dottrina tradizionale che ne articolava il concetto in due distinti campi: diritto internazionale di pace e diritto internazionale bellico. Il primo finalizzato alla disciplina delle relazioni tra Stati in assenza di un conflitto armato. Il secondo essenzialmente finalizzato al momento bellico e pertanto applicato una volta che il conflitto armato aveva avuto inizio, e per tutta la durata delle ostilità al fine di disciplinare i rapporti sia tra i contendenti sia tra questi e gli Stati terzi (in questo secondo caso la disciplina era una parte separata del diritto internazionale bellico e veniva denominata diritto della neutralità). Più segnatamente, il diritto di ricorrere alla forza armata (*ius ad bellum*), e pertanto applicabile nella fase antecedente all'insorgere del conflitto stesso, veniva considerato come parte del diritto internazionale di pace, mentre il diritto relativo alla disciplina delle ostilità tra belligeranti e delle relazioni tra questi e terzi Stati (*ius in bello*) veniva tradizionalmente ricondotto alle trattazioni del diritto internazionale bellico. Solo in un momento successivo, e precisamente



con l'entrata in vigore della Carta delle Nazioni Unite (lo Statuto delle Nazioni Unite è stato adottato a San Francisco il 26 giugno 1945), che ha bandito la guerra nelle relazioni internazionali, ha avuto inizio un'evoluzione finalizzata a ridurre l'importanza del diritto bellico nelle trattazioni dottrinali. Infatti l'incertezza circa l'esistenza di un vero e proprio stato di guerra, una volta che fossero scoppiate le ostilità, ha indotto a trattare il diritto bellico nel quadro del diritto internazionale di pace e viepiù in una parte separata dedicata al diritto dei conflitti armati.

Il diritto umanitario viene, di norma, ritenuto una creazione della civiltà occidentale; gli Stati europei hanno a lungo considerato i paesi al di fuori dell'Europa dei soggetti passivi delle loro norme di diritto internazionale, ritenendo le altre civiltà, come quella islamica, incapaci addirittura di comprenderne l'utilità. In realtà, le norme basilari di diritto umanitario sono esistite da sempre in qualsiasi civiltà.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Merloni Francesco

Il sistema amministrativo italiano, le Regioni e la crisi finanziaria in Regioni (Le), n. 4 , 599-604 Dettagli

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Giaconi Mario

Il triangolo Siria-Iran-Turchia in Affari Esteri, Anno XLIII, numero speciale, n. 165 , 150-157

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

EDUARD JORDAAN

Including the excluded: communitarian paths to cosmopolitanism in Review of International Studies (The), Volume 37 - Issue 05 , 2365-2385



Cosmopolitanism is frequently criticised for overlooking the situatedness of morality and the importance of solidarity in their aspiration to global justice. A number of thinkers take these criticisms seriously and pursue 'a communitarian path to cosmopolitanism'. Four such approaches are considered. All four view morality and justice as grounded in a specific social setting and hold that justice is more likely to result if there is some 'we-feeling' among people, but are simultaneously committed to expanding the realm of justice and moral concern to beyond national boundaries. To enable the theorisation of an expanded realm of situated justice and moral concern, community is conceived as not necessarily corresponding to political boundaries and the moral the self is seen as able and eager to loosen some of its traditional moral connections and to form new ones. Unfortunately, these approaches are likely to exclude significant segments of the world's population from the expanded realm of moral concern they theorise, most notably, a large proportion of the world's poor. It is suggested that the thought of Emmanuel Levinas might offer a way of reducing the gap between solidarity and moral universalism.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Flavin Patrick

Income Inequality and Policy Representation in the American States

in American Politics Research, Vol. 40, n. 1, January , 29-59

Government representation of public opinion is a central component of democracy. Previous studies have documented a robust congruence between aggregated public opinion and public policies in the American states. However, an equally important question for evaluating the quality of democracy is "Who does government respond to when formulating public policies?" I investigate differential policy representation based on citizens' household incomes and find that citizens with low incomes receive little substantive political representation (compared with more affluent citizens) in the policy decisions made by their state governments. This unequal policy representation occurs for both the general liberalism of state policies and on specific social issues like the death penalty and abortion. These findings suggest that examining the variation in political inequality across the 50 states can help scholars to better understand and explain "unequal democracy" in the United States.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Samson Victoria

India, China, and the United States in Space: Partners, Competitors, Combatants? A Perspective From the United States

in India Review, Volume 10, Issue 4, Special Issue: "Searching for Space: Perspectives on India's Space Program", October , 422-439

India's space program used to fall solely under the civil category, but recently it appears to be expanding its use of space for national security efforts and developing capabilities that could give it an anti-satellite (ASAT) weapon capacity. This shift by India could have long-term consequences for its relationship with China and Asia's overall regional stability; it also may provide new opportunities for the United States and India to enhance their relations. This article will first explain how the author views the US government's attitudes toward space and cooperation. Next, it will look at India's



missile defense program and study the connection between the program and an ASAT capability, as well as its link to China's ASAT tests. Then, it will discuss ways in which India and the United States can use their shared interests in continuing to utilize space to possibly cooperate. Finally, it will contrast how India and China are viewed within the US policy community.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Romano Rocco

Infrastrutture energetiche, traffici petroliferi e cambiamenti sociali. Il caso della Trans- Arabian Pipeline in Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali, Volume 78, n. 3, luglio-settembre , 393-404

Until the outbreak of the Six-Day War, the Suez Canal was the main access route to the Mediterranean for Arab oil. Programs for the development of pipelines in the Middle East region implemented after the 1967 war created a permanent alternative to using the Egyptian waterway, compromising the future of the canal as a strategic artery for intercontinental trade oil. Even before regional political events of the '60s and '70s of the 20th century brought the decline of the canal as fundamental oil route, the oil transportation function of the Egyptian waterway had already been in competition with the Trans-Arabian Pipeline. The Trans-Arabian Pipeline opened in 1950 and connected the Saudi terminal of Qaisumah to the Lebanese port of Sidon, passing through the territory of four countries. Until May 1970, this pipeline with its 1,720 kilometers of pipes, was the main export route for Saudi Oil. The Trans-Arabian Pipeline differed from other pipelines not only for the importance that it had for the oil trade but also for the social impact it had on Saudi Arabia at that time. The presence of the Trans-Arabian Pipeline boosted the construction of roads, water wells, towns and hospitals initiating a social revolution in the northern provinces of the country. During the twenty years in which the pipeline was in operation, regional political events represented the main obstacle to the transport of crude oil through the Trans-Arabian Pipeline. Since 1981, the East-West Crude Oil Pipeline has replaced the Trans-Arabian Pipeline in the transport activity of Saudi crude oil. The East-West Crude Oil Pipeline allows Saudi crude oil to reach the Yanbu terminal on the Red Sea, where it is loaded on oil tankers which supply Western markets using the Suez route. Recent studies continue to consider the enormous potential of the Tran-Arabian Pipeline, if it were reactivated.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Volume 25, Issue 4

Insurgency and Democratisation: Taliban Real Winners of Elections in Afghanistan in Global Society, Volume 25, Issue 4 , 469-489

Promotion of democracy has been the cornerstone of the international community's efforts for peace-building in war-torn and post-conflict societies since the end of the Cold War. The issue gained further urgency in the aftermath of terrorist attacks on 11 September 2001, when failed states were seen as breeding grounds for terrorism and sources of instability for world security. Afghanistan is one of the latest testing grounds for the democratic reconstruction model. The democratisation process was charted in December 2001 Bonn Agreement, and the latest presidential election was part of that process. This article analyses the internal and external implications of the 2009 presidential election in Afghanistan. It concludes that the election is a further proof of the failure of the democratic reconstruction model in war-torn societies. Emphasising form over substance and disregarding the political and cultural realities of the country, the international community hinged a lot of hope on the election. However, it was the Taliban who benefited from it.



Militarily they demonstrated their potency vis-à-vis the NATO forces; and politically they reaped the benefits of the fallout of President Karzai's crisis of legitimacy, the risk of ethnic conflict, the UN's damaged credibility, and complications in the US counterinsurgency strategy.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Darnolf Staffan

International Election Support: Helping or Hindering Democratic Elections?

in Representation, Volume 47, Issue 4, November , 362-381

Simply put, electoral fraud does not only happen on election day. This article explores whether current methods of providing electoral support, employed by international donors, are effective in promoting democracy. The article presents several key limitations in today's international election observation missions, which may, if not rectified, undermine parts of the rationale for utilising observers. In addition, this paper identifies five types of technical assistance with different mandates that will impact how an Election Commission designs, plans and implements various components of the electoral process. The study highlights several risks, challenges and solutions associated with technical assistance.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Papisca Antonio

International Law of Human Rights as a «Sign of the Times» for Fostering Religious Freedom and Intercultural Dialogue in the Inclusive City. Reflections on Some Recent High-Level Positions in the Catholic Institutional Context

in Pace Diritti Umani, anno 8, n. 2, maggio-agosto , 61-78

ABSTRACT: L'orizzonte della promozione e della protezione dei diritti umani è sempre più globale. Quanto più il mondo interdipende e si globalizza tanto più estesamente si invocano i diritti umani. La coscienza dei membri della famiglia umana, soprattutto dei più deboli e vulnerabili, si fa tribunale supremo, le sue manifestazioni alimentano l'effettività del Diritto internazionale dei diritti della persona in maniera non meno rilevante delle sentenze delle corti di giustizia. Questo nuovo diritto è un «segno dei tempi», indicato come tale già nell'enciclica *Pacem in Terris* di Giovanni XXIII. Ad esso fanno costante riferimento gli altri pontefici, da ultimo Benedetto XVI. Questa attenzione si spiega in ragione del fatto che il diritto dei diritti umani ha recepito principi di etica universale e che tra le sue norme c'è quella espressamente dedicata al diritto alla libertà religiosa, proclamato insieme con il diritto alla libertà di pensiero e il diritto alla libertà di coscienza. L'autore argomenta che il riferimento al paradigma dei diritti universali è utile sia per l'esercizio della libertà religiosa in quanto tale sia per lo sviluppo del dialogo interculturale finalizzato, questo, all'inclusione negli spazi pubblici, a cominciare della città. L'apporto delle religioni è particolarmente importante per elucidare e affermare i caratteri della laicità positiva.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Amri Puspa, Angkinand Apanard P., Wihlborg Clas

International comparisons of bank regulation, liberalization, and banking crises

in *Journal of Financial Economic Policy*, Volume 3 issue 4 , pp. 322 - 339

Purpose – The recurrence of banking crises throughout the 1980s and 1990s, and in the more recent 2008-09 global financial crisis, has led to an expanding empirical literature on crisis explanation and prediction. The purpose of this paper is to provide an analytical review of proxies for and important determinants of banking crises-credit growth, financial liberalization, bank regulation and supervision.

Design/methodology/approach – The study surveys the banking crisis literature by comparing proxies for and measures of banking crises and policy-related variables in the literature. Advantages and disadvantages of different proxies are discussed.

Findings – Disagreements about determinants of banking crises are in part explained by the difference in the chosen proxies used in empirical models. The usefulness of different proxies depends partly on constraints in terms of time and country coverage but also on what particular policy question is asked.

Originality/value – The study offers a comprehensive analysis of measurements of banking crises, credit growth, financial liberalization and banking regulations and concludes with an assessment of existing proxies and databases. Since, the review points to the choice of proxies that best fit specific research objectives, it should serve as a reference point for empirical researchers in the banking crisis area.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Newman Abraham L., Posner Elliot

International interdependence and regulatory power: Authority, mobility, and markets

in *European Journal of International Relations* , vol. 17,n. 4, december , 589-610

ABSTRACT: This article revisits a fundamental question of international political economy: when does cross-border economic interdependence become a source of power. The view that economic interdependence is a source of potential power, not just mutual benefits, has a long lineage traceable to political realism, organizational economics, Ricardian trade theory, and structural Marxism, and researchers typically focus on preferred causal variables in isolation. Despite important contributions, little attention has been paid to understanding the interactions of multiple perspectives on asymmetric interdependence, or to making sense of contradictory expectations of the various models. As a consequence scholars engaged in globalization debates, such as those about policy convergence or private actor governance, frequently talk past one another. To deduce expectations about the relationship between power and interdependence, we build a model synthesizing standard approaches that analyze the effects of market size and market scope separately, and then add the critical variable of jurisdictional boundaries. By decoupling geography and authority, our analysis produces a respecification of classic interdependence models and advances core international political economy debates concerning power dynamics in a globalized economy.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Xue Jin , Arler Finn, Næss Petter

Is the degrowth debate relevant to China?

in **Environment, Development and Sustainability**, Volume 14, Number 1, February , 85-109

In industrialized countries, the idea of degrowth has emerged as a response to environmental, social, and economic crises. Realizing environmental limits to and failures of more than half a century of continual economic growth in terms of social progress and environmental sustainability, the degrowth paradigm calls for a downscaling of consumption and production for social equity and ecological sustainability. The call for economic degrowth is generally considered to be delimited to rich countries, where reduced consumption can save “ecological space” enabling people in poor countries to enjoy the benefits of economic growth. China, as one of the economically most expanding countries in the world, has dramatically improved its living standards, particularly along the Eastern coast, over the latest 30 years. However, China is absent from the international debates on growth. This article discusses the implications of the Western degrowth debates for China. Given the distinctive features of China’s development, the paper aims to enrich the degrowth debates, which have hitherto been dominated by Western perspectives. Based upon reflections on social, environmental, and moral dimensions of economic growth, the paper argues that limited natural resources may not continuously support universal affluence at the current level of the rich countries, a level that China is likely to reach within a few decades. Priority for growth in China should therefore be given to the poor regions of the country, and future growth should be beneficial to social and environmental development.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Magen Amichai

Israel and the Many Pathways of Diffusion

in **West European Politics**, vol. 35, n. 1 , 98-116

ABSTRACT: This article explores the degree, conditions, and pathways by which instances of institutional change in Israel can be traced back to the EU, either through direct influence mechanisms or indirectly, through emulation. It examines the processes and mechanisms by which EU diffusion into the Israeli domestic system might occur, and identifies the main factors that facilitate and hamper receptivity to EU influence. While there is little evidence that deliberate EU influence mechanisms – manipulation of utility calculations, socialisation, or persuasion – have produced substantial impact, Israelis emerge as highly selective, sophisticated emulators of EU institutions – adapting and implementing EU standards in specific policy realms, typically as the result of two distinct mechanisms of emulation: competition and lesson-drawing. The article demonstrates the possibility of variable pathways of diffusion of EU rules, standards, and norms beyond Europe, and advances existing knowledge of the conditions and pathways of emulation – the least understood mechanism of diffusion.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Waxman Dov



Israel's Palestinian Minority in the Two-State Solution: The Missing Dimension
in *Middle East Policy*, Volume 18, Issue 4, Winter , 68-82

Full text available at <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1475-4967.2011.00511.x/pdf>.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Wolloch Nathaniel

Joseph de Guignes and Enlightenment Notions of Material Progress

in *Intellectual History Review*, Volume 21, Issue 4, December , 435-448

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Panzeri Lino

L'elezione dei delegati regionali per l'elezione del Presidente della Repubblica

in *Regioni (Le)*, n. 4 , 683-702

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Migliavacca Paolo

La Cina, dragone dei sette mari

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLIII, numero speciale, n. 165 , 121-142

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Groppi Tania

La difficile nascita della nazione in Canada: l'integrazione (o la disgregazione?) attraverso il diritto

in *Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo*, n. 3 , 1130 - 1149

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

de Medici Marino



La dottrina Obama strategia o chimera?

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLIII, numero speciale, n. 165 , 86-92

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Sinatti Piero

La politica estera della Russia

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLIII, numero speciale, n. 165 , 93-107

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Ciarrapico Antonio

La questione cinese

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLIII, numero speciale, n. 165 , 108-120

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Dhinakaran Renuka

Law of the International Civil service: A Venture into Legal Theory

in *International Organizations Law Review*, vol. 8, n. 1 , 133-174

ABSTRACT: The employment relations of international organizations are governed by their constituent instruments, internal laws and practice, with no overarching legal regime governing international civil service as such. However, academics and international administrative tribunals refer to 'international civil service law', while the tribunals also apply the general principles of such law. There is uncertainty as to what the legal basis behind this is and whether this refers to a common legal regime applicable to international organizations. This contribution analyses the existence or the possibility of such a common legal regime. It introduces the notion of 'international civil service' as a legal institution and international civil service law as its legal regime. The author analyses the theoretical foundation and potential normative bases of this common legal regime, setting out an agenda for further research.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Jacob Antoine

Le tres pragmatique cooperation nordique



in *Politique internationale*, n. 132 - Ete, 2011

La curiosité à l'égard des États nordiques ne faiblit pas. Le 28 janvier 2011, au Forum économique mondial de Davos, le « modèle nordique » était à l'honneur, présenté par les dirigeants politiques de ces pays (Danemark, Finlande, Islande, Norvège et Suède) et décortiqué par un parterre d'experts et de décideurs. « Je ne crois pas qu'il soit possible de copier ce modèle, mais on peut fort bien s'en inspirer », lança à l'occasion le premier ministre norvégien Jens Stoltenberg, résumant ainsi un sentiment généralement partagé. Deux semaines plus tôt, les premiers ministres des pays nordiques - et ceux des pays baltes - étaient invités à Londres par leur homologue britannique, David Cameron, pour échanger expériences et idées en vue de mieux affronter les défis actuels et à venir. Les Nordiques, expliqua l'hôte conservateur, « disposent de certaines des compagnies high-tech les plus innovantes, de certaines des approches les plus radicales en matière de services publics et de certaines des meilleures idées sur la façon d'améliorer le bien-être général et la qualité de vie ». Cette réunion à neuf - la première du genre - devrait être suivie d'une seconde l'an prochain en Suède.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Khosrokhavar Farhad

Les révolutions arabes: révolutions de justice sociale et de liberté

in *Cultures & Conflits*, n. 83, automne , 108-112

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Kalbhenn Anna

Liberal peace and shared resources – A fair-weather phenomenon?

in *Journal of Peace Research*, Volume 48, Number 6, November , 715-735

The aim of this article is to empirically analyse liberal peace arguments in the context of shared river basins. In particular, it argues that counter to the water war hypothesis, sharing a river need not necessary lead to conflict over the shared resource: relying on liberal arguments, joint democracy is expected to facilitate trust and thus cooperation over transboundary rivers. Furthermore, by mitigating asymmetries, facilitating (implicit) side-payments and issue linkage, both economic and political interlinkages may encourage cooperation over shared rivers. Previous work suggests that these factors might be a 'fair-weather' phenomenon, that is, that they play a role only for problems that are easy to solve. In this article, liberal effects are allowed to vary with the difficulty of the underlying problem by separating different issues and geographic situations. Empirically, the article focuses on intergovernmental behaviour using a new dataset on transboundary water events covering all international basins for a period of eleven years (1997–2007). The results show that indeed liberal peace factors matter with respect to intergovernmental interaction over shared river basins and the effect of joint democracy is more prominent under 'fair-weather' conditions.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Carrozza Paolo



Lo Stato belga e la sua crisi

in *Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo*, n. 3 , 994 - 1004

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Jiménez Piernas Carlos Bartolomé

Los principios de soberanía e integridad territorial y de autodeterminación de los pueblos en la Opinión consultiva sobre Kosovo: una oportunidad perdida

in *Revista Espanola de Derecho Internacional*, vol. 63, n.1 , 29-54

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Gerotto Sergio

Lost (and Found) in Translation, ovvero l'esperienza della traduzione dei testi normativi in Svizzera e Canada

in *Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo*, n. 3 , 714 -723

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Martinez-Gros Gabriel

L'État et ses tribus, ou le devenir tribal du monde. Réflexions à partir d'Ibn Khaldoun

in *Esprit*, Janvier 2012 , 25-42

Selon Ibn Khaldoun, l'État se construit par l'impôt et la sédentarisation de sa population, sous la menace latente des tribus avoisinantes dont les réserves de violence peuvent consolider ou détruire le pouvoir en place. Sa théorie permet de lire l'évolution actuelle des pays arabes, mais aussi par exemple celle de l'Amérique latine, dans une autre perspective que celle d'une démocratisation uniforme et universelle. Ce qui mérite discussion.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Carmignani Fabrizio, Colombo Emilio, Tirelli Patrizio

Macroeconomic risk and the (de)stabilising role of government size

in *European Journal of Political Economy*, Volume 27, Issue 4, December 2011 , Pages 781-790

Is government size the desirable response to macroeconomic risk, or it is the consequence of distorted political incentives with adverse effects on macroeconomic volatility? This paper reconsiders the mutual interdependence



between government size and growth volatility in a large sample of countries within a system of simultaneous equations. We find that higher volatility is associated with larger government size and vice versa. Thus emphasis on government size as a mean capable, per se, of reducing macroeconomic risk is ill-conceived. We also identify a set of institutional limits to government discretion that also have beneficial effects on volatility. These include domestic political institutions, de facto central bank independence and a stable nominal exchange rate regime.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Burnard Trevor

Making a Whig Empire Work: Transatlantic Politics and the Imperial Economy in Britain and British America
in *William and Mary Quarterly*, Volume 69, number 1, January

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Negri Toni

Marx, Empire-impérialisme

in *Actuel Marx*, N° spécial (octobre 2011)

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

TANJA E. AALBERTS and WOUTER G. WERNER

Mobilising uncertainty and the making of responsible sovereigns

in *Review of International Studies (The)*, Volume 37 - Issue 05 , 2183-2200

The past few decades have witnessed a fundamental change in the perception of threats to the security of states and individuals. Issues of security are no longer primarily framed in terms of threats posed by an identifiable, conventional enemy. Instead, post-Cold War security policies have emphasised the global and radically uncertain nature of threats such as environmental degradation, terrorism and financial risks. What are the implications of this transformation for one of the constitutive principles of international society: state sovereignty? Existing literature has provided two possible answers to this question. The first focuses on the alleged need for states to seek international cooperation and to relax claims of national sovereignty. In Ulrich Beck's terminology, this would amount to a transformation of sovereign states into 'cosmopolitan states'. The second takes the opposite position: in response to uncertain threats states rely on their sovereign prerogatives to take exceptional measures and set aside provisions of positive law. In Beck's terminology, this would amount to the creation of a 'surveillance state'. None of these two answers, however, does justice to the complex relation between sovereignty, power and (international) law. As this article will show, the invocation of radical uncertainty has led to a transformation in sovereignty that cannot be captured in terms of the cosmopolitan/surveillance dichotomy. What is at stake is a more fundamental transformation of the way in which sovereignty is used to counter threats. Based on a study of the UN Counterterrorism Committee, this article demonstrates how state sovereignty is used as a



governmental technology that aims to create proactive, responsible subjects.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Balfour Lawrie

Multiracial Democracy between Past and Future

in *Political Theory*, Volume 40, n. 1, February, 108-115

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Fioravanzo Monica

Mussolini, il fascismo e l'idea dell'Europa. Alle origini di un dibattito

in *Italia Contemporanea*, n. 262, marzo

È soltanto a partire dagli anni trenta che il fascismo, stretto fra la coscienza della crisi del continente e l'avanzata del nazionalsocialismo, di cui temeva la concorrenza, sviluppa un progetto di Nuovo ordine europeo. Con la sua proposta, il regime fascista s'inseriva in una riflessione sull'Europa che fin dagli anni venti aveva coinvolto personalità eminenti, come Briand o Coudenhove-Kalergi, e molti movimenti, da Paneuropa a Mitteleuropa e Abendland. L'avvio del dibattito in Italia coincise con il decennale del regime, nel 1932, celebrato all'insegna della romanità, intesa come fondamento della missione internazionale del fascismo. Fu soprattutto il Convegno Volta sull'Europa (novembre 1932), organizzato dalla Reale accademia d'Italia sotto l'egida di Mussolini, a dare risonanza internazionale al progetto di Europa fascista. Attraverso l'esame delle più importanti relazioni, l'autrice pone in rilievo i tratti caratteristici del disegno fascista e ne sottolinea lo iato non solo rispetto alle concezioni liberaldemocratiche, ma - più significativamente - rispetto all'idea nazista di Europa di Alfred Rosenberg, che del Nuovo ordine fascista contestava proprio il fondamento, ossia il diritto e l'eredità di Roma.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Palea Roberto

Nuclear Phase-out after Fukushima: The German Example

in *Federalist Debate (The)*, Year XXIV, n. 3, November, 50-53

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

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Blaydes Lisa, Lo James

One man, one vote, one time? A model of democratization in the Middle East

in *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, Volume 24, n. 1, January, 110-146



The protests associated with the 2011 Arab Spring represent a serious and sustained challenge to autocratic rule in the Middle East. Under what conditions will Arab protest movements translate into a full-fledged 'fourth wave' of democratization? We argue that questions about the commitment of Islamic political opposition to democracy beyond a country's first free election may hinder Middle Eastern democratization. We extend Przeworski's canonical model of political liberalization as described in *Democracy and the Market* (1991) and find that transition to democracy is only possible under two conditions. First, uncertainty regarding the preferences of key elite actors is a necessary condition for democratic transition. Second, the repressive capacity of the state must lie above a minimum threshold. Given these conditions, democracy can occur when two types of political actors meet – regime liberalizers who prefer democracy to a narrowed dictatorship, and civil society elite who honor democratic principles. While a series of influential studies have argued that authoritarian elites block democratic transition because of their fear of the economic redistributive preferences of the median voter, this study suggests that regime liberalizers in the Middle East suspect political openings could become a vehicle for Islamists to seize power through free elections only to deny the median voter another chance to express their will.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Hathaway Oona, Shapiro Scott J.

Outcasting: Enforcement in Domestic and International Law
in *Yale Law Journal (The)*, Vol. 121, n. 2, November , 252-349

This Article offers a new way to understand the enforcement of domestic and international law that we call "outcasting." Unlike the distinctive method that modern states use to enforce their law, outcasting is nonviolent: it does not rely on bureaucratic organizations, such as police or militia, that employ physical force to maintain order. Instead, outcasting involves denying the disobedient the benefits of social cooperation and membership. Law enforcement through outcasting in domestic law can be found throughout history—from medieval Iceland and classic canon law to modern-day public law. And it is ubiquitous in modern international law, from the World Trade Organization to the Universal Postal Union to the Montreal Protocol. Across radically different subject areas, international legal institutions use others (usually states) to enforce their rules and typically deploy outcasting rather than physical force. Seeing outcasting as a form of law enforcement not only helps us recognize that the traditional critique of international law—that it is not enforced and is therefore both ineffective and not real law—is based on a limited and inaccurate understanding of law enforcement. It also allows us to understand more fully when and how international law matters.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Ron James

Palestine, the UN and the One-State Solution
in *Middle East Policy*, Volume 18, Issue 4, Winter , 59-67

Full text available at <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1475-4967.2011.00510.x/pdf>.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Kursawe Janet

**Pflicht zum Krieg? Der Libyenkonflikt als Testfall für die internationale Interventionspolitik
in Zeitschrift für Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik**, vol. 4, n. 4, november , 573-583

ABSTRACT: The Western-Arab military intervention in Libya represents not only the first case of implementing the responsibility to protect doctrine, but also a test case for international interventionism and its credibility. From an ethical point of view, this “humanitarian” intervention raises a number of questions, which are addressed in this article. Based on the case of the current Libya conflict, the author proposes several criteria for assessing such military interventions.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Griffiths Simon

Pluralism, neo-liberalism and the ‘all-knowing’ state

in Journal of Political Ideologies, Volume 16, Number 3 / October , 295-311

This article focuses on a left-libertarian response to neo-liberalism that emerged in the 1990s. In particular, it examines the work of Hilary Wainwright, founding editor of Red Pepper magazine. To Wainwright, the popularity and resurgence of a ‘neo-liberal’ or ‘new’ right could, in part, be explained by its libertarian and anti-statist outlook—themes, she argued, that had been neglected by the left. Wainwright used the arguments of the right-wing thinker Friedrich Hayek as a springboard for her own, very different, arguments for a left-libertarian, movement-based form of participatory democracy. There are parallels in her work with older, pluralist arguments. However, Wainwright's pluralism faces many of the same challenges—particularly concerning the relationship between group and state—that earlier pluralist thinkers struggled to resolve.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Hussey Laura S.

Polarized Politics and Citizen Disengagement - The Role of Belief Systems

in American Politics Research, Vol. 40, n. 1, January , 85-115

This article examines citizens who combine liberalism on one of two major issue dimensions with conservatism on the other, assessing whether they are less politically engaged than “consistent” liberals and conservatives and whether this relationship has strengthened over time with elite polarization. It also explores the contributions of cross-pressures, partisanship, and alienation to contemporary ideological differences in political engagement. This article departs from most existing research by defining ideology two dimensionally. Using the 1984-2008 American National Election Studies, it finds that culturally conservative, economically liberal Americans and to a lesser extent culturally liberal, economically conservative Americans are less engaged in elections than “consistent” liberals and conservatives. Different factors explain these differences with liberals and conservatives, but cross-pressures do not demobilize either



“two-dimensional ideologue.” Over time, the increased involvement of liberals and conservatives has produced a growing ideological gap in political engagement.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Walter Ryan

Politics and economics: Beyond the contamination thesis

in *Contemporary Political Theory*, Vol. 10, n. 4, November , 444-462

The relationship between politics and economic knowledge is contested. One general view claims that economics should be devoid of politics because of its corrupting effects, while another view posits the converse – that politics can be distorted by the impact of economic knowledge. Both views hold that the solution is to remove the influence of the one on the other. I construe these two broad views as variations on the same contamination thesis, the idea that politics and economics are separate domains and so should not contaminate one another. I suggest that this thesis is a version of the political/non-political distinction required by the ubiquitous ideal of a self-governing community, and that it therefore exhibits the limitations intrinsic to this ideal. The remedial possibilities of Michel Foucault's investigations into governmentality are then briefly explored.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Kinna Ruth

Politics, ideology and utopia: a defence of eutopian worlds

in *Journal of Political Ideologies* , Volume 16, Number 3 / October , 279-294

This article examines a recent shift in radical thinking about utopia and a critique of traditional socialist utopianism that has emerged from it. It argues that this new form of utopianism mistakenly treats the idea of future transformation as an illiberal ideological commitment and that it fails to distinguish adequately between different models of socialist utopian thought. The result is a form of utopianism that strips utopia of one of its central elements, the eu-topian aspect. The argument draws on the critique presented by Simon Tormey and a comparative analysis of the socialist utopianism of William Morris—the most celebrated British socialist utopian of the late 19th century—and Ernest Belfort Bax.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Newman Saul

Postanarchism: a politics of anti-politics

in *Journal of Political Ideologies* , Volume 16, Number 3 / October , 313-327



This article outlines a politics of postanarchism, which is based on a radical renewal—via poststructuralist theory—of classical anarchism's critique of statism and authority and its political ethics of egalibertarianism. I contend that while many of the theoretical categories of classical anarchism continue to be relevant today—and indeed are becoming more relevant with the collapse of competing radical projects and what might be seen as a paradigm shift from the representative politics of the party and vanguard to that of movements and decentralized networks—its humanist and rationalist epistemological framework needs to be rethought in the light of poststructuralist and postmodern theories. Here I develop an alternative understanding of anarchism based on a non-essentialist politics of autonomy.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Vandeginste Stef, Lekha Sriram Chandra

Power Sharing and Transitional Justice: A Clash of Paradigms?

in *Global Governance*, vol. 17, n. 4, october-december , 489-505

ABSTRACT: Recent peace negotiations practice has given rise to the emergence of two paradigms. In line with normative developments in global human rights protection, internationally brokered peace processes often address the options for accountability for abuses committed in the past and generally cannot include blanket amnesties. At the same time, many agreements end armed conflicts by offering power-sharing incentives for warring parties. In most cases, power-sharing arrangements are likely to clash with attempts to meaningfully deal with truth, accountability, and reparation for past abuses. The tension between the two paradigms gives rise to a number of important challenges and constraints for policymakers and, thus far, there is little practical evidence to guide them in managing the clash.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Kramer Paul A.

Power and Connection: Imperial Histories of the United States in the World

in *American Historical Review*, Volume 116, Number 5, December , 1348-1391

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Filippini Caterina

Principio unitario, elementi pattizi e multietnicità nella formazione e nell'evoluzione dell'ordinamento statale della Russia

in *Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo*, n. 3 , 1022 - 1036

No abstract available



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Lenzi Guido

Quale Turchia?

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLIII, numero speciale, n. 165 , 143-149

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Costa Pietro

Reading Principia Iuris

in *Res Publica*, Volume 17, Number 4, November , 317-325

This paper illustrates the main features of Luigi Ferrajoli's theoretical approach to law, as they are developed in his *Principia Iuris*. These include his opposition to the traditional perspective of natural law; his anti-cognitivist orientation; and, finally, his fundamentally normative approach. Among the numerous problems discussed in Ferrajoli's compendious book, the paper focuses on his definition of constitutional democracy. In particular, the paper discusses the way in which Ferrajoli defines the complementarity between democracy and rights; Ferrajoli's own criticism of T. H. Marshall's idea of citizenship; and the importance that the distinction between 'decidable' and 'non-decidable' rights have in Ferrajoli's own system. Other issues of interests that are briefly discussed include the constitutionalisation of private law, and the defence of different kinds of liberty-rights.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Tanaka Yoshifumi

Reflections on Arctic Maritime Delimitations: A Comparative Analysis between the Case Law and State Practice

in *Nordic Journal of International Law*, vol. 80, issue 4 , 459-484

ABSTRACT: The determination of spatial ambit of the coastal State jurisdiction is fundamental for ocean governance and the same applies to the Arctic Ocean. In this regard, a question arises how it is possible to delimit marine spaces where the jurisdiction of two or more coastal States overlaps. Without rules on maritime delimitation in marine spaces where the jurisdiction of coastal States overlaps, the legal uses of these spaces cannot be enjoyed effectively. In this sense, maritime delimitation is of paramount importance in the Arctic Ocean governance. Thus, this study will examine Arctic maritime delimitations by comparing them to the case law concerning maritime delimitation. In so doing, this study seeks to clarify features of Arctic maritime delimitations.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Davies Sara

Regional resilience in the 2008–2010 downturn: comparative evidence from European countries



in **Cambridge Journal of Regions, Economy and Society**, Volume 4 Issue 3 November , 369-382

The paper draws on the concept of regional resilience to examine the impact of the 2008–2010 downturn across regions in Europe. It finds that correlations between resilience and regional strength/fragility varied between countries in both 2009 and 2010, that resilience was weaker in manufacturing regions in 2009 but not 2010 and that the resilience of regions with high rates of construction employment was mainly low in regions affected by asset bubbles. Fiscal stimulus and tightening packages in 2008–2012 are shown to have regional dimensions in many countries but their regional impact varies, depending on political decisions and existing institutional frameworks.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Sandell Marie

Regional versus International: Women's Activism and Organisational Spaces in the Inter-war Period

in **International History Review (The)**, Volume 33, Issue 4 , 607-625

This article explores the increase in regional women's organisations and conferences in the 'non-West', including the All-India Women's Conference, the Pan-Pacific Women's Association and the All-Asian Women's Conference, from the late 1920s, and to what extent they represented a challenge to the hegemony of the international framework established by Western members of organisations such as the International Council of Women, the International Alliance of Women, and Women's International League for Peace and Freedom earlier in the century. In particular, it examines what this 'regionalisation' signified, whether these regional forums presented themselves as colleagues or rivals of existing international women's organisations, and to what extent these regional organisations offered an alternative space to their international counterparts, by introducing a new type of internationalism characterised by somewhat different values and the pursuit of other topics to those of international organisations.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

n. n.

Retour en enfer? Perspectives 2011-2012 pour l'économie mondiale

in **Revue de l'OFCE**, 2011/4 (n°119) , 35-79

Global economy is hardly recovering from the trauma of the 2008/2009 recession. Of course, fiscal stimulus and automatic stabilizers avoided a depressive cycle as in the 1930's. Yet the use of all means of conventional and unconventional economic policy led to a socialization of unsustainable private debts. Public budgets are heavily in deficit and public debts have strongly increased. In this context, EU member states are concerned about a possible worsening of their sovereign rating. The threat of default on Greece also hits some large countries of the euro zone, and risk premiums skyrocket for countries already in difficulty. European governments are then implementing fiscal consolidation to improve public finances, which would push economies into recession if goals were to be achieved whatever the cost.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Hohendahl Peter Uwe



Revolutionary War and Absolute Enemy: Rereading Schmitt's Theory of the Partisan

in *Constellations*, Vol. 18, Issue 4, December , 529-544

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1467-8675.2011.00657.x/abstract>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Monti Enrico

Ritradurre una Carta costituzionale: la Costituzione americana in diacronia

in *Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo*, n. 3 , 744 - 759

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Polese Abel

Russia, the US, “the Others” and the “101 Things to Do to Win a (Colour) Revolution”: Reflections on Georgia and Ukraine

in *Debate: Journal of Contemporary Central and Eastern Europe*, vol. 19, n. 1-2 , 421-451

In the past decade, we have witnessed an increasing capacity of political oppositions in post-socialist spaces to get people mobilised, interact with civil society movements and challenge a regime. Those events, labelled “colour revolutions” have affected the geopolitical order of the world by destabilising regimes in un-free countries of Eastern Europe, the former USSR and beyond. Starting from a framework elaborated in past years, according to which the output of a social and political movement in the former USSR depends on the combination of five factors (elites, opposition, external forces, civil society and people) this article analyses the importance of external influences to the success of what has been called a “colour revolution.” Drawing from the Rose Revolution in Georgia and the Orange Revolution in Ukraine, it discusses the appropriateness of the term “colour revolution,” its social and political significance and spells out the possible ways external influences can impact on socio-political events in a country where a colour revolution is attempted.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Nilsson Lars

Small Trade Flows and Preference Utilisation: the Case of the European Union

in *South African Journal of Economics (The)*, December 2011 - Volume 79, Issue 4 , 392-410

A significant number of preference eligible goods are imported into the European Union (EU) from developing countries at relatively low values. In 2008, more than 90% of the number of preferential import flows (at eight-digit level) represented together about 5% of the value of EU preferential imports from developing countries. While the overall utilisation of EU trade preferences is high, preference utilisation rates of these low-value imports are markedly lower. This fact is unobserved in the aggregate figures, and thus rarely noticed. This paper examines the extent and the



importance of this phenomenon. It attempts to identify exporting countries and products that are particularly affected, and relate these findings to the preferential margin offered on the EU market as well as to the requirements of rules of origin.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Eusepi Giuseppe, Wagner Richard E.

States as Ecologies of Political Enterprises

in Review of Political Economy (The), Volume 23, Issue 4, 2011 , pages 573-585

This paper seeks to overcome an antinomy within the theory of political economy: while market outcomes are treated as resulting from polycentric competition, political outcomes are treated as resulting from hierarchic planning. We seek to overcome this antinomy by treating political outcomes as likewise resulting from polycentric competition, taking due account of relevant institutional differences. For example, a parliamentary assembly is treated as an extra-ordinary form of investment bank that intermediates between the sponsors of enterprises and those within the citizenry who have means to support those enterprises. What results is a theory in which political programs emerge in largely bottom-up fashion through complex networks of transactions. Much of the inspiration for this paper arises from the Italian School of Public Finance, particularly Mazzola, Montemartini, Pantaleoni and de Viti de Marco.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Froud Julie, Nilsson Adriana, Moran Michael, Williams Karel

Stories and Interests in Finance: Agendas of Governance before and after the Financial Crisis

in Governance, Vol. 25, n. 1, January , 35-59

The financial crisis can be understood in many different terms. In this article, it is analyzed in terms of the unfolding of a series of elite narratives that shaped the agenda of regulation before the crisis, that were damaged by the crisis, and that were then reframed and recounted again in the wake of the crisis. The form of these stories differs in subtle ways by jurisdiction, and thus the fate of postcrisis regulatory practice likewise differs.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Ubertazzi B.

Su alcuni aspetti problematici della Convenzione per la salvaguardia del patrimonio culturale intangibile

in Rivista di diritto internazionale, vol. XCIV, fascicolo 3 , 777-798

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous



Efremidze Levan, Schreyer Samuel M., Sula Ozan

Sudden stops and currency crises

in *Journal of Financial Economic Policy*, Volume 3 issue 4 , pp. 304 - 321

Purpose – The purpose of this paper is to examine empirical characteristics of two commonly mentioned expressions of international financial crisis, “sudden stops” and currency crises.

Design/methodology/approach – Sudden stop and currency crisis events are identified and empirical regularities among them are analyzed based on the annual data of 25 emerging market countries from 1990 to 2003.

Findings – Puzzlingly, these two seemingly close expressions of crises overlap less than 50 percent of the time and sudden stops more frequently precede than follow currency crises. Also the two different sudden stop measures are not strongly correlated with each other.

Research limitations/implications – This shows that it can make a great deal of difference what measure is used and suggests that studies in this area should be sure to check the robustness of their results to different measures.

Practical implications – The authors think that the proper analysis should focus on how to use these different measures to understand the nature of the crises. Thus, sudden stop and currency crisis measures should be used as complements, rather than substitutes.

Social implications – The alarming frequency of the emerging market crises during the last three decades has motivated a large volume of theoretical and empirical literature on the subject. The paper's results advance understanding of these events.

Originality/value – A large body of studies on currency crises coexists with a growing literature on sudden stops yet a majority of the studies that investigate either one of these phenomena do not mention the other. The paper adds value by investigating empirical relationships between them.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Vezzani S.

Sul previo esaurimento dei mezzi di ricorso interni in situazioni di occupazione territoriale illegittima

in *Rivista di diritto internazionale*, vol. XCIV, fascicolo 3 , 799-820

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Castiglione Dario

Symposium on Luigi Ferrajoli's theory of law and constitutional democracy. Introduction

in *Res Publica*, Volume 17, Number 4, November , 311-315

This symposium presents the work of the Italian legal philosopher, Ferrajoli, to the English speaking public. Ferrajoli's work offers a reflection on law and the constitutional democratic state from a post-positivist perspective, applying the axiomatic method to the theory of law and democracy. Besides his systematic approach, Ferrajoli's theory is remarkable for a number of original and interesting reflections that he offers on the relationship between normativity and facticity, and on how to reconcile fundamental rights and democracy. In both respects, his work has similarities in scope, if not in



approach and not always in substance, with that of Habermas.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Baubock Rainer

Temporary migrants, partial citizenship and hypermigration

in Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy, Vol. 14, n. 5, December , 665-693

Temporary migration raises two different challenges. The first is whether territorial democracies can integrate temporary migrants as equal citizens; the second is whether transnationally mobile societies can be organized democratically as communities of equal citizens. Considering both questions within a single analytical framework will reveal a dilemma: on the one hand, liberals have good reasons to promote the expansion of categories of free-moving citizens as the most effective and normatively attractive response to the problem of partial citizenship for temporary migrants; yet, on the other hand, if free movement rights were actually used by too many, this might fatally undermine the sustainability of intergenerational and territorial democratic polities.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Fukuyama Francis, Weiwei Zhang

The China Model: A Dialogue between Francis Fukuyama and Zhang Weiwei

in New Perspectives Quarterly, Vol. 28, Issue 4, Fall , 40-67

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1540-5842.2011.01287.x/abstract>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

He Baogang

The Contested Politics of Asian Responses to Indigenous Rights

in International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights, Volume 18, Number 4, "Contrasted Perspectives on Recognition and Implementation of Indigenous Rights" , 461-478

A growing literature has examined various issues concerning indigenous rights in Asia. Yet the most urgent question is why, how and under what conditions the state recognises it. Why do some countries accept the international call for indigenous right but others reject it? Without the state's recognition, the cause of indigenous peoples and their rights looks dim. This paper examines the politics of the varied Asian responses to the international call for indigenous rights. It discusses reasons and conditions under which states or other actors endorse or deny indigenous people and their rights. The conclusion of the paper raises the issue of human agency in the politics of recognition.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea



Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Deligiannis Tom

The Evolution of Environment-Conflict Research: Toward a Livelihood Framework
in *Global Environmental Politics*, Volume 12, Issue 1, February , 78-100

The focus of qualitative environment-conflict research since the early 1990s on the state level of analysis has led to considerable uncertainty about the validity of hypothesized connections and under-specification of existing pathways in human-environmental change interactions. As a corrective, this article proposes a household-livelihood framework for qualitative environment-conflict research. This approach begins at the local level and then scales the analysis of social-political effects to higher levels. A household-livelihood framework also improves our understanding of many previously-ignored violent conflicts at the local level that have roots in human-environmental change.

Full text available at http://www.mitpressjournals.org/doi/pdf/10.1162/GLEP_a_00098

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Boyd David R.

The Implicit Constitutional Right to Live in a Healthy Environment

in *Review of European Community & International Environmental Law*, Volume 20, Issue 2, July , 171-179

The right to a healthy environment has rapidly gained constitutional protection around the world. In at least twenty countries, recognition of the right to a healthy environment first occurred through court decisions determining that it is implicit in other constitutional provisions, primarily the right to life. The right is now recognized explicitly in the constitutions of 90 countries spanning Europe, Asia, Latin America, the Caribbean and Africa, and is recognized as an implicit and enforceable constitutional right in at least twelve additional countries. The decisions of international courts and tribunals provide further support for concluding that the right to life necessarily includes the right to a healthy environment.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Cera Joseph, Weinschenk Aaron C.

The Individual-Level Effects of Presidential Conventions on Candidate Evaluations

in *American Politics Research*, Vol. 40, n. 1, January , 3-28

Our understanding of the impact of party conventions on opinion regarding presidential candidates is based largely on aggregate-level analysis. Extant individual-level investigation has been limited by the assumption that conventions are monolithic information events that exercise uniform effects. Using panel data, we show for the first time that conventions exercise two independent effects, which can counteract or reinforce each other depending on individual characteristics and information consumption. First, we demonstrate how exposure to speeches exercises a persuasive effect that benefits the convening candidate, even when partisanship is controlled. Second, we demonstrate how conventions exercise an atmospheric effect that activates general partisan bias. We find that observed postconvention changes are attributable to the combination of these separate but simultaneous effects. We also explore how individual partisanship conditions speech effects and find evidence that partisanship influences the decision to listen but is unlikely to influence the impact of a message already heard.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Baccelli Luca

The Logical Foundation of Fundamental Rights and their Universality

in **Res Publica**, Volume 17, Number 4, November , 369-376

This paper offers a critical analysis of two central issues in Luigi Ferrajoli's *Principia iuris*, and more generally of his theory of rights. One is the way in which 'expectations' play a crucial role in his deontic theory by establishing the logical basis for his guarantee-based conception of law and rights. The axiomatic way in which Ferrajoli arrives at his conception of fundamental rights is questioned, for it fails to give a full account of the nature of subjective rights. The other issues discussed here is Ferrajoli's own defence of the universality of fundamental rights, and how this is made to depend on a 'normative technique' that one can associate with legal discourse and modern law in Western societies. This, however, poses the problem of how this formal universalism can be reconciled with the intercultural dialogue that Ferrajoli also advocates.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Freeman Chas W. Jr

The Mess in the Middle East

in **Middle East Policy**, Volume 18, Issue 4, Winter , 96-105

Full text available at <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1475-4967.2011.00513.x/pdf>.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Ferrajoli Luigi

The Normative Paradigm of Constitutional Democracy

in **Res Publica**, Volume 17, Number 4, November , 355-367

This piece criticizes traditional formal and procedural conceptions of democracy, which fail to account for the development of contemporary constitutional democracy. The latter is characterized by a substantive dimension with respect to the content of the decisions taken through the democratic process. The validity of such decision is conditioned by the respect and actualization of fundamental rights, which are established by the constitution. The limits and constraints established by the constitution require juridical science to play a critical and programmatic role vis-à-vis the 'unlawful' exercise of public powers, when these enter in contrast with the limits imposed by the constitution.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous



SKidmore David

The Obama Presidency and US Foreign Policy: Where's the Multilateralism?
in *International Studies Perspectives* , vol. 13, issue 1, february , 43-64

ABSTRACT: Expectations that the presidential transition from George W. Bush to Barack Obama would produce a multilateralist turn in American foreign policy have thus far proven misplaced. This is largely because the strategic environment of the post-Cold War era places structural constraints on the ability of any US president, of whatever ideological leanings, to pursue a consistently multilateralist foreign policy. Internationally, the absence of a shared great power threat has undermined the institutional bargain between the United States and allied states, thus rendering the terms of multilateral cooperation more difficult to agree upon. At home, the end of the Cold War has undermined presidential authority and empowered veto players whose interests are threatened by multilateral commitments. Nevertheless, structure is not destiny. Understanding the sources of political constraint can suggest strategies for overcoming or bypassing such obstacles to multilateral engagement in US foreign policy. A president who wishes to exercise multilateral leadership abroad must seek to renegotiate the terms of US engagement with international institutions while fashioning a compelling rationale that mobilizes public support at home.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Cuison Villazor Rose

The Other Loving: Uncovering the Federal Government's Racial Regulation of Marriage
in *New York University Law Review* , Vol. 86, n. 5 , 1361-1439

This Article seeks to fill a gap in legal history. The traditional narrative of the history of the American racial regulation of marriage typically focuses on state laws as the only sources of marriage inequality. Overlooked in the narrative are the ways in which federal laws also restricted racially mixed marriages in the decades before 1967 (when the Supreme Court invalidated antimiscegenation laws in *Loving v. Virginia*). Specifically, during the American occupation of Japan after World War II, a combination of immigration, citizenship, and military laws and regulations led to restrictions on marriages along racial lines. These laws also converged to prevent married couples, many of whom were White American soldiers and local Japanese women, from living in the United States together. Accordingly, this Article claims that the confluence of immigration, citizenship, and military laws functioned as a collective counterpart to state antimiscegenation laws.

By unearthing this neglected history, this Article seeks to deepen the conventional account of the public regulation of mixed marriages. As the Article reveals, racial barriers to marriage were far more pervasive than previously acknowledged. Contrary to the familiar chronicle, racial restrictions on marriage occurred through federal laws, were enforced by federal officials, took place beyond state borders, and effected distinct harms on interracial couples whose experiences have largely escaped legal and scholarly inquiry. Recovering this lost history thus provides a more complete story of antimiscegenation regulation. Moreover, it draws attention to the largely undertheorized role that immigration law played in preventing interracial marriages and provides insight into contemporary debates on federal involvement in marriage regulation.

Full text available at:

http://www.law.nyu.edu/ecm_dlv2/groups/public/@nyu_law_website__journals__law_review/documents/documents/ecm_pro_070526.pdf



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Springborg Robert

The Political Economy of the Arab Spring

in *Mediterranean Politics*, Volume 16, Issue 3, November , 427-433

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Peach Ian

The Power of a Single Feather: Meech Lake, Indigenous Resistance and the Evolution of Indigenous Politics in Canada

in *Review of Constitutional Studies/Revue d'études constitutionnelles*, Vol. 16, issue 1 , 1-30

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Levi Lucio

The Recognition of the Palestinian State at the United Nations

in *Federalist Debate (The)*, Year XXIV, n. 3, November , 4-5

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

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

White Stuart

The Republican critique of capitalism

in *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, Vol. 14, n. 5, December , 561-579

Although republican political theory has undergone something of a revival in recent years, some question its contemporary relevance on the grounds that republicanism has little to say about central questions of modern economic organization. In response, this paper offers an account of core republican values and then considers how capitalism stands in relation to these values. It identifies three areas of republican concern related to: the impact of unequal wealth distribution on personal liberty; the impact of the private control of investment on popular sovereignty and pursuit of the common good; and the impact of capitalism on the level and quality of political participation. In view of these concerns, we can see some of the likely requirements of a distinctively republican, but contemporary political economy.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Ward Tara

The Right to Free, Prior, and Informed Consent: Indigenous Peoples' Participation Rights within International Law

in *Northwestern University Journal of International Human Rights*, vol. 10, issue 2, fall

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Elklit Jørgen

The Role of International Organisations During Electoral Crises: The Case of Kenya 2007

in *Representation*, Volume 47, Issue 4, November

International organisations play many different roles during election processes in new and emerging democracies (and in countries hoping to be seen as democracies). These roles—and their impact—become particularly interesting during situations that develop into ‘an electoral crisis’. An electoral crisis is some kind of humanitarian or political (or other) crisis, where administrative or other problems in relation to an electoral process function as the trigger of the crisis. Many such crises have occurred over recent years, but this article will focus on the Kenyan case of 2007–08. The tragic violence and ethnic cleansing shocked the world during early 2008. The instrument established jointly by the government of Kenya and international organisations to investigate what went wrong and what should be done to remedy the situation was IREC, the Independent Review Commission. The article demonstrates how international organisations were involved during the electoral process and also makes clear that the considerable amount of international assistance before and during the election was of almost no avail, while it was more useful after the election. IREC's surprising conclusion was that the main problems in the elections were not the finalisation of the vote count and the tabulation or the subsequent presentation of results. One has to look to the country's ethnic composition and history, to Kenya's political culture, and to the incompetence of the Electoral Commission of Kenya to understand why the expectations of an exemplary electoral process were turned into such a misery, despite international assistance from the very beginning of the electoral process.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

al-Suwaidi Abdulla

The United Arab Emirates at 40: A Balance Sheet

in *Middle East Policy*, Volume 18, Issue 4, Winter, 44-58

Full text available at <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1475-4967.2011.00509.x/pdf>.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Vylegzhanin Alexander N.

The contemporary legal framework of the Arctic Ocean: are there impacts of diminishing sea ice?

in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Volume 78, n. 3, luglio-settembre , 379-392

The article depicts the development of international law applicable to economic activities in the Arctic Ocean in the new environmental reality caused by diminishing sea ice. Special attention is paid to the interaction of universal, regional, bilateral and national levels of legal regulation of economic activities in the High North. Inaccuracies in legal assessments of status of the Arctic seas are noted.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Groot Stefan P. T., Möhlmann J. L., Garretsen J. H., De Groot Henri L. F.

The crisis sensitivity of European countries and regions: stylized facts and spatial heterogeneity

in *Cambridge Journal of Regions, Economy and Society*, Volume 4 Issue 3 November , 437-456

We investigate the impact of the recent global recession on European countries and regions. We first identify the heterogeneous impact of the global recession on individual European countries and regions. We then discuss three classes of explanations for spatial heterogeneity in the severity of the crisis: (i) the extent to which countries are integrated in the global economy via financial and trade linkages, (ii) differences in the institutional framework of countries and (iii) differences in their sectoral composition. We show that especially variation in the sectoral composition contributes to the variation in the effects of the current crisis, both at the country level and at the detailed regional level across Europe.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Braun Robert

The diffusion of racist violence in the Netherlands: Discourse and distance

in *Journal of Peace Research*, Volume 48, Number 6, November , 753-766

This article illuminates the unanticipated but intense waves of xenophobia that have swept through Western Europe over the last decade. The author makes use of a unique dataset and diffusion models to simultaneously investigate the geographical and temporal development of waves of racist violence in the Netherlands during the turbulent period 2001–03, when the country lost its reputation as a multicultural paradise. The results provide evidence for the fact that previous riots enhance the legitimacy of violence elsewhere, especially if they are visible in the mass media, resonate with public debates on immigration and take place in nearby regions. Opposing previous research on mobilization, the analysis suggests that proxies for ethnic competition, deprivation and political opportunity structures are not significantly related to the outbreak of violence; only population size adequately predicts where violence starts. Together these findings suggest that waves of xenophobia develop in two steps: they start in large cities and subsequently spread to nearby places through geographically clustered networks and to more distant counties once they become visible and resonate in the mass media, turning violence from local deviance into a supra-local phenomenon. This process sheds light on how scales of protest shift and explains why seemingly tolerant regions can suddenly become xenophobic



hotbeds.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Urpeleinen Johannes

The enforcement–exploitation trade-off in international cooperation between weak and powerful states
in *European Journal of International Relations* , vol. 17,n. 4, december , 631-653

ABSTRACT: According to the imperative of enforcement, states must threaten defectors with sanctions or reciprocal suspension of international cooperation. I show that in international cooperation between the weak and the powerful, states should nevertheless limit the supply of collective enforcement power. Strong sanctions allow exploitative international agreements, so weak states refuse to engage in negotiations with powerful states in the first place. For powerful states, toothless international agreements are a credible commitment to limit power politics. The result holds even if sanctions can be used only to enforce international agreements and not for coercion. It implies that under power asymmetry, states must accept constraints on the use of power, as opposed to simply maximizing the supply of collective enforcement power. The theory offers a new perspective to international cooperation and a synthesis of the enforcement and managerial schools of international cooperation. It produces precise analytical boundary conditions and generates falsifiable empirical hypotheses.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Berdiev Aziz N., Kim Yoonbai, Chang Chun Ping

The political economy of exchange rate regimes in developed and developing countries
in *European Journal of Political Economy* , Volume 28, Issue 1, March 2012 , Pages 38-53

This paper examines the influence of government ideology, political institutions and globalization on the choice of exchange rate regime via panel multinomial logit approach using annual data over the period of 1974–2004 in a panel of 180 countries: 26 developed and 154 developing.

We provide evidence that government ideology, political institutions and globalization are important determinants of the choice of exchange rate regime. In particular, we find that left-wing governments, democratic institutions, central bank independence and financial development increase the likelihood of choosing a flexible regime, whereas more globalized countries have a higher probability of implementing a fixed regime. More importantly, we find that political economy factors have different effects on the choice of exchange rate regime in developed and developing countries. All our results are robust to panel ordered probit model.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Morina Visar, Korenica Fisnik, Doli Dren

The relationship between international law and national law in the case of Kosovo: A constitutional perspective
in *International Journal of Constitutional Law* , Vol. 9, issue 1 , 274-296



This paper addresses the relationship between international law and national law in the case of Kosovo, using its constitutional law as a backdrop to the main question of the paper. After introducing the theoretical background to the field in question, the paper argues that the Constitution of Kosovo provides for a monist model of relationship between international law and national law, while recognizing the direct applicability and incorporation of treaties in the domestic legal order, and, to a certain extent, also of customary international law. The paper goes on to explain the relationship in question through reviewing a large portion of literature in the field with a view to enabling the reader to understand the specific provisions of the Constitution of Kosovo on the relationship concerned. The paper also attempts to explain the penetration of international human rights law in the national legal order, including an account of the broad constitutionalization of international human rights instruments that is apparent in the Kosovo Constitution. Finally, the paper concludes that the Constitution of Kosovo builds a 'happy' relationship between international law and national law, thus following a modern approach toward the relationship between the two

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Nair Chandran

The "Asian century" means tightening Asian belts

in *Europe's World*, Issue 19, Autumn

The shifting of economic and political power eastwards means the West must wake up to the fact that promoting consumption-led growth to Asia is not a viable option when natural resources are being so rapidly exhausted. Chandran Nair outlines how Asia should abandon Western-style economic practices to achieve a sustainably prosperous future on its own terms.

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21909/language/en-US/Default.aspx

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Baird Natalie

To Ratify or Not to Ratify? An Assessment of the Case for Ratification of International Human Rights Treaties in the Pacific

in *Melbourne Journal of International Law*, Volume 12, Issue 2 (November 2011), 1-41

Intuitively, ratification of human rights treaties should support protection and promotion of human rights. But will it? This article considers whether ratifying human rights treaties is a useful strategy to advance the cause of human rights in the Pacific. It aims to contribute to the ratification debate in the region by assessing the potential responses of Pacific states to the pressure for ratification. The article first reviews the consequences of ratification and then discusses the specific benefits and challenges of ratification for Pacific states. Against this background, four strategies that states might adopt in response to calls for ratification are considered, ranging from wholesale ratification at one end of the spectrum, to a moratorium on ratification at the other. The article argues that a strategy of selective ratification of individual treaties, combined with the pursuit of one or more complementary rights frameworks (national,



regional or international), is likely to be the most effective way to advance human rights in the region.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Ó Dochartaigh Niall

Together in the middle: Back-channel negotiation in the Irish peace process

in *Journal of Peace Research*, Volume 48, Number 6, November , 767-780

This article examines the development of cooperative relationships in back-channel communication and their impact on intraparty negotiation. It draws on extensive newly available evidence on back-channel communication in the Irish peace process to expand the range of detailed case studies on a topic which is shrouded in secrecy and resistant to academic inquiry. The article analyses the operation of a secret back channel that linked the Irish Republican Army to the British government over a period of 20 years, drawing on unique material from the private papers of the intermediary, Brendan Duddy, and a range of other primary sources. The article finds that interaction through this back channel increased predictability and laid a foundation of extremely limited trust by providing information and increasing mutual understanding. Strong cooperative relationships developed at the intersection between the two sides, based to a great extent on strong interpersonal relationships and continuity in personnel. This in turn produced direct pressure for changes in the position of parties as negotiators acted as advocates of movement in intraparty negotiations. The article finds that this back channel was characterized by a short chain, the direct involvement of principals and the establishment of a single primary channel of communication and that these features combined with secrecy to generate the distinctive cooperative dynamics identified in this article. It concludes that the potential for the development of cooperative relationships is particularly strong in back-channel negotiation for two reasons; first, the joint project of secrecy creates an ongoing shared task that builds trust and mutual understanding regardless of progress in the negotiations. Secondly, as a shared project based on the explicit aim of bypassing spoilers, the process creates structural pressures for cooperation to manage internal opponents on both sides, pressures intensified by the secrecy of the process.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Pendas Devin O.

Toward a New Politics? On the Recent Historiography of Human Rights

in *Contemporary European History* , vol. 21, n. 1, February , 95-111

When the late Kenneth Cmiel undertook the first systematic analysis of the emerging historiography of human rights in 2004, he surveyed a field that was 'refreshingly inchoate'. In the ensuing seven years, the scholarship on the history of human rights has burgeoned considerably. Yet one might still reasonably characterise the field overall as inchoate. Like any new subfield of historical inquiry, there is a clear lack of consensus among leading historians of human rights about even the most elementary contours of the subject. What are human rights? When and where did they emerge? How and why did they spread (if, indeed, they spread at all)? Who were the crucial agents in this history? Few historians working in the field seem to agree in their answers to any of these questions.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Kong Hoi

Towards a civic republican theory of Canadian constitutional law

in **Review of Constitutional Studies/Revue d'études constitutionnelles**, Vol. 15, issue 2 , 249 ff.

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Termeer Catrien J.A.M., Dewulf Art

Towards theoretical multiplicity for the governance of transitions: the energy-producing greenhouse case

in **International Journal of Sustainable Development**, Volume 15, Issue 1-2 , 37-53

Transition management has become an important topic in scientific research on sustainable development over the last decade. A recurring question is whether, and if so how, transitions towards sustainability can be governed. In this paper we address this question by theoretically comparing transition management theory with a number of related theories on governing societal change, such as multi-actor collaboration, network governance, policy agenda setting and adaptive management. We illustrate the different approaches by analysing the Dutch transition case of the greenhouse as a source of energy from different theoretical perspectives. We conclude that these theories reveal additional and more varied leadership mechanisms and steering options than the overarching approach of transition management alone. Therefore, we suggest an approach of theoretical multiplicity, arguing that multiple theories need to be applied simultaneously for dealing with the complex societal sustainability issues.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Abutbul Kfir

U.S. and E.U. Approaches to Competition Law - Convergent or Divergent Paths

in **Columbia Journal of European Law**, Vol. 17, issue 1 , 101-128

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Abbattisa Guido

Una mappa per una svolta transnazionale

in **Contemporanea - Rivista di storia dell'800 e del '900** , n. 4, ottobre , 773-380

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea



Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Ikeda Daisaku

Verso un secolo di dignità per tutti

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLIII, numero speciale, n. 165 , 191-226

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Zewei Yang

Western International Law and China's Confucianism in the 19th Century. Collision and Integration

in *Journal of the History of International Law*, Volume 13, Issue 2 , 285-306

The Confucian world view in China was based on the concept of the Celestial Empire of China and embodied in the Tributary System. The Chinese view could not fit into the equal international relationship asserted among European countries. In the mid-19th century, especially after the Opium Wars, international law embarked on a furious collision with Chinese traditional Confucianism. Threatened by forces of Western powers, the Qing government had no choice but to come to compromise with the Western powers. Consequently, the Confucian world order based on the Celestial Empire of China collapsed and Chinese officials and scholars began to learn, accept and apply international law.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Capannelli Giovanni

Why the world should welcome the Asian century

in *Europe's World*, Issue 19, Autumn

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21910/language/en-US/Default.aspx

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Vandenbroek L. Matthew

"Lost Our Lease" - Issue Attention and Partisan Defection in the 2008 Presidential Election

in *American Politics Research*, Vol. 39, n. 6, November , 1045-1071

This article advances a bounded rationality approach to account for a fundamental challenge in the study of voting behavior; finding a model that allows voters to be driven by both affective partisan attachments and rational issue considerations. Voters choose candidates they feel will perform best on the issues, but on the issues about which they care most, and on the issues as they see them. Party identification acts as the crucial bound on individual rationality, canalizing attention to issues either owned by or successfully leased by their own party and biasing expectations of issue handling. My empirical analysis of the 2008 presidential election shows the recession was a powerful predictor of



defection, but rather than valence—was the economy better or worse—what mattered was the level of importance an individual placed on the economy.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

White Stephen K., Farr Evan Robert

“No-Saying” in Habermas

in Political Theory , Volume 40, n. 1, February , 32-57

Habermas’s paradigm of communicative action is usually taken to be pretty much dominated by consensus, “Yes-saying.” What if this were a radically one-sided perception? We take up this unorthodox position by arguing that “no-saying” in this paradigm is typically overlooked and underemphasized. To demonstrate this, we consider how negativity is figured at the most basic onto-ethical level in communicative action, as well as expressed in civil disobedience, a phenomenon to which Habermas assigns the remarkable role of “touchstone” (Prufstein) of constitutional democracy. Once the importance of no-saying is drawn out, the paradigm looks distinctly less hostile to dissensus and agonism in democratic life.