



Bulletin n. 1/2006 - May 2006

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Selck Torsten J.

Conceptualizing the European Union Legislative Process: Some Insight from the Federalist Papers
in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 28, Number 2 / May , 121-136

This article links the discussions which are currently centring on the future design of the European Union legislative process to modern constitutional political theory as exemplified in the Federalist Papers. It argues that, to better understand the European Union policy-making process, analysts are well advised to consult the Federalist's objectives as well as its method of reasoning. Considering institutional design in general and legislative decision-making in particular, Jean Monnet, one of the principal architects of modern-day Europe, perceived the early developments which led to the Treaty that established the European Coal and Steel Community of 1952 as an unprecedented process. However, although the European Union is indeed novel, and not a state in the traditional sense, the dialogue in Europe would benefit from a more constitutionally oriented assessment of the potential effects of the Union's institutional arrangements on legislative outcomes. Modern constitutional theory can provide the basis for this assessment. Without assuming the Constitution of the United States for itself, the European debate on legislative design would be enriched by looking back at the Federalist's reasoning.

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

Subsection 1. The theory of federation

Häberle Peter

Föderalismus/Regionalismus - eine Modellstruktur des Verfassungsstaates - Deutsche Erfahrungen und Vorhaben - Memorandum für ein spanischen Projekt

in *Jahrbuch des öffentlichen Rechts der Gegenwart*, Band 54, 2006

No abstract available

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

Subsection 1. The theory of federation

Meltzer D. J.

Member state liability in Europe and the United States
in *International Journal of Constitutional Law*, Vol. 4 n. 1 , 39-83

The European Community (EC) and the United States have contrasting approaches to the place of member state liability to private parties as a remedy for the violation of the law of the union. The EC recognizes a general doctrine of member state liability in damages for violations of EC law, while American states generally possess sovereign immunity from



private damage claims for violations of federal law. This contrast is paradoxical, as one would expect the U.S., a better established and more powerful federal polity, to have fewer concerns about the imposition of state liability than the less powerful and more fragile EC. A cluster of differences between the EC and the U.S. helps to account for this paradox. These differences include the factual circumstances of their respective seminal cases; the historical settings in which they arose; civil law systems' greater hospitality to governmental liability as compared to common law systems; stronger political control over judicial appointments in the U.S.; and EC member states' stronger safeguards against unwelcome federal legislation. Collectively, these differences help to explain why state liability was deemed more important to the center and less threatening to the member states in the European Community than in the U.S.

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Subsection 1. The theory of federation

Zamora S., Ramón Cossío J.

Mexican constitutionalism after presidencialismo

in *International Journal of Constitutional Law*, Vol. 4 n. 2 , 411-437

No abstract available

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

Subsection 1. The theory of federation

Lane Scheppele K.

North American emergencies: The use of emergency powers in Canada and the United States

in *International Journal of Constitutional Law*, Vol. 4 n. 2 , 213-243

Although the United States and Canada have had quite different constitutional frameworks, their uses of emergency powers through most of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were very similar. In the nineteenth century, national troops were used to put down local rebellions in both countries, often at the request of local governors. With World War I, however, both moved to a statute-based system of regulating emergencies. In Canada, the War Powers Act provided broad delegations of power from the parliament to the executive. In the U.S., delegations were also broad, but accomplished through a series of smaller statutes. These frameworks lasted until abuses of emergency powers were exposed in both countries in the 1970s. And there the parallel history ended. Canada adopted a comprehensive constitutional revision that brought all emergency powers within constitutional understandings. The U.S., on the other hand, continued its use of statutory patches to regulate the relationship between the executive and legislature in times of crisis. As a result, the reactions of the two countries to the events of 9/11 were quite different. Canada responded with a moderate use of exceptional powers, while the US plunged into more extreme uses of emergency powers.

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

Subsection 1. The theory of federation

Hirschl R., Eisgruber C. L.

Prologue: North American constitutionalism?

in *International Journal of Constitutional Law*, Vol. 4 n. 2 , 203-212

No abstract available



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

Subsection 1. The theory of federation

Erk J.

**Uncodified Workings and Unworkable Codes" Canadian Federalism and Public Policy
in Comparative Political Studies** , Vol. 39 n. 4 , 441-462

The discrepancy between the written constitution and the day-to-day workings of the Canadian federal system is noted by a number of observers. However, there is yet no general theory that seeks to explain why de jure constitution and de facto practice diverge from one another. This article proposes an explanation based on the ethnolinguistic social structure. The workings of the federal system are best observed in the field of public policy where the constituent linguistic/cultural communities of Canada function as default demoi, bypassing the formal structures of the federation. This process is particularly visible in education and media where identity politics find their first outlet. As a result, in the absence of formal recognition, the duality of the Canadian society tends to reveal itself through the workings of the system.

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

Subsection 2. Constitutional reform

Taylor G.

**Germany: The subsidiarity principle
in International Journal of Constitutional Law**, Vol. 4 n. 1 , 115-130

The subsidiarity principle—revised article 72(2) of the German Basic Law—Geriatric Care Act as an alleged violation of the revised article—the Constitutional Court's decision vis-à-vis the Bavarian challenge—the scope of judicial review and the extent of legislative discretion—problems implicit in the Court's decision

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Subsection 2. Constitutional reform

Dwi Harijanti S., Lindsey T.

**Indonesia: General elections test the amended Constitution and the new Constitutional Court
in International Journal of Constitutional Law**, Vol. 4 n. 1 , 138-150

No abstract available

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

Subsection 2. Constitutional reform

Groppi T., Scattone N.

**Italy: The Subsidiarity Principle
in International Journal of Constitutional Law**, Vol. 4 n. 1 , 131-137

Italian constitutional reform—legislative competences—the principle of subsidiarity in the Italian Constitution—the Italian



Constitutional Court rewrites the reform of the Constitution—decision of October 1, 2001

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

Subsection 2. Constitutional reform

Emmanuele Francesco Maria Emanuele

La sfida della sussidiarietà ed il nuovo assetto istituzionale

in *Federalismi*, Anno IV, n. 4

No abstract available

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

Subsection 2. Constitutional reform

Gamble Andrew

The Constitutional Revolution in the United Kingdom

in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, Vol. 36, n. 1, Winter , 19-35

The changes to the territorial constitution in the United Kingdom since 1997 have been extensive, but there is no agreement on their long-run significance, opinion being divided as to whether the changes are substantive or cosmetic and whether they represent the conclusion of a process or the start of a new one. This article connects these arguments with historical debates on the nature of the British state and its distinctive constitution and multiple identities in order to assess whether the devolution process of recent years signals continuity, rupture, or reform of U.K. institutions. It concludes that some of the changes have introduced quasi-federal features to the constitution and mark a historical watershed, although progress toward full federation remains limited.

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

Gerlak Andrea K.

Federalism and U.S. Water Policy: Lessons for the Twenty-First Century

in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, Vol. 36, n. 2, Spring , 231-257

This article traces five historical streams of water policy in the United States, revealing the strain and stresses of intergovernmental relations pertaining to water resource management. It finds that water policy is increasingly characterized by pragmatic federalism emphasizing collaborative partnerships, adaptable management strategies, and problem and process orientation. The evolving nature of federal-state relations, characterized by expanding federal authorities and increased state capacity, coupled with a rise of local watershed groups and greater ecological concern, calls for improved coordination. Yet challenges resulting from policy fragmentation and ecosystem complexity remain. Continued calls for greater integration will likely be heard as federal-state relations continue to evolve.

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

Schiavon J.A.



The central-local division of power in the Americas and renewed Mexican federalism: Old institutions, new political realities

in *International Journal of Constitutional Law*, Vol. 4 n. 2 , 392 - 410

This paper explores whether the central-local division of power is an important constitutional variable in the political systems of the Americas. It develops a typology of the different kinds of central-local division based on the two specific characteristics differentiating them (federal-unitary and centralized-decentralized). It then constructs a "veto gates and players" model in order to analyze the causal mechanism through which the central-local division of power impacts the constitutional systems, followed by two case studies to support the argument that federalism matters when combined with decentralization (measured through the subnational share of expenditure) and partisan fragmentation in the system (number and nature of political parties). In the process, I analyze the Mexican federal system, arguing that renewed Mexican federalism is a function of the combination of old federal institutions, established in 1917, with the new political distribution of power and decentralization after the 2000 democratic transition.

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

Subsection 4. The legislative branch

Chhibber Pradeep, Murali Geetha

Duvergerian Dynamics in the Indian States. Federalism and the Number of Parties in the State Assembly Elections

in *Party Politics*, Volume 12, Number 1, January , 5-34

Empirical research on voting in electoral districts in single-member, simple-plurality electoral systems has demonstrated the general validity of Duverger's law. This article shows that while the law is generally valid for state assembly elections in India, there are exceptions. In a significant number of electoral districts, more than two parties secure votes. We attribute these non-random deviations from Duverger's law to the influence of federal arrangements. The article provides evidence that more than two parties will get votes in an electoral district when either more than two national parties or a combination of national and regional parties compete for votes in a state. We show that an increase in the number of regional parties alone at the state level would not have the same effect on district-level results.

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

Subsection 4. The legislative branch

Reutter Werner

The Transfer of Power Hypothesis and the German Länder: In Need of Modification

in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, Vol. 36, n. 2, Spring , 277-301

Conventional wisdom ascribes to Land parliaments at best a supporting role in German politics and a minor influence on public decision making. Land parliaments are often dismissed as having few substantial legislative or other functions. However, a closer analysis reveals a more complex picture. Even though the legislative function of Land parliaments is limited, these regional bodies of representation are indispensable institutions for the German federal system. This article analyzes the legislative role, the elective function, and the participation of Land parliaments in coalition building as well as developments in the Land party systems. It is shown that in these areas the Land level is more important than is commonly thought. Recent changes indicate that Land parliaments may play an even more pronounced role in the future. The prevailing theoretical approach that sees federalism dominating German consensus democracy thus seems



too general.

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Subsection 5. The executive branch

Mashaw Jerry L.

Recovering American Administrative Law: Federalist Foundations, 1787-1801

in *Yale Law Journal (The)*, Vol. 115, n. 6, April , 1256-1344

By scholarly convention, federal administrative law begins in the United States in 1887 with the establishment of the Interstate Commerce Commission. Before that time the national government is perceived as a state of courts and parties in which federal administration was minimal and congressional statutes were either self-executing or so detailed as to preclude significant administrative discretion. Such administration as there was went on within executive departments under the exclusive control of the President, and judicial review of administrative action was virtually unknown. From this perspective the administrative state of the twenty-first century, with its independent commissions, combinations of legislative, executive, and judicial authority in administrative agencies, broad delegations of administrative discretion, limitations on presidential control of administration, and ubiquitous opportunities for judicial review of executive action, represents a radical transformation of original constitutional understandings.

There is much truth in this conventional vision of nineteenth-century governance, but far from the whole truth. This Article begins a project of recovering the lost one hundred years of federal administrative law. For statutory sources, agency practice, and common law actions in the Federalist period reveal a quite different and more nuanced picture. From the very beginning some administrators were clothed with broad statutory authority, made general rules, adjudicated cases, were located outside of departments, and were tightly bound to congressional oversight and direction. And common law actions provided a judicial review that was often more intrusive and robust than we observe in contemporary practice. If there was an original understanding of the structure, function, and control of administration in early federal law, Federalist practices suggest that it was a much more complex and pragmatic understanding than our conventional account admits.

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

Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Dawood Y.

Democracy, power, and the Supreme Court: Campaign finance reform in comparative context

in *International Journal of Constitutional Law*, Vol. 4 n. 2 , 269 - 293

The debate over campaign finance reform is usually framed as a conflict between reducing corruption in the electoral process, on the one hand, and protecting freedom of speech, on the other. There is far more at stake, however, in the controversy over campaign finance regulation. By engaging in a comparative analysis of key decisions by the U.S. Supreme Court and the Supreme Court of Canada, this article shows that the judicial oversight of campaign finance reform raises fundamental and complex questions about democratic values, processes, and institutions. Specifically, I argue that conflicts over campaign finance regulation are at base disputes about how power should be distributed within a democracy. In addition, I claim that the decision to regulate campaign finance should be viewed as inevitably involving a trade-off among competing distributions of power in a democracy. In other words, campaign finance regulation does not simply present a choice between reducing corruption and protecting speech; instead, the actual decision involves a



far more complex balancing of competing objectives. This article outlines a proposal for how courts should analyze the power trade-offs involved in the regulation of campaign finance.

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

Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Roach K.

Dialogue or defiance: Legislative reversals of Supreme Court decisions in Canada and the United States
in *International Journal of Constitutional Law*, Vol. 4 n. 2 , 347 - 370

This article examines dialogue between courts and legislatures in the context of legislative attempts to reverse pro-accused Supreme Court constitutional decisions in Canada and the United States. It focuses on a case study comparing Congress's unsuccessful attempt to reverse *Miranda v. Arizona* with the Canadian Parliament's so far successful reversal of *Daviault v. The Queen*, a similar due process decision in favor of the rights of the accused. In the context of the Supreme Court of Canada's record in other cases where legislatures have reversed its decisions, the author explores the hypothesis that the reasonable limitations clause and the override or derogation clauses of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, as well as the ability of Canadian governments to refer abstract questions to the courts, provide more room for dialogue between courts and legislatures than is available under the U.S. Bill of Rights. The author concludes that Charter provisions offer a useful alternative to the polar extremes of legislative and judicial supremacy.

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

Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Deller Steven C., Maher Craig S.

A Model of Asymmetries in the Flypaper Effect
in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, Vol. 36, n. 2, Spring , 213-229

In this applied research study we examine the changing fiscal relationship between state and local governments. Our research question is simple: Do local governments treat state aid during periods of stability and instability in a systematic manner? Using data on Wisconsin's unconditional shared revenues program from 1990 to 2000, we find evidence of a flypaper effect and that the relationship tends to be asymmetrical. The manner in which local governments treat intergovernmental aid is different between periods of increases and decreases in aid. Specifically, using a model that allows for the identification of structure shifts we find evidence of fiscal replacement. In addition, we find that changes in aid impact types of spending differently. When aid is reduced, policymakers appear to be less inclined to cut police and fire services than they are to cut services such as parks and recreation.

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

Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Ortuño-Ortina Ignacio, Sempereb Jaume

A theoretical model of nations, regions and fiscal integration
in *Regional Science and Urban Economics*, Volume 36, Issue 2 , 132-157

This paper analyzes how the incentives of regions differ from those of nations when choosing a supranational fiscal



arrangement. Two types of fiscal arrangements are studied: a Union of nations and a Federation of nations. Under the Union, there is full fiscal integration, and under the Federation, there is only partial fiscal integration and partial insurance against local risks. We show that the claim that regions have stronger incentives than nations to form a supranational Union rather than a Federation might be true only in the case where regions have strong incentives to be part of a centralized nation.

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Enderlein Henrik

Adjusting to EMU: The Impact of Supranational Monetary Policy on Domestic Fiscal and Wage-Setting Institutions

in **European Union Politics** , Vol. 7, n. 1, March , 113-140

The article suggests an explanation for seemingly diverse patterns of change in domestic economic institutions following the establishment of Economic and Monetary Union (EMU). It argues that EMU participants redesigned ill-fitting domestic fiscal and wage-setting institutions in order to counter the anticipated destabilizing effects of the 'one size fits all' monetary policy of the European Central Bank (ECB). After outlining the argument, the article identifies general economic and institutional conditions that are required for the use of fiscal and wage-setting institutions as effective stabilizers in a monetary union. It then undertakes a comparative assessment to detect country-specific mismatches between anticipated needs and the available domestic economic institutions. Finally, the article surveys institutional changes in 10 member states between the mid 1990s and 2002 and shows that the observed institutional adjustments largely correspond to the expected correction of initial mismatches.

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Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Fuest Clemens, Huber Bernd

Can regional policy in a federation improve economic efficiency?

in **Journal of Public Economics**, Volume 90, Issues 3 , 499-511

In the European Union and in many federal and non-federal countries, the central government pays subsidies to poor regions. These subsidies are often seen as a redistributive measure which comes at the cost of an efficiency loss. This paper develops an economic rationale for regional policy based on economic efficiency. We consider a model of a federation consisting of a rich and a poor region. The economy is characterized by imperfect competition in goods markets and unemployment. Firms initially produce in the rich region but may relocate their production to the poor region. We show that a subsidy on investment in the poor region unambiguously increases welfare if labour markets are competitive. If there is unemployment in both regions, the case for regional subsidies is weaker.

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Makris Miltiadis



Capital tax competition under a common currency

in *Journal of Urban Economics*, Volume 59, Issue 1 , 54-74

We re-examine the view that capital taxes are too low when capital is mobile across tax jurisdictions. We do so by emphasising a previously neglected implication of decentralised capital tax setting when jurisdictions share a common currency. Namely, capital taxes give rise to a vertical externality by affecting the revenues of the over-arching central bank from issuing the common currency. This externality may lead, *ceteris paribus*, to too high regional capital taxes, and may more than offset the usual effects of tax competition. In this case, and contrary to conventional wisdom, decentralised capital taxes will be too high.

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Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Giampaolo Garzarelli

Cognition, Incentives, and Public Governance, Laboratory Federalism from the Organizational Viewpoint

in *Public Finance Review*, Vol. 34, No. 3 , 235-257

The second-generation theory (SGT) of fiscal federalism, which draws upon contemporary economic and industrial organization theory, hitherto focuses only on the negative benefits of public decentralization: the potentially superior ability to align perverse incentives *vis-à-vis* the centralized governance alternative. The SGT neglects the positive benefits of decentralization (mistake-ridden learning, flexibility, and option discovery), although the limitations of organization theory do not justify such neglect. By likening intergovernmental grants to incomplete contracts, this work shows that the SGT can include the laboratory nature of decentralization

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Fletcher Jason M., Murray Matthew N.

Competition over the Tax Base in the State Sales Tax

in *Public Finance Review*, Vol. 34, No. 3 , 258-281

The sales tax shows wide variation across states. Rates differ, some states allow local options, and the base can vary dramatically. Consumer items like food are often afforded preferential treatment, and business purchases like manufacturing machinery are exempt in some states. There is no research that explores these and other sales tax base choices. This article provides an empirical examination of sales tax base choice on the part of states using a political economy framework and tools of spatial econometrics. The analysis accommodates tax competition among states, using a variety of alternative definitions of "competitors." The authors find little evidence that consumer exemptions are linked to needy segments of the population, while equipment exemptions are more common in states with large industrial sectors. The results also show that the nature of the interstate tax competition process differs for different elements of the base and that nongeographic competition can be especially important.

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Devereux Paul J., Weisbrod Burton A.



Does Satisfaction with Local Public Services Affect Complaints (Voice) and Geographic Mobility (Exit)?
in *Public Finance Review*, Vol. 34, No 2 , 123-147

Political systems may respond not only to elections but also to expressions of dissatisfaction through complaints and geographic mobility. Understanding the implications of citizen dissatisfaction with local public services is the goal of this article, which examines empirically two forms of consequences of dissatisfaction—complaints to governmental agencies and decisions to move. The authors find that dissatisfied individuals are more likely to complain and to plan to move and that these two courses of action appear to be substitutes. An implication of the findings that stated dissatisfaction does have predictable behavioral consequences is that survey data on satisfaction with public services have information content that has been underappreciated in economics research.

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

Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Anderson Cameron D.

Economic Voting and Multilevel Governance: A Comparative Individual-Level Analysis

in *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 50, Issue 2 , 449-463

An important component of incumbent support is the reward/punishment calculus of economic voting. Previous work has shown that "clarity of responsibility" within the central state government conditions national economic effects on incumbent vote choice: where clarity is high (low), economic effects are greater (less). This article advances the "clarity of responsibility" argument by considering the effect of multilevel governance on economic voting. In institutional contexts of multilevel governance, the process of correctly assigning responsibility for economic outcomes can be difficult. This article tests the proposition that multilevel governance mutes effects of national economic conditions by undermining responsibility linkages to the national government. Individual-level data from the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems Module 1 are used to test this proposition. Results demonstrate that economic voting is weakest in countries where multilevel governance is most prominent. Findings are discussed in light of the contribution to the economic voting literature and the potential implications of multilevel governance.

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Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Solé-Ollé Albert

Expenditure spillovers and fiscal interactions: Empirical evidence from local governments in Spain

in *Journal of Urban Economics*, Volume 59, Issue 1 , 32-53

The paper presents a framework for measuring spillovers resulting from local expenditure policies. We identify and test for two different types of expenditure spillovers: (i) "benefit spillovers," arising from the provision of local public goods, and (ii) "crowding spillovers," arising from the crowding of facilities by residents in neighboring jurisdictions. Benefit spillovers are accounted for by assuming that the representative resident enjoys the consumption of a local public good in both his own community and in those surrounding it. Crowding spillovers are included by considering that a locality's consumption level is influenced by the population living in the surrounding localities. We estimate a reaction function,



with interactions between local governments occurring not only between expenditure levels, but also between neighbors' populations and expenditures. The equation is estimated using data on more than 2500 Spanish local governments for the year 1999. The results show that both types of spillovers are relevant

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Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Kessing Sebastian G. , Konrad Kai A., Kotsogiannis Christos

Federal tax autonomy and the limits of cooperation

in **Journal of Urban Economics**, Volume 59, Issue 2 , 317-329

We consider the hold-up problem between a foreign direct investor and the government(s) in a host country with weak governmental structure and lack of power to commit. Using "Nash threats," we show that an efficient investment level can be sustained for a sufficiently high discount factor and ask whether a vertically disintegrated government structure makes collusion more or less sustainable. We show that collusion between the government and the investor is easier to sustain if the host country is vertically more integrated, or if the different vertical layers of government can commit to fixed tax-sharing rules

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Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Jensen Nathan

Fiscal Federalism and International Capital: The Effects of Fiscal Federalism on Foreign Direct Investment and Sovereign Dept Ratings

in **Swiss Political Science Review - Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft - Revue suisse de science politique**, Volume 11, Issue 4, Winter 2005 , 77-95

Although the study of federalism has become one of the most intensely studied areas in economics and political science, no consensus has emerged on the impact of fiscal federalism on macroeconomic performance. I focus on one specific element of the debate- the role of fiscally federal institutions in allowing a country access to international capital markets. In an empirical analysis of 60 countries from 1975-1995 I find fiscal federalism has no clear impact on inflows of foreign direct investment. In an examination of the impact of federalism on sovereign debt ratings for 40 countries from 1980-1998, I find that fiscal federalism is associated with lower levels of sovereign debt risk.

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Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Coeuré Benoît, Pisani-Ferry Jean

Fiscal Policy in Emu: Towards a Sustainability and Growth Pact?

in **Oxford Review of Economic Policy**, Volume 21, Issue 4 , 598-617

This paper takes stock of the academic and policy discussions on the fiscal institutions of EMU, confronts the framework in place with what is known of the desirable properties of fiscal policy in a monetary union, and discusses possible improvements. We start with a discussion of three requirements for the fiscal framework of a monetary union: it should



be conducive to public finance sustainability, leave room for stabilization at the national level, and encourage structural reform. We then examine how the Stability and Growth Pact (SGP) measures up to these requirements and find that it has mostly failed on all three accounts. Whether the 2005 reform of the SGP fixes those deficiencies remains an open issue. To this end, we propose five building blocks towards an effective SGP: a better concept of sustainability; harmonized general government balance sheets; appropriate targets; refined procedures; and better institutions.

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Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Nitti G. I.

Forme di Stato, federalismo fiscale e tributi locali

in *Nuova rassegna di legislazione, dottrina e giurisprudenza*, n. 4 , 365-377

No abstract available

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Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Cuzzola V.

Il Federalismo fiscale

in *Nuova rassegna di legislazione, dottrina e giurisprudenza*, n. 4 , 401-407

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

Montani Guido

Il ruolo del bilancio europeo nella politica economica europea

in *Federalista (II)/Federalist (The)*, Anno XLVII, n. 3 , 144-177

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

Graetz Michael J., Warren Jr. Alvin C.

Income Tax Discrimination and the Political and Economic Integration of Europe

in *Yale Law Journal (The)*, Vol. 115, n. 6, April , 1186-1255

In recent years, the European Court of Justice (ECJ) has invalidated many income tax law provisions of European Union (EU) member states as violating European constitutional treaty guarantees of freedom of movement for goods, services, persons, and capital. These decisions have not, however, been matched by significant EU income tax legislation, because no EU political institution has the power to enact such legislation without unanimous consent from the member states. In this Article, we describe how the developing ECJ jurisprudence threatens the ability of member states to use



tax incentives to stimulate their domestic economies and to resolve problems of international double taxation. We conclude that the ECJ approach is ultimately incoherent because it is a quest for an unattainable goal in the absence of harmonized income tax bases and rates: to eliminate discrimination based on both origin and destination of economic activity. We also compare the ECJ's jurisprudence with the resolution of related issues in international taxation and the U.S. taxation of interstate commerce, and we consider the potential responses of both the European Union and the United States to these developments.

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Schmidheiny Kurt

Income segregation and local progressive taxation: Empirical evidence from Switzerland

in **Journal of Public Economics**, Volume 90, Issues 3 , 429-458

This study investigates spatial income segregation in fiscally decentralized urban areas. The theoretical part proposes the progressivity of local income taxes as a new theoretical explanation for income segregation. The empirical part studies how income tax differentials across municipalities affect the households' location decisions. I use data from the Swiss metropolitan area of Basel that contains tax information on all moving households in 1997. The location choice of the households is investigated within the framework of the random utility maximization model. Different econometric specifications of the error term structure, such as conditional logit, nested logit and multinomial probit, are compared. The empirical results show that rich households are significantly and substantially more likely to move to low-tax municipalities than poor households. This result holds after controlling for alternative explanations of segregation. Social interactions and distance from the central business district are established as other major factors for income segregation. Households in general tend to choose locations close to other households like themselves.

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Schmidheiny Kurt

Income segregation from local income taxation when households differ in both preferences and incomes

in **Regional Science and Urban Economics**, Volume 36, Issue 2 , 270-299

This paper presents a model of an urban area with local income taxes used to finance a local public good. Households differ in both incomes and their taste for housing. The existence of a segregated equilibrium is shown in a calibrated two-community model assuming single-peaked distributions for both income and housing taste. The equilibrium features income segregation of the population across the communities. The segregation is, however, imperfect: some rich households can be found in poor communities and vice-versa. The calibrated model is able to explain the substantial differences in local income tax levels and average incomes across communities as observed in e.g. Switzerland. The numerical investigation reveals that the ordering of community characteristics critically depends on the substitutability between the public and the private good. The numerical investigation also suggests that taste heterogeneity reduces the distributional effects of local tax differences. The numerical investigation furthermore suggests that the rich community can set lower taxes when it is small.



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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Freitag Markus, Vatter Adrian

Initiatives, referendums, and the tax state

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 13, Number 1 / January , 89-112

This article examines the impact of different forms of direct democracy on the tax state in the Swiss cantons in economically difficult times, i.e. between 1990 and 2000. The analysis distinguishes between the fiscal referendum and the popular initiative, since theoretical arguments suggest that these two instruments of direct citizen participation have contrary effects on the tax state. Specifically, the fiscal referendum is expected to act as a brake on tax interventionism, the popular initiative rather as an accelerator. However, pooled time-series analyses show that the initiative has no bearing on the tax state. What counts is the extent to which citizens are granted the right of fiscal referendum. More precisely, of all the different features of direct citizen participation in fiscal matters, the mandatory referendum turns out to be the most essential.

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Stansel Dean

Interjurisdictional Competition and Local Government Spending in U.S. Metropolitan Areas

in *Public Finance Review*, Vol. 34, No 2 , 173-194

Using a new comprehensive data set of 314 U.S. metropolitan areas (or all metro areas for which comparable historical data were available), this article provides a new test of the Leviathan hypothesis that there is an inverse relationship between fiscal exploitation and the amount of interjurisdictional competition. Unlike much previous work, this article focuses on the local level, where the residential mobility that drives that interjurisdictional competition is at its highest. Consistent with the Leviathan hypothesis, the results indicate that there is a negative relationship between interjurisdictional competition and spending growth, and this result holds for two different measures of spending and three different time periods. However, the results for spending levels are less supportive.

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Kletzer Kenneth

International Financial Integration, Sovereignty, and Constraints on Macroeconomic Policies

in *IMF Policy Discussion Papers*, February 2006

This paper considers the consequences of international financial market integration for national fiscal and monetary policies that derive from the absence of an international sovereign authority to define and enforce contractual obligations across borders. The sovereign immunity of national governments serves as a fundamental constraint on international finance and is used to derive intertemporal budget constraints for sovereign nations and their governments. It is shown that the appropriate debt limit for a country allows for state-contingent repayment. With noncontingent debt instruments, debt renegotiation occurs in equilibrium with positive probability. A model of tax smoothing is adopted to show how



information imperfections lead to conventional bond contracts that are renegotiated when a critical level of indebtedness is reached. Renegotiation is interpreted in terms of nominal and real denominated bonds, and implications are drawn about the intertemporal borrowing constraint for monetary policies, the accumulation of reserve assets, and current account sustainability.

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

Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Halkos G., Kyriazis N.

Is tax competition harmful and is the EU an optimal tax area?

in *European Journal of Law and Economics*, Volume 21, Number 2 , 163-177

This paper examines the issue of harmfulness of tax competition commenting on issues like welfare, growth, redistribution, harmonization and individual freedom. A simple game theoretical approach is formulated, where for the first time the two players start from unequal initial conditions, thus influencing strategy and outcomes. Next we propose the new criterion of Optimal Tax Area under which the possibility and feasibility of tax harmonization is examined. The policy implication of our paper is that we do not expect harmonization for direct taxes like corporate taxes in the EU in the near future and if so, harmonization of corporate tax rates on low levels. We conclude that both more theoretic research and empirical evidence are needed before we can answer with certainty whether tax competition is harmful or not.

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

Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Blackwell Calvin, Crotts John C. , Litvin Stephen W. , Styles Alan K.

Local Government Compliance with Earmarked Tax Regulation

in *Public Finance Review*, Vol. 34, No 2 , 212-228

This article investigates local governments' spending of accommodations tax revenues in the state of South Carolina. Although these revenues are partially earmarked for tourism promotion, results show that local governments engage in illegal fiscal substitution. This fiscal substitution can be explained by the local government's financial flexibility and the proportion of accommodations taxes relative to its overall budget.

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

Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Costa-Font Joan, Rodríguez-Oreggia Eduardo

Path dependency and the allocation of public investment in Mexico

in *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, Volume 24, Issue 2, April , 297-311

The distribution of public investment within federal states is often subject to significant political discretion. Yet one of the possible consequences of such discretion is the appearance of path dependency in the way in which public investment is distributed. Mexico offers a unique example of the effect of path dependency in resource allocation, as there has been no political competition over more than seventy years. The authors seek to examine the dynamic structure of the regional distribution of public investment empirically, to test for the existence of path dependency and the influence of



the different federal governments in Mexico. They use time-series intervention analysis methodology to study the structure of, and the influence of government change in the allocation of, public investment in Mexico between 1971 and 1999. Findings suggest the existence of path dependency in the distribution of public investment in Mexico during all except for the most recent governments. In other words, federal government change made little difference to the way in which public investment was allocated. Path dependency was only broken in the 1990s, coinciding with the setting up of the North American economic integration process, which in turn led to the loss of public support for the single political party, the Partido Revolucionario Institucional or PRI, which had been in power in Mexico over the last seventy years.

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

Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Revelli Federico

Performance rating and yardstick competition in social service provision

in **Journal of Public Economics**, Volume 90, Issues 3 , 459-475

This paper investigates whether national evaluation of decentralised government performance tends, by lessening local information spill-overs, to reduce the scope for local performance comparisons and consequently to lower the extent of spatial auto-correlation among local government expenditures. It analyses local government expenditures on personal social services in the UK before and after the introduction of a national performance assessment system (SSPR, Social Services Performance Rating) that would attribute a rating to each local authority. The empirical evidence is consistent with the hypothesis that the SSPR has reduced local yardstick competition.

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

Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Bjorvatn Kjetil, Cappelen Alexander W.

Redistribution and the Nature of Altruism: Should Welfare Programs be Centralized or Decentralized?

in **Economics of Governance**, Volume 7, Number 1 , 133 - 142

Decentralization of income redistribution may lead to policy competition between jurisdictions and therefore underprovision of redistribution. The ability to carry out redistribution programs is therefore an argument in favor of allocating this responsibility to some higher level authority. On the other hand, empirical results show that the taste for redistribution is lower in multi-ethnic jurisdictions than in more homogenous ones. Centralized redistribution may encompass a larger number of ethnic minorities, and thereby negatively affect redistribution programs. The present paper models the trade-off between these two forces and argues that this trade-off will depend on the nature of altruistic preferences.

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

Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Drabenstott Mark

Rethinking Federal Policy for Regional Economic Development

in **Economic Review**, First Quarter 2006

Economic development policy is a major priority of the federal government. Over the past century, Congress has created



a panoply of programs aimed at economic development in communities and regions. These programs have sprung up at different times, with different goals, and with different ways of meeting those goals. Yet taken together they add up to a big priority and a lot of dollars. By one estimate, the federal economic development effort spanned 180 programs in 2004 and spent more than \$180 billion.

This is a critical time to take stock of this federal effort. The current deficit makes every dollar count in Washington. But there is a far more compelling reason to rethink federal policy for economic development: The world has changed but federal policy has not. Globalization of markets for goods, services, capital, and currencies has fundamentally changed the rules of the game in economic development. The problem is quite simple: Most federal programs for economic development were written for the economy of the 20th century, not the 21st century.

Drabenstott examines how federal policy might shift to align with the new global economy. First, he summarizes the current federal role in economic development. Second, he describes the evolution in economic development thinking. Third, he explains why three shifts in federal policy will be important if the nation wants to help regions hone their competitive edge.

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

Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Farnhama Martin , Sevak Purvi

State fiscal institutions and empty-nest migration: Are Tiebout voters hobbled?

in **Journal of Public Economics**, Volume 90, Issues 3 , 407-427

Using the Health and Retirement Study and a national panel of local fiscal data, we test a lifecycle model of Tiebout sorting. On average, cross-state, empty-nest movers—presumed to be out of fiscal equilibrium—experience large fiscal gains in the form of reduced exposure to local school spending and property taxes, while local empty-nest movers experience no fiscal adjustment. We find evidence that within-state fiscal adjustment is constrained by state institutions that limit local discretion. Empty-nest households moving within states with school finance equalization do not engage in Tiebout-consistent fiscal adjustment, while those moving within states lacking school finance equalization adjust substantially.

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

Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Kirchgaessner Gebhard

Sustainable Fiscal Policy in a Federal State: The Swiss Example

in **Swiss Political Science Review - Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft - Revue suisse de science politique**, Volume 11, Issue 4, Winter 2005 , 19-46

Using a small theoretical model it is first shown that it is reasonable to limit public deficit and debt in relation to GDP in the long-run. Then we describe fiscal institutions called 'debt brakes' which are designed to prevent public deficit and debt from going off course. We present some models which have been applied in some Swiss cantons, especially in the canton St. Gallen, and the respective institution recently introduced at the federal level. Altogether, the models in the different cantons are quite successful. At the federal level we still have to wait before we can evaluate the results. Finally, we describe how the problem of a possible bail out of cantons and local communities is solved in Switzerland. Taking all results together, we come to the conclusion that by choosing appropriate institutions federal countries are



rather more able to perform a sustainable fiscal policy than unitary states. In this process, budgetary restrictions and/or fiscal referenda play prominent roles at all levels. On the other hand, a special stability pact between the different governmental levels does not seem to be necessary.

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

Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Larcinese Valentino, Rizzo Leonzio, Testa Cecilia

The Allocation of the US Federal Budget to the States: The Impact of the President

in *Journal of Politics (The)*, issue 2, vol. 68, may

ABSTRACT: This paper provides new evidence on the determinants of the US federal budget allocation to the States. Departing from the existing literature that gives prominence to Congress, we carry on an empirical investigation on the impact of Presidents during the period 1982-2000. Our findings suggest that federal budget allocation is affected by presidential politics. States that heavily supported the incumbent President in past presidential elections tend to receive more funds, while marginal and swing states are not rewarded. Party affiliation also matters since states whose governor belong to the same party of the President receive more federal funds, while states opposing the president's party in Congressional elections are penalized. These results show that presidents are engaged in tactical distribution of federal funds and also provide good evidence in support of partisan theories of budget allocation.

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

Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Cabrero Mendoza E.

The Institutional Challenges of the Fiscal Decentralization in Latin America

in *Reforma y democracia (Venezuela)*, n. 34

The main objective of this article is to analyze the fiscal decentralization process in Latin America and the institutional challenges that these countries still face. This paper answers the following questions: Which are the analytical elements that help us to understand the "appropriate rhythm" in a fiscal decentralization process? Which are the institutional changes needed so the fiscal decentralization process strengthens all government levels without making worse the regional inequality and the fiscal unbalance? In the first part, this document presents a review of the main theoretical arguments about the fiscal decentralization process, those that support it and those that stand against it; this is necessary in order to have a clear understanding about the current status of the debate. In the second part, the article shows a brief analysis about the ongoing status of the fiscal decentralization process in developed and developing countries, with particular reference to the Latin American case. In this point we observe that Latin American reforms promote better the expenditure decentralization (mainly through fiscal transferences) than the revenue decentralization (broadening the fiscal attributions of sub national government levels). In the third part, from the Mexican experience, this paper analyzes how the institutional and administrative capacities of the sub national governments can be a key factor for the success of the fiscal decentralization process, or in some cases, a cause of its failure. It is clear that the fiscal decentralization should not be seen as an end by itself, it should only be considered as a strategy to strength the entire decentralization process and to improve the well-being and development levels in a country. There is important evidence that the institutional capacities of sub national governments are a crucial factor in every process of fiscal



decentralization. Sub national governments without a dynamic interchange of knowledge and experiences between them, with obsolete normative frameworks, undeveloped organizational and management structures, inexperienced public servants, poor democratic systems and no accountability policies, will be an impediment to the fiscal decentralization process. The strengthen of the institutional capacities of sub national governments is a process that even in governments with similar conditions (sizes, economic developments) may take different rhythms. For this reason, the construction of national programs of decentralization with a standard design should be avoided; in its place, we need to design "asymmetric" (flexible) public policies that can be adapted to different contexts. In this way, central governments may become in the promoters, assessors, sponsors, and regulators of the process, but further intervention can lead us to repeat a history of failure efforts of administrative reforms, which is very common in Latin American countries. The development of local institutions is a clear example of how central governments shall make better efforts to apply "soft regulation", correct incentives and allowing more autonomy to the sub national governments. The fiscal decentralization process is, for central governments, an opportunity to learn new kinds of intervention in others government levels.

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Vrousalis Nicholas

The Strains of Commitment: A Federal System Needs a Common Fiscal Policy

in **Journal of European Integration**, Volume 28, Number 2 / May , 181-192

The arguments raised in this brief article relate to the problem of fiscal federalism. The article points to the potential contradictions arising from the existence of a European constitution and a broader federal structure already in place in the EU, in the absence of a significant central fiscal system. It then argues that the arguments proposed for the maintenance of full fiscal independence by EMU member countries are weak and do not stand on closer scrutiny. Pooling of some fiscal instruments over which national governments have no or little control is the optimum strategy. It proceeds to argue for the creation of a European Fund that will gradually evolve to a European Unemployment Insurance Fund for all countries of the EU, or initially for members of EMU, as an automatic stabilizer, as insurance against economic and fiscal shocks and as a means for promoting social and political cohesion within the Union.

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Solé-Ollé Albert

The effects of party competition on budget outcomes: Empirical evidence from local governments in Spain

in **Public Choice**, Volume 126, Numbers 1-2 , 145 - 176

This paper investigates the link between local budget outcomes and the intensity of party competition, measured as the margin of victory obtained by the incumbent in the previous local election (i.e. the difference between the vote share and 50%). Two competing hypotheses are tested in the paper. On the one hand, the Leviathan government hypothesis suggests that the lower the intensity of party competition is, the greater is the increase in the size of the local public sector, irrespective of the ideology of the party in power. On the other hand, the Partisan government hypothesis suggests that the incumbent will find it easier to advance its platform when intensity of competition is low (i.e., parties on



the left/right will increase/decrease the size of the local public sector when the intensity of the challenge from the opposition is low). These hypotheses are tested with information on spending, own revenues and deficit for more than 500 Spanish local governments over 8 years (1992–1999), and information on the results of two local electoral contests (1991 and 1995). The evidence favors the Partisan hypothesis over the Leviathan one. We found that, for left-wing governments, spending, taxes and deficits increased as the electoral margin increases; whereas, for right-wing governments, a greater margin of victory led to reductions in all these variables.

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

BUCOVETSKY, SMART

The efficiency consequences of local revenue equalization: tax competition and tax distortions
in *Journal of Public Economic Theory*, Vol. 8 Issue 1

This paper shows how a popular system of federal revenue equalization grants can limit tax competition among subnational governments, correct fiscal externalities, and increase government spending. Remarkably, an equalization grant can implement efficient policy choices by regional governments, even in the presence of differences in regional tax capacity, tastes for public spending, and population. If aggregate tax bases are elastic, however, equalization leads to excessive taxation. Efficiency can be achieved by a modified formula that equalizes a fraction of local revenue deficiencies equal to the fraction of taxes that are shifted backward to factor suppliers

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Buettner Thiess

The incentive effect of fiscal equalization transfers on tax policy
in *Journal of Public Economics*, Volume 90, Issues 3 , 477-497

A theoretical analysis considers the impact of a typical system of redistributive “fiscal equalization” transfers on the tax effort of local jurisdictions. More specifically, it shows that the marginal contribution rate, i.e. the rate at which an increase in the tax base reduces those transfers, might be positively associated with the local tax rate while the volume of grants received is likely to be inversely related to the tax rate. These predictions are tested in an empirical analysis of the tax policy of German municipalities. In order to identify the incentive effect the analysis exploits discontinuities in the rules of the fiscal equalization system as well as policy changes. The empirical results support the existence of an incentive effect, suggesting that the high marginal contribution rates induce the municipalities to set significantly higher business tax rates compared with a situation without fiscal equalization.

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Riou Stéphane

Transfer and tax competition in a system of hierarchical governments
in *Regional Science and Urban Economics*, Volume 36, Issue 2 , 249-269

This paper analyzes the relation between tax competition and interregional transfer in an economic geography



framework. In the absence of a transfer scheme, we show that a purely decentralized tax system in an economy with asymmetric regions can lead to more agglomeration effects than those resulting from the free market location equilibrium. Moreover, the model suggests that a transfer mechanism with an explicit redistributive character leads to a lower local tax pressure. Finally, we show that a myopic behavior adopted by the region which contributes to the transfer gives rise to an involuntary decrease in the federal tax.

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

Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Kuschick M.

Uso de encuestas como evaluación del gobierno del Distrito Federal
in *El Cotidiano : revista de la realidad mexicana actual* , n. 136 , 62 - 72

No abstract available

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

Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)

Aaron-Cureau Corinne, Kempf Hubert

Bargaining over monetary policy in a monetary union and the case for appointing an independent central banker

in *Oxford Economic Papers*, 58 (1) , 1-27

We set up a model of a monetary union where decisions over monetary policy are made through bargaining between two governments with different objectives. They can either choose to directly bargain over monetary policy or to delegate monetary decisions to an independent central banker. In the latter case, the choice of the central banker is obtained by bargaining between the two governments. We show that, the bargaining power being constant, the delegation of monetary policy to an independent central banker does not necessarily incur a smaller inflation bias nor is systematically welfare improving for any government. It may happen that both governments are better-off when they directly bargain.

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

Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)

Carstensen Kai

Estimating the ECB Policy Reaction Function

in *German Economic Review*, Vol. 7 Issue 1

This paper estimates the policy reaction function of the European Central Bank in the first four years of EMU using an ordered probit model which accounts for the fact that central bank rates are set at multiples of 25 basis points. Starting from a baseline model which mimics the Taylor rule, the impacts of different economic variables on interest rate decisions are analysed. It is concluded that the monetary growth measure which was announced by the ECB as the first pillar of their monetary strategy does not play an outstanding role for the actual interest rate decisions. More sophisticated measures like the money overhang which uses information from both pillars are better suited. Overall, it is concluded that the revision of the monetary policy strategy in May 2003 which implied a downgrading of the first pillar



will not induce any observable changes in monetary policy decisions.

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

Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)

Heinemann Friedrich, Ullrich Katrin

The Impact of EMU on Inflation Expectations

in *Open Economies Review*, Volume 17, Number 2 , 175-195

This paper analyses the impact of the monetary regime change from the Bundesbank to the ECB on inflation expectations. In the theoretical part, the Barro-Gordon model is used to derive the potential effect of a new central bank on inflation and inflation expectations. The econometric investigation is based on a flexible specification of expectation formation which allows both for rational and adaptive elements. The results indicate that the monetary regime change did not have a strong and lasting impact on the formation of inflation expectations and that the credibility of both central banks is not perceived to differ significantly anymore.

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

Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)

HSIEH CHANG-TAI, ROMER CHRISTINA D.

Was the Federal Reserve Constrained by the Gold Standard During the Great Depression? Evidence from the 1932 Open Market Purchase Program

in *Journal of Economic History (The)*, Volume 66 issue 01 , 140-176

Could the Federal Reserve have reversed the decline in the money supply during the Great Depression without causing a loss of confidence in the U.S. commitment to the gold standard? This article uses the \$1 billion expansionary open market operation in 1932 as a crucial case study. Using forward exchange rates and interest rate differentials to measure devaluation expectations, we find virtually no evidence that the large monetary expansion led investors to believe that the United States would devalue. The financial press and Federal Reserve records also show scant evidence of expectations of devaluation or fear of speculative attack.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Medina Alcoz Luis

La Conferenza settoriale per gli affari locali e la Conferenza delle città: due nuovi meccanismi di collaborazione dell'ordinamento spagnolo

in *Istituzioni del federalismo*, n. 6 , 953-978

No abstract available

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)



Cuthill Michael, Fien John

Capacity building: Facilitating citizen participation in local governance

in *Australian Journal of Public Administration*, Volume 64, Number 4 , 63-80

No abstract available

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

McConnell Allan

Central-local government relations in Scotland

in *International Review of Administrative Sciences* , March 1 2006, Volume 72, No. 1 , 73-84

For many years, advocates of a Scottish Parliament hoped that its eventual arrival would mark a new phase in local government: an increase in local autonomy and a redressing of the creeping centralization of the Conservative years. This article addresses the question: to what extent, if any, has there been a shift in the balance of power between centre and local government since the advent of a Scottish Parliament in 1999? It examines the pre- and post-1999 periods in this area of Scottish governance, focusing particularly on the legal/constitutional, financial and policy parameters set by the centre. It argues that continuity has been more important than change, and that reasons for the continued domination of the centre lie particularly with (a) the pervasive influence of the UK Union (b) a relative continuity in political actors and (c) the ongoing self-interest of the 'centre'.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Welti Felix

Die kommunale Daseinsvorsorge und der Vertrag über eine Verfassung für Europa

in *Archiv des öffentlichen Rechts* , Band 130 (2005), Heft 4, Dezember 2005

No abstract available

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

García-Sánchez Isabel M.

Efficiency Measurement in Spanish Local Government: The Case of Municipal Water Services

in *Review of Policy Research* , Vol. 23 Issue 2

In this work, we established a procedure for evaluation of the efficiency of the water supply. This procedure has allowed us to find that the proposed indicators have a discriminating capability in the analysis of the service, and to reject criticisms traditionally assigned to the sensitivity of the data envelopment analysis (DEA) technique in relation to degrees of freedom. The results obtained show that the population density, as a factor that defines one of the particular characteristics of the surroundings of each municipality, has a statistically significant impact on the indexes of efficiency,



this affirmation not being extended to the public or private ownership of the service. The scale inefficiency is higher than the technical inefficiency. These typologies of efficiency are, principally, motivated by the supply side of the service, which is specially linked with the necessary infrastructure. The demand of the citizens is satisfied with a behavior close to optimal.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

BOCHEL CATHERINE, BOCHEL HUGH

Exploring the Low Levels of Women's Representation in Japanese Local Government

in Japanese Journal of Political Science, Vol. 6 Issue 03

Although women have consistently outvoted men in elections in Japan since the 1970s, the country has a relatively poor record in terms of women being elected to representative bodies. In recent years, there have been increases, particularly in the number of women in the House of Representatives and the House of Councillors, but at the local level the rate of change has been slower.

As in other states, a number of propositions have been put forward to explain the low numbers of women in local assemblies. Drawing upon a variety of sources, including the developing literature and interviews with women councillors and others, this article seeks to identify the variety of factors that have contributed to holding down levels of female representation in local government in Japan. It examines these in the context of recent changes and considers the extent to which there is the prospect for further change.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Herrmann Julián Durazo

Federalism and free trade in San Luis Potosí, Mexico

in Regional and Federal Studies, Volume 16, Number 1 / March , 43-61

Globalization has brought international issues to arenas of subnational jurisdiction. In the more developed countries, this process has led to the regionalization of international relations. This article explores how subnational units in developing countries address these same questions. The case of San Luis Potosí, Mexico, and its conflict with two large foreign corporations is analysed. This study highlights how international conflicts have set off some important changes in intergovernmental relations and foreign policy in Mexico, even if regional activity in the international system is largely missing.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Moreschini I.



L'autonomia comunale fra storia, diritto e riforme

in *Nuova rassegna di legislazione, dottrina e giurisprudenza*, n. 2 , 136 - 149

No abstract available

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Mullen Tom

Local Government in Scotland

in *European public Law*, Volume 12 (2006) - Issue 2 , 177-198

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Kruzhkov Anatolli

Local Self-Government in Russia An Unrealized Project

in *Russian politics and law*, Volume 43, Number 6 / November-December , 33-42

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Ancien Delphine

Local and regional development policy in France: Of changing conditions and forms, and enduring state centrality

in *Space and Polity*, Volume 9, Number 3 / December , 217-236

Since the end of World War II, local and regional development policies, and a politics around these policies, have been common to all advanced capitalist societies. However, how and why that is the case varies from one country to another. Amongst the reasons for contrasts between national policies of local and regional development, the following seem to be of high significance: the degree of central state regulation, the underlying reasons for interventions designed to support development, and how both central regulation and the major objectives of local and regional development policy have changed over time and across advanced capitalist countries. This paper investigates the significance of the state amidst all the other agents and conditions that have to be taken into account in understanding any politics of local and regional development and any success that the state might enjoy in that politics. This is done with respect to the case of France—an informative case given the powers usually attributed to the French state. It is argued that the French central state has remained over the post-war decades a key agent in the politics of local and regional development, a formulator as well as an implementer of local and regional development policies. This enduring central role in the contemporary knowledge-based economy era can be observed despite significant changes in the French local and regional development policies since the Trente Glorieuses era—the golden age of capitalism in France—in terms of objectives,



forms and other actors' changing roles. The argument is informed by two key assumptions. First, the state should not be regarded as somehow opposed to capital; rather, capital and state enjoy considerable overlap in their objectives. Secondly, just as with capital, so with the state, there are forces beyond its control to which it must adapt.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Paris M.

**Local e-government and devolution: Electronic service delivery in Northern Ireland
in *Local Government Studies*, Vol. 32 n. 1 , 41 - 53**

There are billions of annual transactions between citizens and government; most of these are between citizens and local government. Both central and local government share the same target for electronic service delivery: 100 per cent of key services online by 2005. In Northern Ireland, however, district councils are being left behind on the e-government agenda. The Northern Ireland Assembly, currently suspended, has no provisions or recommendations for local e-government, although many transactional services of interest to ordinary citizens are provided by local councils. The absence of a strategy for local e-government means that district councils are left to their own devices, and this contrasts with the rest of the UK. A snapshot of local councils is used to assess the extent of provision of electronic service delivery, highlighting examples of innovation, and indicating significant challenges for Northern Ireland local e-government during a period of suspended devolution.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Grindle Merilee S.

**Modernising town hall: capacity building with a political twist
in *Public Administration and Development*, Volume 26, Issue 1 , 55 - 69**

Capacity building is a frequent tonic prescribed for local governments in poor performance health. Such initiatives purport to get to the heart of governance with technical approaches that are free of partisanship and political controversy. Data from municipal governments newly affected by decentralisation and democratisation indicate that, contrary to expectations, the destiny of capacity building initiatives is dependent upon politics. In the first instance, capacity building initiatives are dependent on the orientation of elected and appointed leaders who choose to invest in or ignore them. Second, capacity building initiatives are significantly affected by electoral cycles that create moments when significant new capacity initiatives can be introduced and abandoned. Third, capacity building initiatives are dependent on the formal and informal institutions that determine how much scope public officials have for introducing change. Thus, while part of the popularity of capacity building programs and projects is their apparent distance from politics, those who wish to see the performance of government improved need to be sensitive to how it is affected - in positive and negative ways - by political preferences, calendars, and institutions. Data on 57 capacity building initiatives carried out in 30 medium sized municipalities in Mexico suggest the ways in which such factors shape the destinies of capacity building initiatives.



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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Myant Martin, Smith Simon

Regional development and post-communist politics in a Czech region

in *Europe-Asia Studies*, Volume 58, Number 2 / March 2006 , 147 - 168

This article links post-communist politics with regional development through an investigation of the formulation of strategic plans at various levels. This is an important activity for compliance with procedures essential to accessing EU financial support, and beyond that, it has significance for the investigation of political relationships. The dominant conclusion is that the communist period and the post-communist transformation left distinctive features that created barriers to the emergence of the 'standard' EU pattern and therefore justifies continued use of the 'post-communist' label. In particular, this is exhibited in a disjointed structure of regional and local administration with weak cooperation between levels. EU prescriptions and involvement have in some respects accentuated the isolation of levels from each other. This article argues that the standard interpretation of the concepts of social capital and partnership needs to be clarified. Above all, it becomes clear that there needs to be recognition and acceptance of the conflicting nature of many relationships and of the bargaining and compromises lying behind a regional strategy and its implementation. The article thereby adds to the literature that has warned against some over-enthusiastic interpretations of social capital and related concepts as providing an unambiguous basis for a region's development.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Donald Betsy

The politics of local economic development in Canada's city-regions: New dependencies, new deals, and a new politics of scale

in *Space and Polity*, Volume 9, Number 3 / December , 261-281

This paper examines the current round of 'scale politics' between Canada's largest global cities and the existing national policy architecture and intergovernmental context. Economic actors in Canada's largest city-regions feel hamstrung by the existing institutional arrangements which remain ill-suited to the changing urban realities and global spatial flows. While the long-standing national regime is now under challenge, the extent to which it can be changed is also under question as the federal government seems reluctant to implement any explicit urban-based policies that could be seen further to accentuate regional (especially urban-rural) difference in Canada. The main thrust of this paper, then, is to provide an explanation for the limits of institutional convergence in the politics of local economic development in Canada. This is not to say that there is not evidence of convergence in terms of economic strategies and institutional responses, only that Canada's particular round of 'scale politics' must be situated in the history of Canada's particular national economic regime, including the origins of local economic development, state forms and history of local dependencies.



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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Otsu H.

"Etat de droit" et collectivités local au Japon

in *Revue française de droit constitutionnel*, n. 65 , 13 - 35

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

Gottlieb Paul D.

"Running Down the Up Escalator": A Revisionist Perspective on Decentralization and Deconcentration in the United States, 1970-2000

in *International Regional Science Review*, Volume 29, No. 2 , 135-158

This article proposes that decentralization and deconcentration in the United States be measured by tracking the proportion of people or jobs in fixed categories of places across census years, using metropolitan areas designated in each year rather than the fixed-year standard employed in studies that measure growth or migration rates. Measured this way, there was continuous centralization to metropolitan areas from 1970 to 2000 as well as a marked preference for very large metropolitan areas after 1980. This period of rapid economic transformation has generated theoretical explanations not only of decentralization, but also of recentralization (e.g., in the 1980s). Most of these explanations rely on fundamental shifts in society's preferences for metropolitan or nonmetropolitan settings. The data suggest that decentralizing behavior, like the "nonmetro turnaround" of the 1970s, can instead be explained as an attempt to maintain the status quo. The essence of this behavior is captured in the phrase "running down the up escalator." A related argument from the literature on metropolitan deconcentration is also analyzed.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Curtice John

A Stronger or Weaker Union? Public Reactions to Asymmetric Devolution in the United Kingdom

in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, Vol. 36, n. 1, Winter , 95-113

A system of asymmetric devolution was established for the first time in Great Britain in 1999. Its advocates hoped it would strengthen public support for the maintenance of the United Kingdom, whereas its critics feared it would have the opposite effect. This article examines which of these two perspectives appears to have been correct by looking at trends in national identity and constitutional preferences in each of England, Scotland, and Wales following the advent of devolution. It finds that although there may have been some erosion of British national identity and although there are some pressures for further changes, a system of asymmetric devolution appears to be the only constitutional structure capable of enjoying public support throughout Great Britain.



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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Hopkin Jonathan, Bradbury Jonathan

British Statewide Parties and Multilevel Politics

in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, Vol. 36, n. 1, Winter , 135-152

The article addresses how Britain's major statewide political parties—Labour, the Conservatives, and the Liberal Democrats—adapted to political devolution in Scotland and Wales. It explores party organization, programs, and policymaking. It argues that the Labour Party experienced the most territorial intraparty conflict but fairly rapidly achieved a new balance between British and Scottish/Welsh party interests. The Conservative Party struggled after its 1997 UK election defeat and failed to adapt to multilevel politics with any consistency. The Liberal Democrats experienced the smoothest adjustment, largely on account of their own federal party constitution. The article concludes that the findings provide some backing to "rational choice institutionalist" hypotheses of party change but that a "historical institutionalist" approach can provide a fuller understanding of how parties adapt to devolution reforms.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Sandford Mark

Civic engagement in the english regions: Neo-corporatism, networks, new forms of governance

in *Regional and Federal Studies*, Volume 16, Number 2 / June , 221-238

The civic engagement agenda in the English regions is one of a number of notable features of the uncertain steps towards English regionalism. It primarily takes place through Regional Chambers/Assemblies, which are evolving increasingly sophisticated quasi-democratic representative methods to select individuals to represent sectors of civil society. These members are now regarded as equals in the regional policy-making process. The manner in which they contribute to policy making is redolent of national-level corporatist experiments in the 1960s and 1970s but arguably is better explained by theories of network governance.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Finot I.

Decentralization and Viability of the Local Development in Latin America

in *Reforma y democracia (Venezuela)*, n. 34

For local communities can consider its own economic development, it is indispensable that they have competences and resources that allow them autonomously to decide on local public goods that are decisive for their development, such as basic infrastructure and public services. Nevertheless, fundamentally by financial limitations, most of the municipalities of the region cannot exert this autonomy, which besides to make difficult the local development could create a citizen rights' problem: why the right of a local community to provide itself by local goods must depend on its wealth? In this article, the origins of those financial limitations are analyzed: decentralization in Latin America was oriented not to enforce local autonomies, but mainly to execute central oriented social policies. But now, local autonomy for local development is crucial to Latin American countries in order to compete in global economy. A new orientation is needed and the grants can be the key instrument. To differentiate between social and territorial grants, and to link territorial



grants to each fiscal relative effort (relative to the degree of poverty of each community), it could be increased the local autonomy under conditions of efficiency, and equality of opportunities for all local communities -and citizen rights- to build its own development. Under these terms, a deepening of the decentralization would contribute not only to make local development viable, but also to maintain the national fiscal balance and to build citizenship.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Denton Matthew, Flinders Matthew

Democracy, devolution and delegated governance in Scotland

in Regional and Federal Studies, Volume 16, Number 1 / March , 63-82

Delegated governance refers to the wide range of quasi-autonomous organizations – ‘fringe bodies, quangos and all that’ – to which an increasing proportion of state activity is now delegated. Recent reports by the OECD have emphasized the growing role of these bodies in relation to policy-making, regulation and administration within advanced industrial countries. However, the existence of delegated forms of governance enjoying an arm's length relationship to elected politicians raises fundamental questions regarding the operation and nature of representative democracy. Political devolution to regions within nation states has long been advocated as a potential solution to concerns regarding the control, accountability and patronage in relation to these bodies. This article presents the findings of a research project that examined the degree to which devolution to Scotland since 1998 has impacted upon the structure of delegated governance and the possible policy implications this may have for other European states. The research suggests that although the sphere of delegated governance in Scotland post-devolution has grown it has led to the creation of a new governance framework, which may assuage concerns regarding the ‘democratic deficit’ that is commonly associated with quasi-autonomous public bodies.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Morgan Kevin

Devolution and Development: Territorial Justice and the North-South Divide

in Publius: The Journal of Federalism, Vol. 36, n. 1, Winter , 189-206

One of the unintended consequences of devolution under New Labour is that it might make it more difficult to secure territorial justice between the nations and regions of the United Kingdom. Centralized regional policy, the aim of which was to promote economic equity between the regions, has been replaced by a devolved regional policy that aims to promote an economic dividend within each region. In the unlikely event that devolution yields a uniform economic dividend in each region, the result does nothing to redress the territorial inequalities at the heart of the North-South divide. Treating unequal regions equally is not a recipe for territorial justice.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Wyn Jones Richard, Scully Roger



Devolution and Electoral Politics in Scotland and Wales

in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, Vol. 36, n. 1, Winter , 115-134

In this article we examine the impact of devolution on electoral politics in Scotland and Wales. After reviewing the electoral history of the two territories, we set out the result for the 1999 and 2003 devolved elections, noting the substantial differences between voting patterns in these elections from those for the UK parliament. We then go on to consider the main reasons why voting patterns differ across the two types of poll. The paper concludes by summarizing the main findings and then considering both the implications of the findings for future devolved elections and the potential contribution of the study of such elections to broader theories of voting behavior.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Jeffery Charlie

Devolution and Local Government

in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, Vol. 36, n. 1, Winter , 57-73

Devolution was introduced amid a rhetoric of democratic renewal and promised the active engagement of local government. Local government has responded in different ways in different parts of the United Kingdom. In Scotland and Wales local authorities have built on their advocacy of devolution before 1997 to realize a close partnership with devolved government. In London, too, local authorities have come to engage closely with regional government. In the rest of England local authorities were at best ambivalent about the possibility of regional government, preferring to work in a national context with UK government institutions. Northern Ireland local government is parochial and appears suspicious of engagement with devolved government. These differences express some of the wider relationships of the component societies of the United Kingdom to the UK state and have helped to embed continued centralized government in England.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Jeffery Charlie, Wincott Daniel

Devolution in the United Kingdom: Statehood and Citizenship in Transition

in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, Vol. 36, n. 1, Winter , 3-18

The United Kingdom evolved as a "state of unions," in which government arrangements were territorially varied in line with the particular circumstances of the sequence of acts of union between the core state territory of England and Wales, Scotland, and Ireland. The recent devolution reforms have built on that territorial nonuniformity, embedding a number of idiosyncrasies into the devolved UK state: a lopsidedness that leaves the biggest and wealthiest part of the United Kingdom—England—governed centrally while the non-English nations have devolved government, devolved government arrangements for those nations that are markedly asymmetrical, and an underdeveloped system of intergovernmental relations connecting United Kingdom—level and devolved political arenas. Together these issues pose important questions of whether the devolution reforms amount to a coherent overall package, whether the reforms are stable, and whether they erode a common UK citizenship.



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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Mitchell James

Evolution and Devolution: Citizenship, Institutions, and Public Policy

in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, Vol. 36, n. 1, Winter , 153-168

The United Kingdom is a state of unions. It evolved through a series of diverse unions, each leaving an institutional legacy. Though the United Kingdom was highly centralized it was not uniform. Devolution is rooted in this legacy. Past institutional arrangements, notably central government departments responsible for Scottish, Welsh, and Northern Ireland affairs (collectively known as "administrative devolution") remain central to how UK politics and policy should be understood today. Devolution involved adding elected representative institutions to each of the components of the state of unions apart from England. The powers, responsibilities, and funding arrangements of devolution reflect the evolution of administrative devolution. Nonetheless, devolution marks a critical juncture that will accentuate differences in citizenship rights within the United Kingdom.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Rolla Giancarlo

La costruzione dello Stato delle Autonomie. Considerazioni sintetiche alla luce dell'esperienza italiana e spagnola

in *Istituzioni del federalismo*, n. 5 , 795 - 818

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

Fromont Michel

Les progrès de la décentralisation en France

in *Jahrbuch des öffentlichen Rechts der Gegenwart*, Band 54, 2006

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

Bondonio Piervincenzo, Badriotti Augusta

Lezioni di decentramento e coordinamento amministrativo dalla Governance pubblica tedesca

in *Istituzioni del federalismo*, n. 5 , 911- 952

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



Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Baldersheim Harald, Fimreite Anne Lise

Norwegian centre–periphery relations in flux: Abolition or reconstruction of regional governance?
in *West European Politics*, n. 4, vol. 28, september , 764-780

ABSTRACT: The periphery has traditionally had a strong position in the Norwegian polity. From the 1990s, the periphery and its institutional underpinnings, especially the county councils, have been put onto the defensive. Why is this happening? And how is the likely pattern of regional governance going to look? Our main argument is that the region-building forces are facing an uphill struggle against a fundamental transformation of the Norwegian periphery and a concomitant change of the Norwegian state into a financial giant. In combination, these two features drive a classic 'revolution of rising expectations' that undercuts the position of the county councils and possibly also that of future enlarged regions. An ever more centralised state is not an unlikely course of development for the Norwegian polity. Europeanisation and identity politics may work in favour of a New Regionalism that involves cities as actors in regional governance more than has been the case hitherto.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Gélinaeau François, Remmer Karen L.

Political Decentralization and Electoral Accountability: The Argentine Experience, 1983-2001
in *British Journal of Political Science*, issue 1, vol. 36, january , 133-157

ABSTRACT: To what extent does public support for subnational officials fluctuate in response to local rather than national performance? Are the policy failures of subnational officials reliably punished by voters? Drawing upon both individual and aggregate level data, this article attempts to shed new light on these questions about the politics of decentralization by exploring electoral outcomes and public opinion at the subnational level in Argentina. Consistent with referendum voting models, this analysis suggests that the fate of candidates in both national and subnational elections is shaped by the performance of the incumbent presidential administration. Moreover, to the extent that subnational performance has an electoral impact, voters do not necessarily respond in ways that enhance electoral accountability. Voters not only blame and reward subnational officials for national performance, but also attribute responsibility for subnational performance to national authorities. The implications with respect to the impact of decentralized decision making on democratic accountability are decidedly mixed and anything but consistent with the argument that decentralization results in a closer match between citizen preferences and the allocation of public resources.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Leyland P.

Post Devolution: Crystallising the Future for Regional Government in England
in *Northern Ireland Legal Quarterly*, Vol. 56, No. 4 , 435-461

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

Tranvik T., Fimreite A.L.

Reform failure: The processes of devolution and centralisation in Norway
in **Local Government Studies**, Vol. 32 n. 1 , 89 - 107

This article addresses the relationship between central and local government in Norway after two decades of devolution reforms. The aim of the reform process was to provide more freedom for local government. However, recent research has revealed that local government is actually less autonomous now than before. We argue that one reason for this is new regulation and control measures initiated by central government. Based on interviews with MPs, cabinet members and high-ranking civil servants, we argue that these regulation and control measures have been introduced and strengthened in order to counteract the effects of devolution reforms.

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Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Everingham Jo-Anne , Cheshire Lynda , Lawrence Geoffrey

Regional renaissance? New forms of governance in nonmetropolitan Australia

in **Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy**, Volume 24, Issue 1, February , 139-155

Since the Second World War, Australian governments have adopted various approaches to governing nonmetropolitan Australia. The authors profile three distinct approaches to governance characterised as (1) state-centred regionalism; (2) new localism; and (3) new forms of multifaceted regionalism. Although recent policy initiatives have been justified by the argument that the region is the most suitable scale for planning and development in nonmetropolitan Australia, in practice the institutional landscape is a hybrid of overlapping local, regional, and national scales of action. The authors compare this new, multifaceted, regionalism with the so-called 'new regionalism' currently being promoted in Western Europe and North America. It is argued that new regionalism differs in quite important ways from the regionalism currently being fostered in Australia. In Australia, the centrality of sustainability principles, and the attempt to foster interdependence amongst stakeholders from the state, market, and civil society, have produced a layer of networked governance that is different from that overseas. It is argued that there is a triple bottom-line 'promise' in the Australian approach which differs from the Western Europe/North American model, and which has the potential to deliver enhanced economic, social, and environmental outcomes.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

O'Neill Phillip, McGuirk Pauline

Reterritorialisation of economies and institutions: The rise of the Sydney basin economy
in **Space and Polity**, Volume 9, Number 3 / December , 283-305

This paper is an account of institutional and spatial shifts in the Sydney basin economy that coalesce around Australia's current, long period of prosperity. The paper briefly sources this prosperity, noting the key shifts towards the financial and professional services sectors that accompany it. This material is then used to make the argument that two



reterritorialisation processes underpin Australia's—and Sydney's—contemporary accumulation project. The first reterritorialisation is a spatial reformation of distributional flows. Whereas Australian governments had two parallel purposes in post-war economic management, successful accumulation and sustainable socio-spatial distributions, the latter has been largely abandoned. The assumption now is that successful accumulation processes are per se the most appropriate distributional strategies. The second reterritorialisation, in a Deleuzian sense, is the reformation of institutional structures that regulate economy and promote economic growth. Here we find a tension in Australia's state apparatus between, on the one hand, an aggressive neo-liberalist reconstruction of the economic regulatory and production arms of the state, but with an adherence to a Keynesian mood within the nation's key spending and human services agencies on the other. The historical reasons for this tension are explained and possibilities for future change are speculated on.

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Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Rodriguez - Arana J.

Sistema autonomico, solidaridad, igualdad y cooperacion
in *Nueva Revista de Politica Cultura y arte (Spagna)*, n. 104

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

Hazell Robert

The English Question
in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, Vol. 36, n. 1, Winter , 37-56

Devolution to Scotland and Wales throws up related questions about the government of England. Does England need to find its own separate political voice? Does England too need devolution? There is little demand for an English parliament. "English votes on English laws" commands more support but would be impossible to implement in practice. Despite the setback of the Northeast referendum defeat, the future will see further development of regionalism in England. Regional government is the only institutional solution that could help to give England a louder voice and also help to decentralize the government of England. But it is not inevitable. There is no logic in the process of devolution that requires the English to have devolution too.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Fleurke Frederik , Willemse Rolf

The European Union and the autonomy of sub-national authorities: Towards an analysis of constraints and opportunities in sub-national decision-making
in *Regional and Federal Studies*, Volume 16, Number 1 / March , 83-98



This paper explores what is known about the actual impact of the EU on sub-national (local and regional) government. Existing research on the impact of the EU on sub-national authorities appears to have a strong emphasis on the positive effects or the opportunities that emanate from the EU. By contrast, studies on European constraints that limit sub-national autonomy are rather scarce. Moreover, many studies fail to take sub-national government itself as the object of analysis, as a result of which most conclusions are rather hypothetical in nature. Trying to fill the lacunas in the existing literature, the authors present a conceptual framework that includes three dimensions along which the EU might influence sub-national decision-making: by enforcement or invitation, by hampering or improvement, and by obstruction or enabling. A pilot study found that nearly each of these types of influence was present, indicating the conceptual sensitivity and empirical relevance of the three dimensions.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Montero A. P.

The Politics of Decentralization in a Centralized Party System: The Case of Democratic Spain
in *Comparative Politics*, Vol. 38 n. 1

Scholars of decentralization have explained degrees and patterns of intergovernmental conflict with William Riker's classic argument that centralized, disciplined party systems with high degrees of national-subnational concordance in partisan loyalties are able to limit such conflict. Democratic Spain challenges this argument. It mixes a centralized political party system and highly disciplined national organizations with a decentralized and decentralizing state. While subnational interests fail to aggregate with the party system and the national parliament, they organize in the poorly institutionalized arena of intergovernmental distributive conflict. Regional governments defend their interests in bilateral relations with the center that undermine national partisan and legislative attempts to control the decentralization process.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Caulfield Janice L.

The politics of bureau reform in sub-Saharan Africa
in *Public Administration and Development*, Volume 26, Issue 1 , 15 - 26

This article focuses on sub-Saharan Africa and its recent history of state sector decentralisation reforms. Over the last ten to fifteen years, new forms of state organisation have emerged reflecting a policy preference for bureau downsizing and devolution. These include semi-autonomous executive agencies, public-private partnerships in infrastructure development, partial privatisations of utilities and performance contracting arrangements between purchasers and providers. Reform policies are, however, heavily conditioned by bilateral and multilateral donors. The limited success of bureau reforms in the region has been explained by others as either a problem of institutional capacity or the absence of grassroots democracy. This article takes a different stance, arguing that reforms are highly political and resisted not only by politicians but also by an aware and sceptical public. A selection of case studies illustrates these reform trends and problems of implementation. The article also draws attention to intra-regional differences between a francophone West Africa and English speaking East Africa.



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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Bulmer Simon, Burch Martin, Hogwood Patricia, Scott Andrew

UK Devolution and the European Union: A Tale of Cooperative Asymmetry?

in Publius: The Journal of Federalism, Vol. 36, n. 1, Winter , 75-93

The post-1999 devolution project has resulted in a major recalibration of the preexisting arrangements for making European Union policy within the United Kingdom. The devolved administrations in Scotland and Wales (but not the English regions) have gained in electoral legitimacy and legislative powers, and thereby have a greater claim to consultation with UK central government. Four key characteristics of European Union policymaking in a devolved United Kingdom are identified. The legal contingency of the "devolved" status has not yet impeded traditional cooperative relations between government tiers, but the stability of the new arrangements remains in question. The UK case is compared with European Union regionalization in other member states and a distinction is drawn between a cooperative regionalist approach (the devolveds) and a consultative one (the English regions).

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Elgie Robert

Why Do Governments Delegate Authority to Quasi-Autonomous Agencies? The Case of Independent Administrative Authorities in France

in Governance, Vol. 19, n. 2, April , 207-227

In recent years, there has been a considerable degree of delegation from governments to quasi-autonomous agencies. Various reasons have been put forward to explain why governments decide to delegate authority in this way. Some reasons are based on a transaction-cost approach, such as credible commitments. Other reasons are more contextual. For instance, governments may be responding to a process of cross-national policy transfer. In the literature on delegation some hypotheses have already been tested. Specifically, evidence has been found suggesting that governments create agencies to commit credibly to particular policy choices. However, other hypotheses, particularly ones based on contextual explanations, have proved much more difficult to operationalize. This article aims to help fill this gap. It does so by focusing on the creation of Independent Administrative Authorities in France. Does the qualitative evidence in this particular case corroborate the quantitative studies that have been undertaken elsewhere?

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Papisca Antonio

Article 51 of the United Nations Charter: Exception or General Rule? The Nightmare of the Easy War

in Pace Diritti Umani, n. 1, anno 2, gennaio-aprile , 13-28

ABSTRACT: Il saggio è dedicato alla riforma delle Nazioni Unite e contiene l'analisi critica del Rapporto dello High-Level Panel Un mondo più sicuro (dicembre 2004) e del Segretario Generale In una più ampia libertà (marzo 2005) con



particolare riferimento alle parti dedicate agli aspetti militari della sicurezza. Questi documenti condividono l'assunto che la sicurezza è «sicurezza umana», quindi sicurezza multidimensionale riguardante sia l'ordine pubblico sia le condizioni di vita sociale, economica, ambientale. Ma le proposte che essi avanzano non sono coerenti con l'assunto, poiché danno prevalenza agli aspetti militari e al Consiglio di Sicurezza rispetto al Consiglio Economico e Sociale e alla vasta area di competenza di questo. Gli autori dei Rapporti condividono l'interpretazione estensiva dell'articolo 51 della Carta delle Nazioni Unite, nel senso che l'autotutela da parte degli Stati potrebbe essere esercitata anche in via preventiva. Partendo da questa arbitraria interpretazione, viene prospettata una nuova «divisione del lavoro militare» tra ONU e Stati: nella competenza di questi rientrerebbe l'uso della forza, mentre all'ONU spetterebbero soltanto il peacekeeping e il peacebuilding. Sulla base di questa distinzione di compiti, viene costruita una tipologia di minacce cui gli Stati sarebbero legittimati a rispondere con la forza: , attacco in atto, minaccia imminente, minaccia non-imminente o latente, casi di genocidio e di atrocità diffuse. La forza potrebbe essere usata, oltre che a titolo di autotutela sia successiva (ad attacco in atto) sia preventiva (minaccia non-imminente o latente), anche a titolo «pre-emptive» (minaccia imminente) e «protective» (genocidio). Soltanto per i casi di intervento preventivo e protettivo l'ONU avrebbe ruolo, nel senso che ne sarebbe richiesta la «autorizzazione» o l'«approvazione». Il rischio che anche in questi casi si tratti di ratificare il fait accompli degli Stati più forti. La prospettiva è quella della geoparalizzazione della sicurezza, con effetti di destabilizzazione permanente. L'analisi critica dei Rapporti mette in risalto che non vengono mai evocati gli articoli 42 e 43 della Carta, che prevedono competenze e poteri «sopranazionali» dell'ONU. Nel Rapporto di Kofi Annan è avanzata la proposta di creare «un sistema di collegamento di capacità di peacekeeping», nel quale sarebbero incluse anche le forze di rapido impiego (stand-by) di organizzazioni regionali quali l'Unione Europea e l'Unione Africana. Secondo l'autore del saggio l'esistenza di questo «sistema» darebbe attuazione appunto all'articolo 43, che prevede che il Consiglio di Sicurezza disponga in via permanente di una forza militare: in questo caso, non sarebbe singoli Stati a conferire all'ONU parte delle loro forze armate, ma «gruppi di Stati» (di cui parla l'articolo in questione) attraverso le rispettive organizzazioni regionali d'appartenenza. L'implementazione dell'articolo 43 renderebbe possibile l'implementazione dell'articolo 42, che prevede che il Consiglio di Sicurezza in quanto tale possa «intraprendere» e comandare azioni militari, e comporterebbe l'automatica abrogazione dello scandaloso articolo 106 («disposizione transituazione di sicurezza»), che pone i cinque Stati vincitori della seconda guerra mondiale al di sopra non soltanto di tutti gli altri membri delle NU ma anche della stessa Carta. L'autore lancia l'allarme sul disegno di smantellamento del sistema di sicurezza collettiva disegnato dalla Carta e sulla correlata prospettiva di un mondo con la «guerra facile» (easy war).

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Mascia Marco

Cardoso Report: The Challenge of Partnership in the Relations between the United Nations and Civil Society in Pace Diritti Umani, n. 1, anno 2, gennaio-aprile

ABSTRACT: The author considers the NGOs consultative status and the United Nations world conferences as «embryos» of international-cosmopolitan democracy. The practice of consultative status and participation in the world conferences provide NGOs important «interstices», that is opportunities to develop processes of structural change of the (interstate) system of international relations. International democratisation is the independent variable of the process of construction of a new world order more just, peaceful, equitable and solaidaristic. The second part of the essay analyses the «Report of the High-level Panel of eminent persons on the relations of the United Nations and civil society», entitled We the Peoples: Civil Society, the United Nations and Global Governance (June 2004), the Report of the UN Secretary



General comprising comments and proposals relating the the High-Level Panel Report, and the most significant positions of NGOs and networks of global civil society. The author's view is that the evolution of UN-civil society relationships cannot limit to extending and rationalising the current practice of consultations, but should bring to the transformation of the «consultative status» into a «co-decision making status» at least relating to operational sectors such as, for instance, the promotion and protection of human rights, development cooperation, environment protection, in which the central role of NGOs is universally recognised. This qualitative leap for democracy is seen as indispensable also to relaunch the United Nations role in the system of global governance. Referring to the idea of partnership among different constituencies – civil society, private sector, states –, that is largely emphasised in the Panel's Report, the author stresses the necessity of establishing different accreditation systems for NGOs and the private sector.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Wittig Peter

**Ein neues System kollektiver Sicherheit? Die UN zwischen Stillstand und Reform
in Internationale Politik**, n. 3, 61. Jahrgang, März, 76-83

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Portinaro Pier Paolo

**Giustizia Penale internazionale. Verso un nuovo paradigma?
in Teoria Politica**, Vol. 21, Fascicolo 3

The last decade of the twentieth century witnessed the establishment of a variety of new international tribunals, including the International Criminal Tribunals for the former Yugoslavia and for Rwanda. These developments gave momentum to the project for creation of the International Criminal Court, which has jurisdiction over war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide. There is also a provision in the ICC-Statute for eventual jurisdiction over the crime of aggression (on the model of the Nuremberg and Tokio tribunals following the Second World War); but the Statute requires that a consistent definition of the crime of aggression be adopted before the Court could exercise this form of jurisdiction. The essay explores evolution, legitimacy and functions of the international criminal justice system, highlighting the contrast between the normative framework and the harsh reality of politics and the context of negotiating historical injustices in a world of expanding jurisdiction over international humanitarian law. A broad consensus seems to have emerged that completion of the current international jurisdictional system is necessary. Since states are not prepared naturally to comply with international criminal law, normative suggestions include the need to shape the courts' abilities more convincingly, to induce states to participate in court proceedings and to comply with courts' judgements. But the conservative force of the doctrine of state sovereignty remains the biggest impediment to the creation of strong institutions of international justice.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Moscatelli Silvana

Il sessantesimo anniversario della FAO

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XXXVIII, n. 150 , 414-422

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Fulci, Francesco Paolo

La riforma del Consiglio di Sicurezza dell'ONU

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XXXVIII, n. 149 , 20-32

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Garcia Perez R.

La “responsabilidad de proteger”: un nuevo papel para Naciones Unidas en la gestión de la seguridad internacional

in *Revista Electrónica de Estudios Internacionales*, n. 11

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Jean Carlo

Le Nazioni Unite e il nuovo ordine mondiale

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XXXVIII, n. 150 , 299-310

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Sciso Elena

L'uso della forza nella (mancata) riforma delle Nazioni Unite

in *Comunità Internazionale (La)*, n. 1, vol. LXI, primo trimestre



No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Papisca Antonio

Reforming the United Nations by the Convention Method: Learning from the EU in Federalist Debate (The), Year XIX, n. 1, February , 8-13

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Orrù Elisa

Sovranità e giustizia internazionale: il rapporto tra Unione Europea e Corte Penale Internazionale in Teoria Politica, Vol. 21, Fascicolo 3

The European Union and the International Criminal Court are two of the most original and interesting elements of the contemporary international situation. Both of them are the result of a delicate balance between ethical issues and political interests and, consequently, institute a complex relationship with the States sovereignty. Their common ground of values has brought the European Union to sustain the International Criminal Court since its preparatory works. Through the analysis of the most significant documents and the ways of the cooperation between these two organisms, this essay focuses on the problems that face the international justice and the possible means of its affirmation. It seems to be drawn a new aspect of international relations, far from the traditional power politics and underpinned by the consent that international organisms can gain among the public opinion through their policy consistence with justice and peace values.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Smith Karen E.

Speaking with One Voice? European Union Co-ordination on Human Rights Issues at the United Nations in Journal of Common Market Studies, Vol. 44, Issue 1, March , 113-138

This article analyses the extent to which the EU acts cohesively and effectively within the UN General Assembly Third Committee and the Commission on Human Rights. There is considerable evidence of increasing EU 'output' at the UN since the early 1990s, but there are serious limits to EU unity posed by conflicting national interests and the persistent desire of Member States to act independently at the UN. Furthermore, the energy required to reach internal agreements restricts the EU's influence within the wider UN system.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system



Toscano Roberto

The Case for the International Criminal Court (ICC)

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

ABSTRACT: L'assunto da cui parte l'autore è che la creazione della Corte Penale Internazionale interessa vari aspetti delle relazioni internazionali, non soltanto quelli strettamente giuridici. Un aspetto importante con rilevanti ricadute sulla politica riguarda le conseguenze che discendono dal collegamento sempre più stretto che si è venuto creando tra diritto internazionale umanitario (*ius in bello*) e diritto internazionale dei diritti umani, collegamento che mette in questione lo stesso diritto di fare la guerra (*ius ad bellum*). Grazie alla Corte Penale Internazionale i diritti umani fanno un passo avanti molto significativo nel coinvolgere nella loro logica il diritto umanitario. L'autore affronta quindi alcuni dei principali rilievi che vengono fatti alla Corte sia dal mondo dell'accademia sia da quelli degli Stati che si sono opposti alla sua costituzioni, specialmente dagli Stati Uniti. La risposta all'obiezione che la Corte abolirebbe la sovranità degli Stati è che si tratta di una grossa esagerazione, se si considera che la giurisdizione della Corte è complementare rispetto a quella degli Stati, è insomma un tribunale «di ultima istanza». L'obiezione che la Corte sarebbe vulnerabile nei confronti della manipolazione politica è sostenuta certamente da ragioni plausibili, ma, in via generale, la vulnerabilità riguarda non soltanto l'area del diritto penale bensì anche quella del diritto civile. Nel caso in specie, si sottolinea che lo statuto della Corte prevede tra l'altro che il Consiglio di Sicurezza delle Nazioni Unite possa, a certe condizioni, intervenire nel fermare il procedimento giudiziario avviato. L'autore sostiene che è molto meno vulnerabile un corte istituita a prescindere e prima dei conflitti, che tribunali istituiti ad hoc come per esempio quelli per la ex Jugoslavia e il Rwanda. Un'altra obiezione riguarda la presunta incompatibilità tra giustizia internazionale e riconciliazione nazionale. L'autore sostiene che il reale obiettivo della Corte Penale Internazionale, più che la punizione, è la prevenzione: l'esempio del meccanismo «verità e riconciliazione» in Sud Africa non avrebbe funzionato in assenza della minaccia, quale alternativa esplicita, dell'applicazione delle ordinarie procedure di giustizia penale. La tesi secondo cui la Corte non si farebbe carico della lotta al terrorismo è confutata dall'autore citando l'art. 7 dello Statuto della Corte che tra i crimini contro l'umanità annovera il «diffuso o sistematico attacco diretto contro qualsiasi popolazione civile». L'autore risponde infine alla domanda di cosa rappresenti l'avvento della Corte per la globalizzazione in atto. La Corte non è certamente responsabile della «relativizzazione della sovranità» degli Stati, al contrario essa è la giusta risposta a quanti rischiano di soccombere alla «teoria del caos». In base al principio della responsabilità personale, la Corte si fa carico di individuare il «chi» non il «perché» dei fenomeni negativi della globalizzazione. In quanto tale, essa dà un formidabile contributo alla crescita di un mondo in cui il diritto può aiutarci non soltanto a limitare e regolare i conflitti, quanto a prevenirli.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Hill Christopher

The European Dimension of the UN Security Council Membership Debate

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

The implications for the UN of a continued stalemate over how to restructure the UNSC are serious. It may well continue without collapse or even existential crisis, but its place as the central public forum of international politics will slowly, imperceptibly, degrade. There are three possible scenarios for the future development of the debate on reform of the UNSC and the European place within it. The first two involve prolonged stalemate or a sharpening of contradictions as a result of it, producing crisis, with the UNSC either falling apart, or dramatically reconstituted. The third is some kind of



deal on the basis of a combination of the two principles of regional/continental representation and revolving membership. The existing European members of the UNSC need to accept that the issue of changing membership has wide ramifications for their own allies and partners, as well as for the wider international system, while idealists who still dream about a single European seat need to accept that this possibility has to be put on ice at least until 2020.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Birdsall Andrea

The International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia – Towards a More Just Order?
in *Peace, Conflict and Development*, Volume 8, Issue 8, February , pp. 24

full text available on-line <http://www.peacestudiesjournal.org.uk/docs/Feb%2006%20BIRDSALL.pdf>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Divac Öberg M.

The Legal Effects of Resolutions of the UN Security Council and General Assembly in the Jurisprudence of the ICJ
in *European Journal of International Law*, Vol. 16 n. 5 , 879 - 906

This article aims to extract from the jurisprudence of the International Court of Justice a basic theory of legal effects of unilateral instruments of international organizations in public international law. These effects can be divided into three categories. The first is substantive effects. These include binding, authorizing and (dis)empowering effects. The second category is causative effects, whereby determinations of fact or of law bring substantive effects into existence. The third category is modal effects – how and when the substantive effects come into existence (e.g. immediate or deferred, retroactive or non-retroactive, reversible or irreversible effect). Each of these categories of legal effects behaves differently according to whether the effects are intrinsic or extrinsic. Intrinsic effects are based on the special treaty powers of the United Nations Security Council and General Assembly. In this hypothesis, all three categories of effects exist to the full extent that the explicit and implicit powers of the adopting body allow for them. Extrinsic effects are directly based on general international law, in particular on the rules of formation of customary international law. Here, there are no causative effects. Substantive effects do not strictly speaking exist; only pre-substantive ones do. And modal effects are always immediate, non-retroactive and reversible.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Stiles Kendall W.

The Power of Procedure and the Procedures of the Powerful: Anti-Terror Law in the United Nations
in *Journal of Peace Research*, Volume 43, Number 1, January , 37-54

This research attempts to answer the question: to what extent do institutional procedures matter in shaping international organization policies? Little empirical evidence has been applied to the question, in part because structural forces



predominate in most theories and because it is difficult empirically to isolate the procedural variable. The UN's response to the 11 September 2001 attacks, in the context of its treatment of the terrorism issue generally, allows us to compare and contrast the response of the Security Council and the General Assembly's Sixth Committee. While the case makes it clear that structural forces have influenced the choice of procedures in both bodies over their histories, it is also clear that exogenous shocks and the search for creative policies by major powers can cause dramatic shifts in institutional procedures. In particular, the events of 11 September created a unique opening for the United States and other Western powers to attempt a radical revision of anti-terror law. This could be done most efficiently through the Security Council by use of procedural provisions that were either dormant or only recently revitalized. Efforts to cement a consensus in the GA Sixth Committee quickly ran aground against age-old questions of the definition and scope of terrorism against the backdrop of norms on occupation and self-determination. The research should rekindle interest in procedural issues and the problem of 'forum shopping'.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Bannon Alicia L.

The Responsibility To Protect: The U.N. World Summit and the Question of Unilateralism in *Yale Law Journal (The)*, Vol. 115, n. 5, March , 1157-1165

More than a decade after the world did nothing to halt genocide in Rwanda, and in the shadow of ongoing atrocities in Darfur, Sudan, the international community recently made a new commitment to protect populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing, and crimes against humanity. The United Nations 2005 World Summit brought together representatives from more than 170 countries, including the United States. While largely reiterating previous international development and security goals, the Summit culminated with an agreement that the international community, acting through the United Nations, bears a responsibility to help protect populations from genocide and other atrocities when their own governments fail to do so. The agreement further announced a willingness to take "collective action" through the Security Council to protect populations if peaceful means prove inadequate.

The motivating force behind the agreement is the United Nations' past inaction in the face of grave atrocities, including genocide. At the conclusion of the World Summit, Secretary General Kofi Annan told the world's leaders: "[Y]ou will be pledged to act if another Rwanda looms." However, by describing the responsibility to protect in terms of U.N. action, the World Summit failed to address a critical issue: What can and should be done by individual states if the United Nations fails to fulfill its pledge? The answer to this question will inform the scope of permissible unilateral action, with implications for future humanitarian interventions and military actions.

This Comment argues that the Summit agreement strengthens the legal justification for limited forms of unilateral and regional action—including military action—if the United Nations fails to act to protect populations from genocide and other atrocities. The Summit agreement strengthens the justification for unilateral action in two main ways. First, the agreement affirms important limits on national sovereignty by recognizing a state's responsibility to protect its own citizens. Second, the agreement sets clear responsibilities for the international community when a country fails to protect its own citizens. In cases of U.N. inaction, would-be unilateral actors can point to an explicit failure to fulfill a duty.

However, the agreement only supports unilateral action in a narrow set of circumstances. First, the agreement is limited to a small set of extreme human rights abuses. Second, the agreement implies a hierarchy of actors and of interventions: Good faith U.N. action is privileged over unilateralism and peaceful action is privileged over violent means.



Finally, the agreement limits the scope of intervention to the goal of protection. For these reasons, the U.S. invasion of Iraq could not have been justified using the Summit agreement.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Missiroli Antonio

**The UN Security Council Needs Fewer Europeans and More Europe
in International Spectator (The)**, Vol. XL, n. 4, October-December

With UNSC reform stalled, ways must be explored to heal the internal wounds and reshape the EU and the international debate. Two key points must be kept in mind: a more representative UNSC need not be larger, and "more Europe" in the Security Council need not entail more European members, either permanent or re-eligible. Currently, European membership on the UNSC amounts to one-third of the entire body - hardly proportional to its share of the planet's population. With a sensational coup in terms of "public diplomacy", Europe could "sacrifice" one of its current non-permanent seats to show that it is serious and consistent about "effective multilateralism", efficiency and effectiveness, and by leaving that seat to either the Asian or the African grouping it could prove that it is serious about fair representation as well.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Laurenti Jeffrey

**The United States and UN Reform
in International Spectator (The)**, Vol. XL, n. 4, October-December

Far from bypassing the political chokepoints that impede bold action at the United Nations, the 2005 world summit on security and development produced only modest progress on the Secretary General's reform agenda. The United States in particular approached the summit with considerable diffidence, not sure of what it really needed in the way of structural UN reform and fearful of its linkage in multilateral negotiations to the unwelcome security and development agendas of others. With Washington's UN debate focused primarily on the Human Rights Commission and Oil-for-Food, there was comparatively little convergence of interests with its partners - and considerable confrontation.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Chevallard Giancarlo

**UN Reform: A Test of European Leadership
in International Spectator (The)**, Vol. XL, n. 4, October-December

Although the outcome of the UN summit was considered disappointing by many, it must not be assessed on its own but seen in perspective as only one step in a long and continuous process. More realistically, while the result was



insufficient in some sectors - disarmament and non-proliferation - it should be seen as a success in others - peace-building, human rights, protecting populations and the role of regional organisations. More importantly, it is generally acknowledged that the European Union was the driving force behind progress in those areas. By offering the most comprehensive and balanced platform, it was able to act as a bridge-builder to shape consensus. This large-scale diplomatic lobbying by the EU must be seen as a significant step forward from its traditional practice of a declaratory external presence.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Varwick Johannes

Vereinte Nationen, Völkerrecht und internationale Politik

in *Internationale Politik*, n. 12, 60. Jahrgang, Dezember, 115-122

ABSTRACT: Was kann, was muss das Völkerrecht heute, in Zeiten der Globalisierung, überhaupt leisten? Welche Bedeutung hat es? Wie kann demokratisches und effektives Regieren jenseits des Nationalstaats möglich sein? Die Meinungen darüber gehen weit auseinander. An die Vereinten Nationen werden hohe Erwartungen gestellt; es kommt jetzt darauf an, was die Mitgliedstaaten aus diesem so wichtigen Rahmen machen.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Fischer Fritz

Why Europe should spearhead IMF and World Bank reform

in *Europe's World*, Issue 2, Spring

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Eberhardt Pia, Passadakis Alexis

Big Business in der WTO

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, Februar, 2006, 139-142

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Anderson, Greg

Can Someone Please Settle This Dispute? Canadian Softwood Lumber and the Dispute Settlement Mechanisms of the NAFTA and the WTO

in *World Economy*, Volume 29 Number 5, 585-610



The long-running Canada-US softwood lumber dispute provides a useful backdrop for comparison of the dispute settlement mechanisms of the Canada-US Free Trade Agreement, the North American Free Trade Agreement, and the dispute settlement mechanisms of the World Trade Organisation because it is the only dispute to have been litigated in all three venues. By looking at a dispute in which the central arguments of the litigants have remained consistent while the venues for litigation have changed, this article aims to evaluate the utility of these mechanisms for resolving some of the world trading system's most difficult disputes and highlights several weaknesses within each that both hamper their effectiveness and suggest avenues for future change.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Salzman James

Decentralized Administrative Law in the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development in Law and contemporary problems, Summer/Autumn 2005, Volume 68, Numbers 3 & 4 , 189 - 224

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Lusztig, Michael, James Patrick

How Does Free Trade Become Institutionalised? An Expected Utility Model of the Chrétien Era in World Economy, Volume 29, Number 4 , 491-505

This paper seeks to go beyond the question of 'why free trade?' and pursues issues related to the tendency for controversial free trade agreements to become institutionalised. In other words, why do opponents of free trade not mobilise to overturn it? Even more puzzling, why do opposition parties, which had opposed passage of free trade in the first place, not undo liberalisation undertaken by their predecessors upon coming to power? Rather than seek reversal, it is not uncommon for free trade opponents, upon assuming control of the government, to deepen liberalisation initiatives, hence serving to institutionalise the very policies they had decried vigorously. Seven sections make up this study. It begins with a statement of the basic puzzle and an illustration in the recent Canadian context. The second section is a theoretical discussion of opposition parties and free trade. An expected utility model, based on the limits of rent-seeking, is introduced in the third and fourth sections, to explain institutionalised free trade. The fifth section provides the background to the case at hand, that is, the evolution of free trade as a politico-economic issue in Canada. The sixth section applies the expected utility model to the superficially puzzling case of Canadian Prime Minister Jean Chrétien's dramatic about-face on the issue of trade liberalisation after coming to power. In the final section, the contributions of the model are reviewed, along with directions for future research.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Sapir André

Is the € ready for a global role?
in Europe's World, Issue 2, Spring



No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Ruiz Fabri H.

Le juge de l'omc: ombres et lumières

in *Revue générale de droit international publique*, Tomo 110 n. 1 , 39 - 84

The Dispute Settlement Mechanism, which has been functioning for ten years, has acquired along this period all the features of a court. In this context, the Appellate Body has become the supreme court of the international trade system, by giving a strong impulse to the building of a case-law clearly characterised by its coherence and continuity, based on the idea of systemic balance. Nonetheless, there is also a dark side. The role of the judge is put in question in the name of the balance between judicialisation and political governance. Moreover, the judge faces the challenge to uphold the coherence of his caselaw, which raises a problem both of means and of ambition.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Smythe Elizabeth, Smith Peter J.

Legitimacy, Transparency, and Information Technology: The World Trade Organization in an Era of Contentious Trade Politics

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

ABSTRACT: The legitimacy of international trade rule making and the World Trade Organization (WTO) have been subjects of increasing debate. Nongovernmental organizations, in particular, have criticized the lack of democratic accountability and thus the legitimacy of trade policymaking. This effort has included the development of transnational campaigns and networks, facilitated by information and communications technologies, to shed light on the trade rule-making process. At the same time, transparency has become the minimal standard for accountability in both the public and private sector. We review the WTO's modest improvements in external transparency in response to these pressures. Drawing on the experiences of a number of WTO members that have responded to critics of their trade policymaking processes by a limited increase in transparency, we conclude that similar efforts at the WTO will be an insufficient response to critics and fall short of what is needed to seriously address legitimacy questions.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Conway Patrick

The International Monetary Fund in a Time of Crisis: A Review of Stanley Fischer's IMF Essays from a Time of Crisis: The International Financial System, Stabilization, and Development

in *Journal of Economic Literature*, volume 44 issue 1 , 115-144



Stanley Fischer was deputy managing director of the IMF from 1994 to 2001 and, perhaps more than any other individual, he personifies the international "rapid response" to financial crises in the 1990s. This book is a collection of essays written during his tenure at the IMF; taken together, the essays represent the strongest and most logical defense of IMF initiatives in the 1990s in print. My review essay comprises six parts. In parts 2 through 4, I provide an overview of Fischer's arguments in three central areas of contention: stabilization policy, the impact of IMF programs on poverty, and the IMF's anticipation of and response to international financial crisis. I then compare Fischer's arguments to those raised by the IMF's critics during that period. The controversial issues of these parts can be resolved only through empirical investigation but, on the issues of greatest importance from the financial crises of the 1990s, both Fischer and the IMF's critics make logically consistent arguments with little empirical support. In part 5, I review the recent empirical literature to illuminate what evidence has been found in support of—or counter to—the assertions of Fischer and the IMF's critics. Part 6 provides conclusions and suggestions for follow-on empirical research.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Tricarico Antonio

**The New World Bank Presidency: Waiting for the Wolf to Bite
in International Spectator (The)**, Vol. XL, n. 4, October-December

In the second half of the nineties, the World Bank acknowledged that development policy should be based on evidence and started developing tools and methods to analyse what policies are needed to reduce poverty. More recently, however, it started to abandon reforms enhancing sustainability, ownership and public participation, drawing back progressively toward its core business of lending for infrastructure and deep macro-economic reforms. In the absence of clear indications as to what road the new president of the World Bank, Paul Wolfowitz, plans to take, civil society will be monitoring the outcome of all those key multi-stakeholder processes still pending in which it and other development actors have been deeply involved in the last ten years. Three important areas are analysis of poverty and social impact of the World Bank's Poverty Reduction Strategies, actions following publication of the report by the World Commission on Dams, and strategies based on the findings of the Extractive Industry Review.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Guerin Selen Sarisoy

**The Role of Geography in Financial and Economic Integration: A Comparative Analysis of Foreign Direct Investment, Trade and Portfolio Investment Flows
in World Economy**, Volume 29, Number 2 , 189-209

The objective of this paper is to examine the role of geography in explaining the patterns of financial and economic integration among both developed and developing countries. Using a gravity model, we compare North-North, North-South and South-North FDI, trade and portfolio investment flows to examine how geographical factors influence these bilateral flows. The results indicate that the impact of geography variables on FDI and portfolio are similar to their effect on trade. Geography variables have a statistically significant effect both on FDI and portfolio investment, but FDI is more sensitive to distance. We interpret the negative effect of distance as the existence of information costs in financial flows. Also bilateral FDI, trade and portfolio investment flows react to macroeconomic fundamentals in the same way,



however, with different degrees of sensitivity. There are significant differences between North-North and North-South flows. Our results find support for the argument that most FDI among industrial countries are horizontal, whereas most FDI investment in developing countries is vertical. The fact that the significance of geographical variables on financial flows still remained even after controlling for the macroeconomic fundamentals, is in contrast with the standard capital market model. The results can, however, be reconciled if geographical factors can proxy for information costs, which may in turn explain why country portfolios are still home-biased. The significant effect of distance on financial flows may also explain how idiosyncratic shocks are spread (i.e. contagion) to other countries in the same region. Ultimately, the geographical location of a country may determine its economic and financial integration into the world economy.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Davey William J.

The WTO: Looking Forwards

in *Journal of International Economic Law*, 9 (1) , 3-29

The World Trade Organization (WTO) ended the year 2005 on an upbeat note. Its sixth ministerial, held in Hong Kong in December, was concluded successfully. The ministerial's actual achievements were quite modest; essentially, it succeeded because it did not fail to adopt a declaration with some substance as had the 2003 Cancun and 1999 Seattle ministerials. In this introduction to volume 9 of the journal, I do not propose to analyze the outcome of the ministerial in any detail but simply note three highlights that do not relate directly to the substance of the ongoing WTO negotiations that were launched at the Doha ministerial in 2001. By far the biggest challenge confronting the WTO is to bring these negotiations – formally called the Doha Development Agenda – to a successful and substantive conclusion in 2006. This introduction will focus on two other significant challenges facing the WTO in the near term: (i) the need to keep the dispute settlement system functioning well and (ii) the need to have a workable procedural means of implementing whatever substantive results the Doha negotiations ultimately produce. The WTO faces some other daunting challenges as well. Its ability to surmount two of those challenges is particularly worrisome – the organization badly needs to improve its decision-making effectiveness and efficiency and it needs to position itself so that it is clearly viewed by its members as a better alternative for the world economy than the continued proliferation of free trade areas (FTAs). I will not focus on these latter two challenges, however, because they are directly related to the others. That is to say that concerns about decision-making will abate, and the attractiveness of FTAs will be reduced if the Doha negotiations result in a broad agreement that is successfully implemented and if the WTO dispute settlement system continues to function well.

The Hong Kong ministerial produced only a few breakthroughs in the Doha negotiations and their true significance will be clear only as more serious substantive discussions are held and decisions are reached in the course of 2006. The two principal substantive breakthroughs were the EU's agreement to 2013 as an end date for agricultural export subsidies and developed country commitments to expand trade-related technical aid to the poorer developing countries and to increase market access opportunities for their products. However, the EU's agreement on export subsidies is conditional and the exact scope of the market access commitments (or, more precisely, the exceptions to them) is not yet clear in terms of its effect. Of much more substantive importance for the success of the Doha negotiations is the next key deadline, which is 30 April 2006, by which time modalities for the agricultural and non-agricultural market access (NAMA) negotiations are to be established. As discussed below, US negotiating authority effectively runs out at the end of 2006, which means that failure to meet this deadline could have serious adverse consequences for completing the Doha round.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Sherman Richard, Eliasson Johan

Trade Disputes and Non-state Actors: New Institutional Arrangements and the Privatisation of Commercial Diplomacy

in World Economy, Volume 29, Number 4 , 473-489

Critical aspects of commercial diplomacy in the United States and the European Union are undergoing a process of gradual privatisation. We examine institutional arrangements that permit private groups (predominantly industry associations and firms) to petition for the initiation of trade disputes, propose agenda items for multilateral negotiations in the World Trade Organisation, and conduct negotiations on proposals for regulatory reform outside state-to-state channels. These include the United States' Section 301, the European Union's Trade Barriers Regulation, formal consultation processes surrounding WTO negotiations, and the Transatlantic Business Dialogue. We explore the reasons why governments have opened up these new access points for industry, draw comparisons among the institutions and between the US and EU experience of them, and outline patterns of industry use of the petition mechanisms by broad industrial classification. Along with building theory on comparative private-sector policy substitutability, we consider some of the normative issues raised by institutions for privatised commercial diplomacy.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Larouer Christophe

WTO Non-Violation Complaints: A Misunderstood Remedy at the Heart of the WTO Dispute Settlement System
in Netherlands International Law Review, Volume 53, Issue 1 , 97-126

This article addresses the impact of politics and diplomacy upon the enforcement of international legal obligations through the example of non-violation complaints in the World Trade Organization (WTO). Although this remedy inherited from the past has always been criticized, both the scope and the effects of non-violation complaints upon the WTO dispute settlement system have been disregarded and misunderstood. Only a few WTO members have insisted on using this remedy to the detriment of the immense majority of WTO members for which non-violation complaints still represent an unaffordable luxury. Therefore, this article retraces the negotiation history of this remedy and its entire jurisprudence in order to demonstrate that the WTO dispute settlement system can neither undermine the results of negotiations reflecting the power struggle amongst sovereign nation-states, nor remedy their failure to negotiate by creating new legal obligations. As a result, the security and predictability of the WTO dispute settlement system is at stake, for WTO panels and the Appellate Body have been reluctant and unable to define the ambiguous legal concept of non-violation.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Zupi Marco



Will the W Factor Change the World Bank's Development Agenda?

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

For the moment, there is little on which to base an assessment of the new World Bank presidency. But there are two major problem areas in which Wolfowitz will have to intervene and qualify himself. The first is the type of approach that the Bank will adopt in relation to the new international agenda on development cooperation. In the wake of 9/11, the new development agenda has become increasingly intertwined and at times overlapping with the security agenda, with the risk of subordinating the former to the latter. The second is the fundamental issue of the Bank's institutional mission and organisational set-up, whether it should be more of a bank or a development agency, directed at fostering the economic development of the emerging countries or combating poverty and sustaining the poorer countries. Wolfowitz will be under pressure to come up with a credible solution to the World Bank's problems of ambiguity, institutional incoherence and difficulties in translating its strategic guidelines into operational realities.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Fleck Robert K., Kilby Christopher

World Bank Independence: A Model and Statistical Analysis of US Influence

in *Review of Development Economics*, Volume 10, Number 2 , 224-240

This paper develops a model to test whether World Bank lending caters to US interests. We use country-level panel data to examine the geographic distribution of World Bank lending to 110 countries from 1968 to 2002. After controlling for country characteristics expected to influence the distribution of lending in a manner consistent with the World Bank's charter and stated allocation mechanisms, we introduce variables reflecting US interests. The empirical results are consistent with a significant US influence, but one which varies across presidential administrations. These findings have important implications because donor influence may reduce the credibility, and hence the development effectiveness, of multilateral aid organizations

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Romano Angela

Alleanza atlantica e Csce (1969-1975): prove tecniche di un «polo europeo»

in *Ventesimo Secolo. Rivista di Studi sulle Transizioni*, Anno V, n. 9, marzo, special issue "L'Europa negli anni Settanta: una svolta nella storia del continente"

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Blanton Robert G.

Bringing the 'Community' Back. Integration, Conflict, and Cooperation

in *Cooperation and Conflict*, n. 1, vol. 41, march , 31-52



ABSTRACT: Though a great deal of scholarship has been devoted to the relationship between economic interdependence and conflict — the 'liberal peace' — the conceptual and analytic focus of this body of literature remains quite narrow. Seeking to improve upon extant literature, I incorporate Deutsch's concept of the 'security community' to provide a broader theoretical foundation for the impact of economic interdependence upon interstate relations. Next, I empirically explore where trade, the key independent variable in this body of literature, fits within the broader web of interactions and transactions that contribute towards the integrative process. I then employ events data to assess the impact of integration upon four different measures of interstate interactions — two types of interactions (conflict and cooperation) across two issue areas (economic and military).

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Alesina Alberto, Spolaore Enrico

Conflict, defense spending, and the number of nations

in *European Economic Review*, Volume 50, Issue 1, January 2006 , Pages 91-120

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Moreno Maurizio

La NATO e la Russia

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XXXVIII, n. 150 , 285-290

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Lespinois Jérôme de

L'armée de l'air française et la création de la Luftwaffe 1954-1961. La question de la sauvegarde de l'influence française au sein de l'OTAN

in *Revue d'Allemagne et des Pays de langue allemande*, 37 (2005), 4

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Cagiati Andrea

L'evoluzione dei rapporti interatlantici

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XXXVIII, n. 149 , 81-90

No abstract available



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Ojanen Hanna

The EU and Nato: Two Competing Models for a Common Defence Policy

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Vol. 44, Issue 1, March , 57-76

European integration in security and defence was for a long time seen as impossible or at least highly unlikely. Even otherwise contradictory theories of European integration shared the assumption that the specific character of this field explained the absence of integration. Recent developments challenge this assumption. Maintaining instead that security and defence are amenable to integration, one can, drawing from the same integration theories, see two alternative models of a common defence policy emerging. A wholly new type of supranational defence may become reality within the EU, possibly challenged by the EU's close co-operation, or 'fusion', with the intergovernmentalism of Nato.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Roach Steven C.

US Foreign Policy and the International Criminal Court: Towards a Third Way of Strategic Accommodation

in **International Politics** , Vol. 43, n. 1, February , 53-70

The United States has argued that its military personnel can and should be exempt from ICC investigation and prosecution, and that the ICC Statute should be revised accordingly. Advocates of the ICC have condemned this position by claiming that it undermines the morale of the ICC and is based on false legal and political pretenses. This article proposes a third way of strategic accommodation involving amendments to the ICC Statute that will serve as structured incentives to the U.S. to (re) sign and ratify the ICC Treaty. Such an arrangement will avert the need for special measures that would violate the integrity of the ICC Statute and build consensus within the Assembly of States Parties.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Shapiro Martin

"Deliberative," "Independent" Technocracy v. Democratic Politics: Will the Globe Echo the E.U.?

in **Law and contemporary problems**, Summer/Autumn 2005, Volume 68, Numbers 3 & 4 , 319 - 340



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Nakano Takeshi

A Critique of Held's Cosmopolitan Democracy

in *Contemporary Political Theory*, Vol. 5, n. 1, February , 33-51

This essay criticizes David Held's proposal of cosmopolitan democracy. Held argues that cosmopolitan realities are emerging, which help to open up the possibility of a cosmopolitan democracy. However, the author argues that Held tends to exaggerate cosmopolitan realities. What Held sees as cosmopolitan realities are international realities rather than cosmopolitan, and what he calls 'transnational civil society' is in fact the product of nation-states. Held endorses 'the institutionalization of cosmopolitan principles', which implies two different institutionalizations, though Held does not explicitly recognize this difference: the global and national institutionalization. However, the global institutionalization of cosmopolitan principles would not only fail to work but also cause undesirable consequences, in particular, global cultural homogenization, while the national one does not deserve the name of cosmopolitanism. Instead of introducing a cosmopolitan democracy, the author proposes that we should utilize and enhance the capacities of nation-states and develop the existing international order so as to cope with global problems.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Reimann Kim D.

A View from the Top: International Politics, Norms and the Worldwide Growth of NGOs

in *International Studies Quarterly*, issue 1, vol. 50, march , 45-68

ABSTRACT: This article provides a "top-down" explanation for the rapid growth of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) in the postwar period, focusing on two aspects of political globalization. First, I argue that international political opportunities in the form of funding and political access have expanded enormously in the postwar period and provided a structural environment highly conducive to NGO growth. Secondly, I present a norm-based argument and trace the rise of a pro-NGO norm in the 1980s and 1990s among donor states and intergovernmental organizations (IGOs), which has actively promoted the spread of NGOs to non-Western countries. The article ends with a brief discussion of the symbiotic relationship among NGOs, IGOs, and states promoting international cooperation.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Howell H. Zee

A note on global taxes and aid for development

in *Journal of Economic Studies*, Volume 33 Issue 1 , 5 - 11

The paper aims to investigate the possible crowding-out of regular development aid by global taxes.



The paper models cross-country interactions in aid giving using a simple Cournot-Nash framework.

The paper argues that global taxes could lead to an increase in aid-cum-tax revenue if such taxes produce a globally net positive income effect. Whether this condition can be satisfied is very much an open empirical issue. An alternative to global taxes is cooperative aid-giving among donors, which this paper shows will always result in more global aid. The paper highlights the need for a shift of policy focus from designing global taxes to designing viable mechanisms for effective aid coordination, for which multilateral institutions could play a crucial role.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Brunkhorst Hauke, Ceppa Leonardo

Alternative politiche della comunità internazionale

in *Teoria Politica*, Vol. 22, Fascicolo 1

The situation in international relations and international law today can be best characterized as a tension between two cultures, the culture of legal formalism and the culture of legal dynamism. To turn the legal culture of the globe towards legal dynamism is the basic political strategy of the hegemonic powers, in particular the United States. The constitutional outcome is a global constitutionalism that constitutes a global public, global civil society, global basic rights and the principle of equality before law for all global actors, which are states, organizations and individual human beings. But there is a deep contradiction between democratic equal rights and undemocratic constitutional law of check and balances within the global constitutional text books and in particular legal practice. The author then tries to find facilities for radical democratic reformism within the existing separation of global legal powers.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Amin Samir

Apartheid global. Der neue Imperialismus und der globale Süden

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, Februar, 2006 , 163-169

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Williams Howard L.

Back from the USSR: Kant, Kaliningrad and World Peace

in *International Relations*, n. 1, vol. 20, march , 27-48

ABSTRACT: The year 2004 marked the bicentenary of Immanuel Kant's death. This article evaluates the main arguments of Kant's essay on perpetual peace in the light of developments in world politics since his time. How well have his ideas stood the test of time? Kant's essay is placed in the context of his philosophy as a whole and through a close textual analysis the value of his propositions is assessed. The article looks at the Provisional and Definitive Articles in their mutual relation and places a good deal more emphasis than is usual upon the two supplements and appendix. Finally the article takes the complex circumstances of Kant's home city, Kaliningrad, as a brief test case for



his own theories.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Bentivoglio Ludovico Matteo

Bipolarità dell'organizzazione internazionale: Comunità degli Stati o Comunità dei Popoli?

in *Pace Diritti Umani*, n. 1, anno 2, gennaio-aprile

ABSTRACT: To pay tribute to the memory of Ludovico Matteo Bentivoglio, Professor of International Law and International organisation, the present issue reproduces the inaugural lecture he gave in 1966 for his class of law of international organisation at the University of Parma. Professor Bentivoglio, one of the most intelligent and creative Italian scholars in the second half of the 20th century, offered in this essay the foundations of his peculiar approach to the studies on the phenomenon of international organisations. He conceives the development of international organisations as the passage from an essentially horizontal system of rights and obligations between States, to a tendentially vertical – albeit fragmentary and discontinuous – system of super-State or extra-State competencies. Here one finds the innovative character of the phenomenon: while in the system of the law of the Community of States, the protection of collective interests is entrusted to the States acting *uti universi*, the development of international organisations marks the gradual transfer of that function to bodies expressly created by groups of States. Furthermore, Bentivoglio emphasises a second fundamental element of this process: its profound reason is constituted by the emergence of pan-human interests, which require protection at the international level. In his view, this is significantly confirmed in the institutional framework of various organisations by the presence of organs composed of individual acting in their personal capacity. In mid-sixties, Professor Bentivoglio envisaged crucial transformations in the international legal order: he identified two opposite poles of attraction in the new universal Community of Peoples and in the ancient Community of States.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Foot Rosemary

Chinese strategies in a US-hegemonic global order: accommodating and hedging

in *International Affairs*, issue 1, vol. 82, january, 77-94

China's economic, political and military influence has been increasing at a time when the United States, as sole superpower, dominates the international order. This article outlines Chinese elite perspectives on the current global order and shows not only how these perceptions have affected China's policies towards the United States, but also how they have influenced China's regional and global policies more broadly. It argues that variants of realist logic that interpret Chinese behaviour as a form of balancing are not particularly helpful, and do not capture the essence of Chinese strategies that are underpinned by an overwhelming focus on its domestic development needs. The article posits that Chinese leaders have accepted that they operate in a unipolar order and have chosen not to stick out for negotiating positions that the United States would see as seriously detrimental to its interests. However, Beijing couples this accommodating approach with policies designed to ensure that, were relations seriously to deteriorate with Washington, China could draw on deepened regional and global ties to thwart any US effort to interrupt its domestic objectives. China's hope is that a more 'democratic' international order will emerge, which means not multipolarity as



such but a 'concert of great powers system' that will operate to forge multilateral cooperation among the major states.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Betsill Michele M., Bulkeley Harriet

Cities and the Multilevel Governance for Global Climate Change

in **Global Governance**, n. 2, vol. 12, april-june

ABSTRACT: We explore how the Cities for Climate Protection (CCP) program, a network that is simultaneously global and local, state and nonstate,, could be conceptualized as part of global environmental governance. We suggest that traditional approaches to international relations³regime theory and transnational networks³offer limited conceptual space for analyzing such networks. These approaches obscure how the governance of global climate change takes place through processes and institutions operating at and between a variety of scales and involving a range of actors with different levels and forms of authority. We contend that it is only by taking a multilevel perspective that we can fully capture the social, political, and economic processes that shape global environmental governance.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Bowden Brett

Civil society, the state, and the limits to global civil society

in **Global Society**, Vol. 20, n. 2, April , 155-178

Just as domestic civil society is widely regarded as serving the greater common good of a national democratic political community, global civil society is also promoted as a vehicle through which a host of humanity's ills may be remedied. This article argues that the pinning of such high hopes on global civil society is mistaken, for its proponents have failed to recognise that global civil society is insufficiently analogous to domestic civil society for it to be a similarly positive force. At the national level, civil society functions in a balanced interdependence with the state. At the global level there is no equivalent of the state to provide the necessary scrutiny and regulation that at the national level prevents constituents of domestic civil society from committing injustices.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Gilabert Pablo

Cosmopolitanism and Discourse Ethics: A Critical Survey

in **New Political Science**, n. 1, vol. 28, march , 1-21

ABSTRACT: This article introduces a critical survey of recent discussions of cosmopolitanism by elucidating a common core present in them and by providing a proposal for how that core can be best elaborated. Two theses are defended. The first is that an appropriate conception of cosmopolitanism must include three coordinates: a search for universal rights, sensitivity to contextual specificities, and autonomous empowerment of all individuals. A cosmopolitan stance framed by these conditions must be seen as a form of social criticism. The second thesis is that the practices of public



deliberation recommended by the program of discourse ethics provide an ideal medium for the kind of discussion in which people enacting a critical cosmopolitan stance should engage, especially in view of the possible situational tensions between its three coordinates.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Cichowski R.A.

Courts, Democracy, and Governance

in Comparative Political Studies , Vol. 39 n. 1 , 3 - 21

This introduction and the articles that follow are motivated by three main goals. First, they elaborate and promote a comparative approach to the study of international legal institutions. Second, they seek to better understand the role of courts in transforming international and domestic governance. Finally, the central aim of the issue is to examine how the legalization of global politics may be linked to changes in democratic participation. The overarching aim is to examine the factors shaping when and how courts may serve as arenas for citizen participation leading to important political, legal, and social developments. This introductory article provides a testable framework elaborating both the opportunities and limitations of this dynamic for democratic politics.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Rachel A. Cichowski

Courts, Rights, and Democratic Participation

in Comparative Political Studies , Vol. 39 n. 1

This article examines the connection between rights, courts, and the changing nature of democratic participation. The general comparative model developed is then applied to a time-series analysis of the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR). The article is the first to offer a systematic social science analysis of ECHR decisions with particular emphasis on changing democratic opportunities for individuals at both the domestic and supranational level. The findings reveal how rights and access to legal institutions shape the way courts serve as arenas for public participation—a consequence that brings into question dominant theories of international organization and comparative studies of judicial politics.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Lamy Jean

D'un G8 à l'autre: sécurité énergétique et changement climatique

in Politique Etrangère, 1/2006 (printemps)

Towards a New G8: Energy Security and Climate Change



Recent trends relating to the price of energy, global energy security, and the impact of energy consumption on greenhouse gas emissions led the G8 in 2005 to take on, conjointly, two new policy issues: energy and climate change. This is a recognition that a new concept of collective security has emerged on the international level: that global energy security within a sustainable development context has a strategic dimension, which requires new forms of dialogue and cooperation among nations and new actors.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Venturini Gian Carlo

Dalla Società degli Stati alla Comunità del genere umano

in *Pace Diritti Umani*, n. 1, anno 2, gennaio-aprile

ABSTRACT: After the Second World War, the emergence of international organisations and the process of international legal recognition of the human rights induced some scholars to discuss and reconsider the characters of international community. Professor Venturini wondered whether those developments brought to a new universal inter-individual community or simply to a modification of the old community of States in the form of a super-state order, under the control of a group of Great Powers. In his view, three elements mark the evolution of the international community towards a universal inter-individual community: the crisis of the State; the international legal protection of human rights; the changing structure of the international legal order. Finally, Venturini affirmed the fundamental function of natural law in regulating international relations.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Galtung Johan

Davos oder Porto Alegre. Samuel P. Huntington und Johan Galtung im Streitgespräch

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, Januar, 2006 , 37-51

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Ackerly Brooke A.

Deliberative Democratic Theory for Building Global Civil Society: Designing a Virtual Community of Activists

in *Contemporary Political Theory*, Vol. 5, n. 2, May , 113-141

The questions of this article are: what can we learn from deliberative democratic theory, its critics, the practices of local deliberative communities, the needs of potential participants, and the experiences of virtual communities that would be useful in designing a technology-facilitated institution for global civil society that is deliberative and democratic in its values? And what is the appropriate design of such an online institution so that it will be attentive to the undemocratic forces enabled by power inequalities that can emerge in discursive communities? I answer these questions with an



institutional innovation that meets a need of global civil society and that is responsive to critics of deliberative democratic theory and attentive to the particular agents engaged in women's human rights activism.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Mansfield Edward D., Pevehouse Jon C.

Democratization and International Organizations

in *International Organization*, issue 1, vol. 60, january , 137-167

ABSTRACT: International organizations (IOs) have become increasingly pervasive features of the global landscape. While the implications of this development have been studied extensively, relatively little research has examined the factors that prompt states to enter IOs. We argue that democratization is an especially potent impetus to IO membership. Democratizing countries are likely to enter IOs because leaders have difficulty credibly committing to sustain liberal reforms and the consolidation of democracy. Chief executives often have an incentive to solidify their position during democratic transitions by rolling back political liberalization. Entering an IO can help leaders in transitional states credibly commit to carry out democratic reforms, especially if the organization is composed primarily of democratic members. Tests of this hypothesis, based on a new data set of IOs covering the period from 1965 to 2000, confirm that democratization spurs states to join IOs.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Kingsbury Benedict, Krisch Nico, Stewart Richard B., Wiener Jonathan B.

Foreword: Global Governance as Administration -- National and Transnational Approaches to Global Administrative Law

in *Law and contemporary problems*, Summer/Autumn 2005, Volume 68, Numbers 3 & 4 , 1-14

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Fraser Nancy

Giustizia e globalizzazione: una nuova cornice

in *Filosofia e Questioni Pubbliche*, Volume X (2005), n. 2 , 13-33

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Dingwerth Klaus, Pattberg Philipp



Global Governance as a Perspective on World Politics

in *Global Governance*, n. 2, vol. 12, april-june

ABSTRACT: In one of the first issues of *Global Governance*, Larry Finkelstein observed that “‘Global Governance’ appears to be virtually anything.” A decade later, the concept of global governance has become ever more popular—and confusion about its meaning ever greater. While we do think that some flexibility in the use of concepts is both theoretically desirable and practically unavoidable, we believe that the current disarray is a hindrance to more fruitful discussions and to the goal of developing more coherent “theories of global governance.” We therefore argue that a more careful use of the term global governance is necessary to overcome the current confusion spawned by the variation in uses of the concept. After clarifying the basic function of concepts in social science and reviewing the different uses of global governance in the current literature, we use the term as an analytical concept that provides a perspective on world politics different from the more traditional notion of “international relations.”

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Hurrel Andrew

Hegemony, liberalism and global order: what space for would-be great powers?

in *International Affairs*, issue 1, vol. 82, january, 1-20

This article, and the four that follow, consider some of the ways in which China, Russia, India and Brazil have responded both to US hegemony and to the changing character of international society. This article sets out some of the major analytical questions that emerge when thinking about the foreign policy options of these countries and some of the principal conceptual and theoretical categories within which those questions may be usefully framed. The first section examines the reasons for taking these countries as a group. The second section provides a brief overview of two of the most common theoretical perspectives from which the systemic pressures on these countries have been understood. The third considers their actual and potential strategies and options under five headings: their status as regional powers; their behaviour within and towards international institutions; their relations with the United States; collaboration among them and evidence for the possible emergence of balancing behaviour; and the links between economic development and foreign policy.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Logan W.A.

Horizontal Federalism in an Age of Criminal Justice Interconnectedness

in *University of Pennsylvania Law Review*, Vol. 154 n. 2, 257 - 333

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy



Ward Hugh

International Linkages and Environmental Sustainability: The Effectiveness of the Regime Network
in *Journal of Peace Research*, Volume 43, Number 2, March , 149-166

While the literature on environmental regime effectiveness has focused on particular regimes considered in isolation, the overall effects of the system of regimes are more relevant. First, regimes are connected because they often share institutional architecture, deal with different aspects of the same problem, frame issues using similar legal and policy principles, and are subject to attempts to coordinate across issues by groups of nations, NGOs and international agencies. Thus, the network of regimes has social capital that can be applied to particular issues. Second, owing to ecological interconnectedness, regimes can have both positive and negative side-effects on environmental issues that they do not explicitly deal with. Allowing for political interconnectedness using concepts drawn from social network theory and for ecological interconnectedness using broad measures of sustainability, this article argues that nations more central to the network of environmental regimes should score higher on measures of sustainability. This is because the social capital in the regime network can more easily be brought to bear on centrally placed nations to make them cooperate and because they are more likely to be aware of negative regime side-effects. Measures of network centrality do, indeed, positively impact on nations' performance on four sustainability indicators. The analysis also finds that a nation's position in the general international system further positively impacts on its sustainability scores. This leads to the suggestion that the environmental regime network is supported by social capital in more general international networks.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Lane Jan-Erik, Maeland Reinert

International Organisation as Coordination in N-Person Games
in *Political Studies*, Volume 54, Issue 1, March , 185-215

One major problem in global governance is the specification of decision-making rules for international and regional organisations to coordinate the states of the world. Various organisations use different decision-making rules, and the properties of these rules may be compared systematically in terms of the power index approach. The power index solution concept of N-person games may be employed to display a basic problem in global governance, namely, the fundamental trade-off between state veto on the one hand and the capacity of the organisation or groups of states to act, meaning its decisiveness, on the other hand. Thus, when states coordinate through the setting up and running of international organisations, they then face a trade-off between their own control over the organisation and the capacity of the organisation to act. States make this trade-off in different ways depending upon the nature of the international or regional organisation as they reflect upon what is most important, to wit, own control or the capacity of the group to act.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Drissel David

Internet Governance in a Multipolar World: Challenging American Hegemony
in *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* , Vol. 19, n. 1, March , 105-120

This article traces the evolution of Internet governance, beginning with the earliest trans-Atlantic Internet 'community'



associations that formed in the 1970s, up to and including the present mosaic of semi-private 'self-regulating' agencies headquartered mostly in the US. The effectiveness of the current system of Internet governance, based in large measure on US-sponsored bodies such as the Internet Corporation of Assigned Names and Numbers (ICANN), is assessed and contrasted with an emerging international paradigm that seeks greater cross-border harmonisation and multilateral oversight of cyberspace resources. Political disputes arising amongst governments and other interested stakeholders concerning allegations of American regulatory unilateralism are examined. Fuelled in part by a digital divide between the technological haves and have-nots, the battle for the heart and soul of the Internet has reached fever pitch, without any definitive prospects for achieving a global consensus. Special emphasis is placed on emerging US–EU policy differences, as well as divergent North–South positions within the UN-sponsored Working Group on Internet Governance and related conferences. Strategies for enhanced international coordination of Internet governance, building on existing organisational structures and processes, are proposed.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Inoguchi Takashi, Bacon Paul

Japan's emerging role as a 'global ordinary power'

in *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, Volume 6, Number 1, January , 1-21

In this article we argue that since 1945 Japanese foreign policy has evolved through five phases, which will culminate in Japan's re-emergence as a global ordinary power. We then discuss three potential models of ordinary power that are ideal-typical in nature, but which share some qualities with the respective political circumstances of France, Germany, and Britain. We also consider the legitimacy and capacity deficits that Japan possesses, and the way in which recent electoral developments may contribute to the addressing of these deficits. We argue that Japan is using the British model as a foundation for the acquisition of ordinary power status. In doing so it is increasingly binding itself to the United States. But such a move can also provide a platform from which to develop the possibilities that lie beyond bilateralism (plus), in the realm of the German model, and wider regional cooperation.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Kalinowski Thomas, Wahl Peter

Kampf um Tobin. Internationale Steuern und Globalisierung

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, Februar, 2006 , 213-219

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Warleigh Alex

Learning from Europe? EU Studies and the Re-thinking of 'International Relations'



in *European Journal of International Relations* , Vol. 12, n. 1, March , 31-51

This article argues that European Union Studies (EUS) provides a useful resource for scholars engaged in the rethinking of international relations in the era of an emerging global polity which has been neglected for reasons of what might be called discipline blindness. More precisely, my claim is that EUS can help IR scholars ask new and useful questions about the nature, development and functioning of the emerging global polity. This is because EUS has already drawn on, and adapted, comparative politics to produce a significant body of work which can act as a transmission belt for ideas, concepts and approaches between the study of 'domestic politics' and the study of 'international relations', and thus begin to show IR scholars how these tools can be adapted and used to study politics in post- and transnational contexts.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Debos Marielle, Goheneix Alice

Les ONG et la fabrique de l'«opinion publique internationale»

in *Raisons politiques*, N° 19, août 2005

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Baeza Cecilia, Bonnefoy Laurent, Thiollet Hélène

L'invention de la contestation transnationale par les forums et sommets : la naissance d'un «espace public mondial» ?

in *Raisons politiques*, N° 19, août 2005

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Maiguashca Bice

Making feminist sense of the “anti-globalisation movement” : Some reflections on methodology and method in *Global Society*, Vol. 20, n. 2, April , 115-136

The central purpose of this paper is to outline what I take to be the distinctive contributions that a feminist understanding of politics can offer to the study of social movements in general and the “anti-globalisation movement” in particular. In other words, my objective is not to provide a theoretical or empirical account of anti-globalisation politics but rather to explore how one would go about constructing such an account if one allowed feminist insights to guide one's research. In this sense, then, I am interested in drawing out the kinds of questions that feminists would ask about this movement, the lines of inquiry that they would open up and the personal and academic worries and problems that may arise while



pursuing this research.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Bailes Alyson J. K.

**National Power and Sovereignty: What Is the Significance of the European Union's Example?
in American Foreign Policy Interests**, Vol. 28, n. 1 / February , 25-36

A nuanced analysis of the status of the European Union as a power in the world.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Forman Shepard, Segaar Derk

**New Coalitions for Global Governance: The Changing Dynamics of Multilateralism
in Global Governance**, n. 2, vol. 12, april-june

ABSTRACT: This article seeks to inform current debates on the changing architecture for global governance by cataloguing and suggesting evaluation criteria for alternative multilateral arrangements. Rather than describing a system in crisis, it focuses on the dynamics of change and flexibility in which established intergovernmental organizations are challenged to meet new demands and requirements while accommodating new mandates and members as well as nonstate actors with global reach. A proliferating and fluctuating set of intergovernmental and multistakeholder arrangements with more assertive and diverse actors best describes the international operating environment for collective decisionmaking and action across a range of global issues, raising fundamental questions of effectiveness, accountability, legitimacy, and sustainability and posing challenges to the authority of existing IGOs.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Mandle Jon

Nielsen's Just Globalization
in Economics and Philosophy, Volume 22, Issue 01, March 2006 , 139-146

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Blanc Florent, Loisel Sébastien, Scherrer Amandine

**Politique étrangère et opinions publiques : les stratégies gouvernementales d'influence et de contrôle de
l'opinion publique à l'épreuve de son internationalisation**



in *Raisons politiques*, N° 20, novembre 2005

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Khagram Sanjeev

Possible Future Architectures of Global Governance: A Transnational Perspective/Prospective

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

ABSTRACT: Several (normative-analytic) images of (future) global governance architectures are identified. If realized, any of these images would indeed be preferable to the current world (dis)order, as they all fulfill certain core progressive values. Hence, a synthetic transnational perspective on world dynamics over the twentieth century and its implications for understanding current and possible future global governance architectures are needed. The article concludes with some cautious prospective and prescriptive thoughts on future global governance architectures for a transnational world.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Eberwein Wolf-dieter, Badie Bertrand

Prevention and sovereignty: A vision and a strategy for a new world order?

in *Global Society*, Vol. 20, n. 1, January , 1-24

Prevention has become one of the declared objectives by national governments, the United Nations and the European Union to end violent conflict in the short term and to eradicate the causes of violent conflict in the longer run. Prevention defined as a comprehensive strategy includes the use of force through intervention if necessary. The article discusses first the relationship between prevention and intervention and their linkage to the international order. The abolition of inter-state war was the declared goal of the Charter of the UN. Today, the aim seems to include the abolition of internal war as well which implies a redefinition both of internal sovereignty and the non-intervention principle. During the Cold War the assumption by the two blocs was that the internal structure of states was believed to be a critical element of world peace, yet only after 1990 did this have practical consequences. Intervention has now become to some extent legitimate. Prevention as a strategy is, however fraught with a number of dilemmas. It seems to be a revised version of a collective security system which may, ironically, favour a renewed polarisation in the international system as it will in the end remain a selective policy pursued either unilaterally or multilaterally. It also remains unclear whether such a strategy to democratise the world will find the required support in the respective democracies who will have to carry the heaviest burden. Whether prevention is a form of – unintended or not – organised hypocrisy is therefore a legitimate question that this article poses.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Tan Kok-Chor



Priority for Compatriots: Commentary on Globalization and Justice

in Economics and Philosophy, Volume 22, Issue 01, March 2006 , 115-123

In his stimulating and provocative collection of essays, *Globalization and Justice*, Kai Nielsen (2003b) defends a cosmopolitan account of global justice. On the cosmopolitan view, as Nielsen understands it, individuals are entitled to equal consideration regardless of citizenship or nationality and global institutions should be arranged in such a way that each person's interest is given equal consideration. Nielsen's defense of cosmopolitan justice in this collection will be of no surprise to readers familiar with his socialist egalitarian commitments. Indeed, the internationalism underlying socialism, Nielsen would argue, naturally entails the cosmopolitan account of justice (e.g., chs. 5 and 6).

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

François Monika , Sud Inder

Promoting Stability and Development in Fragile and Failed States

in Development Policy Review , Volume 24 Issue 2

There is a growing recognition of the threat to international security posed by failed and fragile states, often marred by serious internal conflict that also has the potential of destabilising neighbouring states and providing ungoverned territory that can provide safe haven for terrorists. The inability of their governments to provide basic services is considered a significant contributory factor. Considerable donor efforts have been mobilised in recent years to help with the post-conflict reconstruction of states emerging from failure, and to halt the slide of fragile states towards failure, but with mixed effect. The international community needs to focus much more squarely on strengthening the emerging state and increasing its domestic legitimacy, rather than on promoting democracy.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Palmujoki Eero

Public–Private Governance Patterns and Environmental Sustainability

in Environment, Development and Sustainability, Volume 8, Number 1, February , 1-17

This paper discusses public–private governance patterns which have emerged in global environmental management. These patterns originate from a spontaneous non-governmental basis or have intentionally been created and constructed by international organisations or states. The paper identifies four patterns of environmental governance between international organisations, governments and private actors.

Theoretically governance patterns in which private actors play a prominent role, pose a challenge to state sovereignty and remould the traditional state centric pattern of environmental management. However, the article emphasises the fact that these patterns remain no more than constructs of international organisations, non-governmental organisations and governments, whose first priorities are not always environmental conservation. The paper suggests that the oldest public–private type of environmental governance, in which the environmental organisations are in advocacy roles, reform environmental management in a more concrete and sustainable way than the more recently emerging patterns.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Schäfer Armin

Resolving Deadlock: Why International Organisations Introduce Soft Law

in **European law journal**, March 2006 - Vol. 12 Issue 2 , 194-208.

Since the mid-1990s the European Union has introduced a number of policy coordination processes that abstain from delegating or pooling sovereignty. Instead the EU relies on soft law that does not legally bind governments in the same way as the Community Method used to. The literature assumes that soft law is chosen to achieve common objectives given considerable diversity among the Member States. In contrast, this paper suggests that non-binding coordination is first and foremost a means to foster compromises in the absence of substantial agreements. Three case studies demonstrate that international organisations have repeatedly relied on soft law to overcome disagreements among their members. The IMF, the OECD, and the EU introduced soft coordination at times of institutional crisis to prevent a breakdown of negotiations

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Nielsen Kai

Response to my Critics

in **Economics and Philosophy**, Volume 22, Issue 01, March 2006 , 147-158

I have been fortunate in having the critics that I had at the Pasadena Session on my Globalization and Justice. All three of them understood me very well, reported me accurately and criticized me fairly and perceptively. An author could not ask for more. In some places I will, as a result of their criticisms, have to modify or clarify what I say, but in other places, and indeed very central places, I remain intransigent and hold my ground, I hope not out of pigheadedness, a hardening of the intellectual arteries or out of a blinkered partisanship.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Reidy David A.

Rushing to Revolution? A Second Look at Globalization and Justice

in **Economics and Philosophy**, Volume 22, Issue 01, March 2006 , 125-137

In Globalization and Justice, Kai Nielsen brings his distinctive and passionate voice and considerable philosophical abilities to one of the pressing issues of our time: Is justice possible in our increasingly globalized world? Nielsen argues that it is, though the demands of justice are great, the challenges substantial, and the odds very long. Without a clear philosophical understanding of justice and a firm and focused political will, Nielsen maintains, we are likely to have globalization without justice. This is surely correct.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Duffield Mark, Waddell Nicholas

Securing Humans in a Dangerous World

in International Politics, Vol. 43, n. 1, February, 1-23

Human security is commonly understood as prioritizing the security of people, especially their welfare and well-being, rather than that of states.¹ Rather than examining human security as a measurable or specific condition, however, the focus here is how ideas of human security facilitate the way that Southern populations are understood, differentiated and acted upon by Northern institutions. Of special interest is how human security as a relation of governance has continued to evolve within the war on terrorism. This is explored, among other things, through interviews with a number of British-based NGOs and the Department for International Development. At the close of the 1990s, human security encapsulated a vision of integrating existing aid networks into a coordinated, global system of international intervention able to complement the efforts of ineffective states in securing their citizens. Compared to this more universalistic and Southern-oriented notion of human security, which had a place for independent aid agencies, the war on terrorism is refocusing developmental resources on those sub-populations, regions and issues regarded as important for homeland security.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Possenti Vittorio

Sovranità, pace, guerra. Considerazioni sul globalismo politico

in Teoria Politica, Vol. 22, Fascicolo 1

Political globalism understood as the building of a world political society with an authority of the same level is discussed through peace/war and sovereignty questions. Connection between politics and violence, the problem of sovereignty and of its overcoming, the way to a planetary society are treated grounding on some authors (Hobbes, Kant, Kelsen, Maritain, Sturzo, Bobbio). Preference for the paradigm of «peace through politics» (Maritain, *Pacem in terris*) in respect of that «peace through law» (Kelsen and neokantians) is argued. The former paradigm introduces the fundamental concept of planetary institutions capable of matching with the situation of a world as «global village» with a common good to secure but without a political centre. Its achievement is a long range project: in present situation, where connection between international politics and ethics is not denied, a multilateral action in favour of peace and human rights seems the best option.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Pinder John



Steps towards European and World Federation

in *Federalist Debate (The)*, Year XIX, n. 1, February , 4-7

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Kingsbury Benedict , Krisch Nico, Stewart Richard B.

The Emergence of Global Administrative Law

in *Law and contemporary problems*, Summer/Autumn 2005, Volume 68, Numbers 3 & 4 , 15-62

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

De Wet Erika

The International Constitutional Order

in *International and Comparative Law Quarterly*, n. 1, vol. 55, January , 51-76

ABSTRACT: This article argues the case for an emerging international constitutional order consisting of an international community, an international value system and rudimentary structures for its enforcement. It departs from a perception of international constitutionalism that refers to the fundamental structural and substantive norms – unwritten as well as codified – of the international legal order as a whole.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Luken Ralph, Grof Tamas

The Montreal Protocol's multilateral fund and sustainable development

in *Ecological Economics*, Volume 56, Issue 2, February , 241-255

The 1987 Montreal Protocol is widely seen as a global environmental accord that has produced tangible results in terms of reductions in ozone-depleting substances. In addition, there have been other benefits, largely unrecognized and undocumented, that can best be characterized in a sustainable development framework based on a review of 50 out of 931 projects implemented over a 13 year period by one of the four implementing agencies of the Multilateral Fund for the Implementation of the Montreal Protocol. All investment projects have reduced ozone depleting potential and global warming potential. Some projects have reduced atmospheric emissions and contamination of groundwater. Other projects have increased the competitiveness of enterprises in domestic and international markets and have sustained and in a few cases created employment opportunities. Others, fewer in number, have potentially contributed to environmental problems, have initially created difficulties in maintaining productivity and quality standards and have decreased the number of employment opportunities because of the need to rationalize manufacturing processes. The potential contributions from Multilateral Fund investment projects to sustainable development could probably have



been amplified with project design guidance for the technical staffs of all three implementing agencies executing investment projects. In thinking about other multilateral environmental agreements, one can see the need for similar guidance for Global Environment Facility funded projects supporting the focal areas of climate change, international waters, ozone depletion and persistent organic pollutants. Some of them have the potential to generate multiple beneficial impacts in addition to their stated environmental objective if designed and implemented within a sustainable development framework.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Edlin D. E.

The anxiety of sovereignty: Britain, the United States and international criminal Court
in *Boston College International and Comparative Law Review*, Vol. 29 n. 1 , 1 - 22

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Glaser Daryl

The limits to global redistribution: Thinking like an egalitarian labour movement
in *Global Society*, Vol. 20, n. 2, April , 137-154

Should global egalitarians based in a given country seek to redistribute all wealth equally amongst the world's people, recognising no priority for fellow citizens? This philosophical question is directly relevant to a pressing practical one: what is the appropriate stance for egalitarians to adopt in controversies around foreign aid and free trade? This paper explores how such matters might look to a labour movement situated in a better-off country but committed to global equality. There are several reasons offered why the latter would not seek an immediately equal share-out of its country's wealth among all the world's individuals. Yet the same considerations that support limiting global obligations also point to various limits to the limits, and imply redistributive generosity on the part of richer societies. A still more radical global redistribution becomes possible only with world economic governance, for which egalitarians should strive.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Dobson Andrew

Thick Cosmopolitanism

in *Political Studies*, Volume 54, Issue 1, March , 165-184

This paper analyses the account of political obligation given by cosmopolitans and concludes that this account, which depends on a weak or thin connection between members of common humanity, leaves a motivational vacuum at the heart of cosmopolitanism. An alternative view, according to which material ties that bind prompt obligations of justice in a globalising world, is offered. This is 'thick cosmopolitanism'.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Dryzek John S.

Transnational Democracy in an Insecure World

in International Political Science Review , n. 2, vol. 27, april , 101-119

ABSTRACT: If global governance is consequential, its legitimacy ought to rest on principles of democracy. However, unilateral action such as that taken by the USA in Iraq and elsewhere has hurt the most visible such project, cosmopolitan democracy, by undermining its liberal multilateralist foundations. Other democratic projects have not been quite so badly damaged, in particular, the idea of a transnational discursive democracy grounded in the engagement of discourses in international public spheres. The discourse aspects of international affairs are important when it comes to issues of war and peace, conflict and security, no less so here than elsewhere. Democracy faces competition in the informal realm of discourses from both the "war of ideas" and "soft power" projections, but can hold up well against them, and can more easily pass the test of reflexivity. Discursive democracy can help constitute effective responses to global insecurity.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Ciuta Felix

What Are We Debating? IR Theory between Empire and the 'Responsible' Hegemon

in International Politics , Vol. 43, n. 2, April , 173-196

This article examines the conceptual and ethical outlook of contemporary debates concerning US foreign policy, organized thematically around the 'American empire' and the nature of its global hegemony. I argue that at the heart of 'what we are debating' lie two key themes, normative and epistemological. Normatively, we are witnessing a vigorous debate concerning the nature and possibility of 'exceptional', 'responsible' or 'good' states. As policy analysis and policy making engage each other more often and publicly than ever, epistemologically we can see an on-screen confirmation of the constitutive relationship between the theory and practice of international politics. Incontrovertibly ethical, reflections on the 'American empire' invite a reconsideration of the significance of the realist paradigm and call renewed attention to the normative and ideological foundations of international politics. They refocus IR's attention on the confluence of domestic and international politics that produces the empire or the responsible hegemon, always through an intense contestation of their identity, practices, interests and normative trajectory.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

King Desmond

When an Empire is not an Empire: The US Case

in Government and Opposition , Vol. 41, n. 2, Spring , 163-196



This paper critically assesses the description 'empire' as applied to the United States in the twentieth century, proposing that US policy makers lack the territorial and occupation motives pre-requisite to being an imperial power. It is proposed that the USA is better described as an empire by accident than by design. Americans' domestic experience of nation-building within the USA, since the early twentieth century, helps account for their unwillingness to permit the USA to be an imperial nation.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Idowu William

African Legal Values and the Challenges of Globalisation: Interrogating the Philosophy of a Global Jurisprudence

in *Indian Journal of International Law*, Volume 45, Issue 3 , 354-369

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Duina Francesco

Between Efficiency and Sovereignty: Transnational Actors, the European Union, and the Regulation of Bankruptcy

in *Comparative European Politics*, n. 1, vol. 4, april , 1-22

ABSTRACT: The regulation of regional markets has traditionally challenged the sovereignty of the member states. The increasing presence of transnational actors has intensified this challenge. Those actors can benefit from single regulatory regimes that streamline their operations and activities. No country, however, is inclined to renounce its domestic approach. Can the tension between efficiency and sovereignty be resolved? The recent adoption of a transnational bankruptcy regulation in the European Union (EU) offers instructive insights. The intense struggle lasted from 1960 to 2000. The solution involves a clever compromise: elevating from the national to the regional level the law of the member state most implicated by a given bankruptcy. The approach merits careful consideration, for it departs both from parallel efforts at bankruptcy regulation by the United Nations, NAFTA, and the Scandinavian countries, and from the EU's own efforts in areas other than bankruptcy. Avoiding harmonization improves member states' acceptance, while reliance on established national regimes guarantees oversight over much of the bankruptcy process. The absence of a fixed legislative framework, however, limits the number of issue areas that this type of approach can effectively target.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Cammett M.

Fat Cats and Self-Made Men: Globalization and the Paradoxes of Collective Action

in *Comparative Politics*, Vol. 37 n. 4



When and how do businesspeople act collectively? Manufacturers mobilized in Morocco but remained politically dormant in Tunisia in response to nearly identical incentives and challenges from global markets. New economic conditions created cleavages in the business class in both countries, but these cleavages were only politicized to the extent that producer groups mobilized. The ability to generate a cohesive class identity, which arose in response to perceived threats from other producer factions, was critical for successful business collective action. These findings call into question key assumptions in theories of collective action and introduce a new approach to globalization and domestic politics.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Northrup David

Globalization and the Great Convergence: Rethinking World History in the Long Term
in *Journal of World History*, Vol. 16, n. 3, September

About a thousand years ago, the forces drawing people closer together became more powerful than those fostering ever-increasing cultural diversity. From that beginning, this "great convergence" has proceeded unsteadily to the globalization of the present day. Proceeding from this premise, this immodest essay explores the value of long-term thinking for understanding world history. Topics discussed include the spread and decline of languages, the virtues and faults of empires, the periodization of history, and the emergence of world history as a discipline.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Oosthoek Jan, Gills Barry K.

Humanity at the crossroads: The globalization of environmental crisis
in *Globalizations*, Vol. 2, n. 3, December, 283-291

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Marks Leonie A., Kalaitzandonakes Nicholas, Konduru Srinivasa

Images of Globalisation in the Mass Media
in *World Economy*, Volume 29 Number 5, 615-636

Increasing flows of goods, capital and labour across various national borders have signalled the ever-increasing integration or 'globalisation' of international markets. The impacts of globalisation are complex and multidimensional and have been intensely debated in the academic literature. Likewise, globalisation and its impacts have also gained attention in the mass media. Yet findings on the way globalisation has been portrayed in the mass media are mixed. In this paper, we examine the conceptual evolution and overall progression of tone of globalisation coverage in the Associated Press from 1984 to 2004. We find that AP reporters have weaved a number of key themes in their stories: growth and efficiency, poverty, employment, environment and migration among others. More-over, we find 'balance' in reporting to the extent that both sides of an argument are presented in an article. However, in absolute terms reporting is



skewed in favour or against a specific issue depending on story narrative employed. Our empirical results go some way to reconciling why news organisations feel they present balanced and objective coverage while proponents and opponents on a specific issue feel that coverage is biased one way or the other.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Moya J.C.

Immigrants and Associations: A Global and Historical Perspective

in *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, Vol. 31 n. 5 , 833 - 864

Drawing on the international literature on migration and immigrant associations, mainly in the context of North and South America, but also including several other global immigration contexts, this essay highlights several main questions and issues. It discusses the definition of voluntary associations and the principal impetus for associational activities among immigrant newcomers. Using examples from specific types of organisation (secret societies, credit associations, mutual benefit societies, religious groups, hometown associations, political groups), it examines the factors that shape immigrants' formal sociability. The paper then addresses the class and gender composition of memberships, compares the associative practices of the mostly European immigrants of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries with the mostly Asian, Latin American and African arrivals of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, and discusses the issue of state involvement. The essay approaches the topic from a global and historical perspective to show how quasi-universal processes on the one hand, and local and temporal specificities on the other, shaped associational practices in a way that transcended the ethno-national traditions and characteristics of particular immigrant groups and host countries.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Klein J.L.

Iniciativa local y desarrollo :respuesta social a la globalización neoliberal

in *EURE - Revista latinoamericana de estudios urbano regionales*, Vol. 31 n. 94 , 25 - 39

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Coward Martin

International Relations in the Post-Globalisation Era

in *Politics*, Vol. 26, Issue 1, February , 54-61

This article addresses the question of whether the traditional conceptual problematics that have defined the discipline of international relations (IR) are adequate to the contemporary global order. I propose that the sterile choice between the theoretical tropes of statism and globalisation which has defined recent IR scholarship prevents getting to grips with the 'post-globalisation' nature of phenomena such as al-Qa'eda terrorism and the war on terror launched in response. In this



light it is necessary to ask whether the state of the art in IR needs critical re-evaluation. I examine the conceptual problematics that delineate IR as a distinct intellectual terrain. These are identified as the problems of morphology, governance and violence in the global order. I then outline the orthodox, statist resolution of these problematics. The inadequacy of such a resolution is noted and an outline proposal for recasting the discipline of IR is advanced. I conclude by noting that while the conceptual tropes historically deployed to understand global politics might be inadequate, it is not necessary to discard IR as a distinct intellectual terrain. Rather a revivification of this terrain beyond statism and globalism is required.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Weiss Linda

Michael Mann, State Power, and the Two Logics of Globalisation

in *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, n. 2, vol. 34, february , 529-540

ABSTRACT: It may seem premature to comment on work that is largely still in progress, but some of Michael Mann's writing on globalisation has already begun to make its mark. In this article, I comment on two of Mann's central insights which emphasise complementarities in the global-national relationship and indicate how these may advance the globalisation debate concerning industrialised states.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Garcia Picazo P.

Migraciones: entre la intolerancia y la utopía. Sobre la globalización de la “cultura de la pobreza”

in *Revista Electrónica de Estudios Internacionales*, n. 11

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Dragsbaek Schmidt Johannes, Hersh Jacques

Neoliberal globalization: Workfare without welfare

in *Globalizations* , Vol. 3, n. 1, March , 69-89

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Tsangarides Charalambos G., Ewencyk Pierre, Hulej Michal

Stylized Facts on Bilateral Trade and Currency Unions: Implications for Africa



in **IMF Policy Discussion Papers**, January 2006

This paper explores and quantifies several aspects of the performance of currency unions using an augmented version of the gravity model and focusing on two samples, the world and Africa. Our empirical findings suggest that, in principle, membership in a currency union should benefit Africa as much as it does the rest of the world. In addition, we find evidence from both samples that the effect of currency unions on trade is large, almost a doubling; currency unions are associated with trade creation, increase price co-movements among members, and make trade more stable; and longer duration of currency union membership brings about more benefits, although with some diminishing returns.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Swinnen Johan F. M., Francken Nathalie

Summits, Riots and Media Attention: The Political Economy of Information on Trade and Globalisation

in **World Economy**, Volume 29 Number 5 , 637-654

Supply of information has increased rapidly through the growth of commercial media and technological innovations. Yet economists still blame anti-globalists' demonstrations and public opposition to trade liberalisation on poor information. This paper analyses how the structure of the media industry affects the distribution of information on trade policy and globalisation. We present an empirical analysis of Belgian media reporting on trade policy and globalisation over the 1999–2002 period, supports these hypotheses and finds strong negative bias in media coverage. Moreover, we find that media coverage of trade policy and globalisation is highly concentrated around summit meetings of political leaders. Media attention in the popular press is heavily influenced by riots and demonstrations at summits. The paper points at important implications for public information on trade policy and globalisation and for economists.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Foer Franklin

The Goals of Globalization

in **Foreign Policy**, Issue 153, March / April

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Thompson Helen

The Modern State and its Adversaries

in **Government and Opposition** , Vol. 41, n. 1, Winter , 23-42

The modern state would be a crisis if consent to long-established sites of authoritative rule were breaking down, previously capable states were unable to command coercive power, and if the demands of international and supra-national institutions had enforceable claims against historically sovereign states. There is no general crisis of the modern state. The states of most developed countries are secure as sites of authoritative rule, and the military power



commanded by the American state is unprecedented. However, the external sovereignty of many poor and small states is diminishing. The cause is not 'globalization' but the policies of the world's dominant state.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Hay Colin

What's Globalization Got to Do with It? Economic Interdependence and the Future of European Welfare States in Government and Opposition , Vol. 41, n. 1, Winter , 1-22

The appeal to globalization as a non-negotiable external economic constraint plays an increasingly significant role in the linked politics of expectation suppression and welfare reform in contemporary Europe. Yet, although it threatens to become something of a self-fulfilling prophecy, the thesis that globalization entails welfare retrenchment and convergence is empirically suspect. In this paper it is argued that there is little evidence of convergence amongst European social models and that, although common trajectories can be identified, these have tended to be implemented more or less enthusiastically and at different paces to produce, to date, divergent outcomes. Second, I suggest that it is difficult to see globalization as the principal agent determining the path on which European social models are embarked since the empirical evidence points if anything to de-globalization rather than globalization. The implications of this for the future of the welfare state in Europe and for the USA as a model welfare state regime are explored.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Yúdice G.

¿Una o varias identidades? Cultura, globalización y migraciones in Nueva Sociedad, n. 201 , 106 - 116

Migration flows and their social, political and cultural consequences are undergoing change. Although the Latins who migrate to the United States have different cultural origins and have different ways of relating to their respective homelands, the most notable common characteristic is a weakening of their national identity and their transformation into North American Latins. Even though those immigrating from El Salvador, or any other Latin American migrant group, are reluctant to accept the global identification as Latin, all the institutions of the society force it on them. This requires us to rethink the way in which we analyze migratory flows and process economic, cultural and criminal remittances.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

Ndayi Zoleka V.

'Theorising the rise of regionness' by Bjorn Hettne and Fredrik Soderbaum

in Politikon: South African Journal of Political Studies , Volume 33, Number 01 / April , 113-124

While the New Regionalism Theory (NRT), as propounded by Hettne and Soderbaum, tries to address the ambiguities



associated with regionalism by taking an interdisciplinary approach, the authors seem to downplay the role of geography in the phenomenon and highlight social processes as the main defining feature of the trend. Furthermore, although they acknowledge the importance of the regional space in the study of regionalism, they seem to point to the notion that this space transcends regional contiguity. This article is a review of the NRT and argues that the new regionalism should be seen in the light of interactions characterised by geographic contiguity and limited by geographic boundaries within a continent. The article illustrates the importance of geography and geographic contiguity over social processes by making reference to the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA), the enlargement of the European Union (EU) as well as the African Union (AU) and the continent-wide economic and political framework proposed in the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) as the *modus operandi* of the new regionalism.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

Abrego Lisandro, Riezman Raymond, Whalley John

How often are propositions on the effects of regional trade agreements theoretical curiosa?

in *Journal of International Economics*, Volume 68, Issue 1, January 2006

This paper uses computational techniques to assess whether or not various propositions that have been advanced as plausible in the literature on regional trade agreements may actually hold. The idea is to make probabilistic statements as to whether propositions of interest might hold, rather than to restrict assumptions so they unambiguously hold. Our aim is to blend theory and numerical simulation and go beyond the ambiguous analytically derived propositions that dominate the theoretical literature so as to assess the likelihood of propositions holding for particular model specifications.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

Carrère Celine

Revisiting the effects of regional trade agreements on trade flows with proper specification of the gravity model

in *European Economic Review*, Volume 50, Issue 2, February 2006 , Pages 223-247

This paper uses a gravity model to assess ex-post regional trade agreements. The model includes 130 countries and is estimated with panel data over the period 1962–1996. The introduction of the correct number of dummy variables allows for identification of Vinerian trade creation and trade diversion effects, while the estimation method takes into account the unobservable characteristics of each pairs of trade partner countries, the endogeneity of some of the explanatory variables as well as a potential selection bias. In contrast to previous estimates, results show that regional agreements have generated a significant increase in trade between members, often at the expense of the rest of the world.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Heyns Christof, Padilla David, Zwaak Leo

A schematic comparison of regional human rights systems: An update



in *African Human Rights Law Journal*, n. 2, vol. 5

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Nielsenm Hannah, Uanguta Ebson, Ikhide Sylvanus

Financial integration in the common monetary area

in *South African Journal of Economics (The)*, December 2005 - Vol. 73 Issue 4

This paper assesses the level of financial integration within the CMA countries, using the concept of the uncovered interest rate parity. The impact of foreign interest rates on the domestic interest rates, in this case the South African rates on the rates of the LNS countries, is analysed. For comparative purposes, other neighbouring countries such as Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe are brought into the analysis. The results from the uncovered interest rate parity approach show that Lesotho, Namibia and Swaziland can be considered to be well financially integrated with the South African market, while for Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe it shows the contrary.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Doe Lubin Kobla

Reforming External Tariffs in Central and Western African Countries

in *IMF Policy Discussion Papers*, January 2006

This paper examines the reform of the external tariff initiated by the CEMAC and the WAEMU that is aimed at reinforcing their economic integration. Overall, there is broad compliance with the streamlined and moderate rates, but with significant deviations from the harmonized paths in several countries. WAMZ countries, except Ghana, need to undertake major reforms in order to align their external tariff structures with that of the WAEMU as planned for 2007. To promote full compliance with the harmonized external tariff policies, the paper suggests, measures need to be taken, including the creation of financial incentives, at the regional and country levels.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Stefiszyn Karen

The African Union: Challenges and opportunities for women

in *African Human Rights Law Journal*, n. 2, vol. 5

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 3. Cooperations and integration in Central and North America

Wise Raúl Delgado



Migration and Imperialism, The Mexican Workforce in the Context of NAFTA

in *Latin American Perspectives: a Journal on Capitalism and Socialism* , Vol. 33, No. 2 , 33-45

The process of economic integration occurring as a result of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) has created a new migratory dynamic between Mexico and the United States. Under the aegis of neoliberalism, the Mexican workforce is being called upon to play a crucial role in the industrial restructuring of the United States and thus creates obstacles for development in Mexico. In the face of this reality, the migrant community is generating new social actors and alternative paths that, though incipient, begin to challenge this model of integration.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Cooper Andrew F., Legler Thomas

A Tale of Two Mesas: The OAS Defense of Democracy in Peru and Venezuela

in *Global Governance*, n. 4, vol. 11, october-december

ABSTRACT: In recent years, the Organization of American States has charted new terrain in the defense and promotion of democracy. Most significantly, it intervened in Peru (2000) and in Venezuela (2002–2004). The centerpiece of both initiatives was the establishment of a mesa, an OAS-facilitated intra-elite dialogue roundtable. In examining this “tale of two mesas,” we trace three components of this approach: the actors at the table, the agendas, and the achievements. Although significant differences between the two processes make it difficult to articulate a single, coherent model, both the Peruvian and Venezuelan mesas exemplify a new mode of multilateral intervention—“intervention without intervening.” Though this approach has limitations, it may have some potential for application beyond our two case studies.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

De Lima Maria Regina Soares, Hirst Monica

Brazil as an intermediate state and regional power: action, choice and responsibilities

in *International Affairs* , issue 1, vol. 82, january , 21-40

Since the early years of the twentieth century, Brazil's major foreign policy aspiration has been to achieve international recognition based upon the belief that it should assume its 'natural' role as a 'big country' in world affairs. Although the bases for an autonomous foreign policy have become more restricted in the post-Cold War period, Brazil still seeks to preserve an independent voice within the international community and a certain level of independent capacity to determine its actions. In addition, the country has demonstrated a clear intention of wanting to expand the roles that it plays and the responsibilities that it assumes in regional politics, in Third World agendas and in multilateral institutions. As democracy deepens its roots within the country, Brazil has attempted to link an increasingly activist stance in world affairs with political support at home based upon a more active partisan involvement in foreign policy. In this context, the present government's fight against poverty and unequal income distribution at home and its assertive and activist foreign policy can be viewed as two sides of the same coin. In this article the authors provide an overview of the core features of Brazilian foreign policy, focusing upon four aspects: (i) the instrumental nature of Brazilian foreign policy and its close relationship with the country's economic and development objectives; (ii) the commitment of Brazil to multilateralism; (iii) the growing importance for Brazil of regional politics and security; and (iv) the recent evolution of Brazil's relations with



the United States. The conclusion reviews the main challenges facing Brazil and the difficulty of matching increased ambition with concrete results.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Giacalone R.

La Comunidad Sudamericana de Naciones: ¿Una alianza entre izquierda y empresarios?
in *Nueva Sociedad*, n. 202, 74 - 86

Despite the profound political changes in Latin America, with the emergence of left-wing leaders in many countries, the relationship between businessmen and the different governments has not been substantially affected. One of the expressions of this strange understanding is the South American Community of Nations, an initiative backed basically by three left-wing governments – those of Brazil, Argentina and Venezuela – that benefits businessmen with building contracts and, later on, will favor them by cheapening transportation costs and reducing the time necessary for delivering their industrial products.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Acharya Amitav, Tan See Seng

Betwixt balance and community: America, ASEAN, and the security of Southeast Asia
in *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, Volume 6, Number 1, January, 37-59

Realist scholars have long claimed, not incorrectly, that a US-led balance of power is fundamental to the security and prosperity of Southeast Asia. Yet the Southeast Asian experience has also been one where multilateral security dialogue and regional community formation figure prominently. In contrast to views which exaggerate the importance of US preponderance in Southeast Asia whilst dismissing regional multilateral efforts, we offer seven arguments against any undue overstatement of the US contribution to regional peace and stability. If anything, a historically ambivalent US presence contributed to ASEAN's emergence as a mechanism of regional diplomacy. Such ambivalence is no longer feasible since 9/11. However, Washington's current engagement in Southeast Asia should focus on revitalizing regional multilateralism. Our claim is not that the region's security is due to ASEAN regionalism rather than US strategic dominance. We argue instead that absent the region's fluency with 'soft' multilateralism, Southeast Asia's security would probably have been far worse.

Southeast Asians are more acutely aware of the uncertainties of U.S. policies than other regions of the world. They remember the American retrenchment in the 1970s followed by a decade of self-doubt. Hence ASEAN countries drew towards each other to seek greater strength in self-reliance. They found that together in ASEAN, they could better overcome their problems; but they still need the United States to balance the strength of the Soviet ships and aircraft. The renewal of self-confidence in America has reassured us that America will help maintain the peace and stability of the region. It is this balance of power which has enabled the free market economies to thrive.

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Falaton Hamid, Safarzadeh Mohammad R., Kuroki Masanori

Does economic and political integration of Asian countries justify currency unification?

in *Rivista Internazionale di Scienze Economiche e Commerciali (International Review of Economics)*, anno 2005, fascicolo 4 , pp. 537-560

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Katsumata Hiro

Establishment of the ASEAN Regional Forum: constructing a 'talking shop' or a 'norm brewery'?

in *Pacific Review (The)* , Volume 19, Number 2, June , 181-198

A conventional explanation for the establishment of the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) holds that it was an attempt on the part of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) to maintain US military engagement in Asia while tactically promoting cooperative relations with China in the post-Cold War era. This line of argument is associated with realism and neoliberalism. This article maintains that such an explanation is unsatisfactory, and seeks to offer a sounder explanation by employing a constructivist perspective. It argues that the interests and policies of the ASEAN countries which had led them to initiate the ARF were defined by what can be regarded as a norm of security cooperation in Asia. This norm contains two sets of ideational elements. The first is common security thinking fostered in the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). Such thinking emphasizes efforts to achieve the security of the whole region through multilateral security cooperation, on the basis of the view that regional security is indivisible. The second element is a set of diplomatic norms associated with the ASEAN Way of diplomacy, which underline the Southeast Asian countries' commitment to the habit of dialogue and consultation. Today, the nature of the ARF may be disputed. Critics of the ARF assert that it is a mere 'talking shop' in which no significant measure to achieve security has been carried out. Yet only by understanding thoroughly the establishment process of the forum can a fair assessment be made of its significance. The research in this article concludes that the ARF should be seen as an arena for the development and practice of norms – in other words, a 'norm brewery'.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Eaton Sarah, Stubbs Richard

Is ASEAN powerful? Neo-realist versus constructivist approaches to power in Southeast Asia

in *Pacific Review (The)* , Volume 19, Number 2, June , 135-155

This paper asks: 'is ASEAN powerful?' The argument is made that there is a divide over this question between two broad groups of scholars who are referred to as 'neo-realists' (including realists) and 'constructivists'. Focusing attention on this question is useful because it helps to bring into view three, not always explicit, points of argument between constructivists and neo-realists in their assessments of ASEAN. First, the two groups draw different empirically based conclusions about ASEAN's efficacy in East Asian affairs. Neo-realists are generally sceptical about the Association's role in the region because they view it, along with multilateral organizations more generally, as peripheral to great power politicking, what they see as the real stuff and substance of international affairs. A second, conceptual, point of



argument is over understandings of power. For neo-realists, power is frequently used interchangeably with force and coercion. Scholars influenced by social constructivist ideas offer a challenge to this equation of power and dominance on the grounds that power is neither necessarily negative-sum nor limited to conflictual situations. Third, we suggest that closely related arguments are marshalled by both sides in debates over ASEAN's future role and organizational structure. Neo-realists argue that a shift to a more rules-based institutional form is in order, while constructivists place their emphasis on identity building.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Bisley Nick

Neither Empire nor Republic: American Power and Regional Order in the Asia-Pacific in *International Politics* , Vol. 43, n. 2, April , 197-218

How to make sense of the singular power of the United States and the distinctive role it now plays in world politics has become a pressing challenge to scholars and analysts of international politics. This article argues that attempts to characterize the US role in the international system as, variously, hegemonic, an empire or a traditional great power are not compelling. This is especially evident when placed in the specific regional context of the Asia-Pacific. These broad approaches all tend to overstate the capacity of the US to shape outcomes in its favour. Instead, it argues that Raymond Aron's depiction of the United States as an imperial republic provides a more useful basis on which to build analysis of America's international role and from this starting point sets out a distinctive characterization of regional international order. The article is in three parts, the first assesses different ways of conceptualizing American power, with particular attention paid to the argument about hegemony and empire. The second puts forward the case for the utility of Aron's concept of the imperial republic, and the third then develops a characterization of regional international order that does not rely on a determinative assessment of American power. This section argues that order is the product of four distinct forces: the nature and character of the relations between the major powers; the character and dynamism of economic relations, particularly international trade and investment; the series of bilateral security alliances that structure the security system; and socio-cultural factors, particularly, the growth of nationalism and the continuing impact of the colonial experience.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Kawasaki Tsuyoshi

Neither skepticism nor romanticism: the ASEAN Regional Forum as a solution for the Asia-Pacific Assurance Game in *Pacific Review (The)* , Volume 19, Number 2, June , 219-237

This article fills the void left by the existing literature that has failed to capture the utilities of the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) to the member states. From a rational institutionalist perspective, this article argues that the ARF is an institutional solution for a particular type of collective-action problem – the Assurance Game – that emerged in the post-Cold War Asia-Pacific region. In the Assurance Game, a weak and loose institution is sufficient because cooperation only requires efficient information transmission among players. This conception of the ARF finds empirical support in various features



as well as the birth process of the multilateral institution. Thus, neither structural realists' skepticism nor constructivists' romanticism toward the ARF is warranted.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Al-Mansouri Abdulrahman, Dziobek Claudia Helene

Providing Official Statistics for the Common Market and Monetary Union in the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) Countries: A Case for "Gulfstat"

in *IMF Policy Discussion Papers*, February 2006

The six member states of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC)-Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and United Arab Emirates (UAE)-have laid out a path to a common market by 2007 and monetary union by 2010, based on economic convergence. To monitor convergence and support economic and monetary policy, comparable economic data for member countries and data for the region as a whole will be essential. What is the most efficient way to produce these data? The authors survey the statistical institutions in the GCC countries and present the case for creating "Gulfstat"-a regional statistical agency to operate within a "Gulf States System of Statistics." Valuable lessons can be learned from regional statistical organization in Africa and the European Union-Afristat and Eurostat.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Tan See Seng

Rescuing constructivism from the constructivists: a critical reading of constructivist interventions in Southeast Asian security

in *Pacific Review (The)* , Volume 19, Number 2, June , 239-260

Constructivist contributions to the study of Southeast Asian security raise much-needed awareness of identity concerns and introduce conceptual and methodological innovations into the study of identity. However, their shared rationalist proclivity to couple subjectivity with sovereignty revives the enduring problem of treating agency as ultimately pre-given. Contrary to their professed aim to restore to security studies an appreciation for history and practice, the contributions of many Southeast Asia constructivists are quite tellingly essentialist, particularly their concessions to state-centrism and ideational/normative determinism, both due partly to an uncritical emulation of rationalist constructivist perspectives in International Relations (IR) theory. In granting ontological priority to states, Southeast Asia constructivists cannot fully transcend reification because their denaturalizing of international anarchy or regions comes at the expense of a reified state. In reifying either the state or ideas/norms, their claim to privilege practice in their analyses of Southeast Asian security becomes suspect. But if process and practice are to be taken seriously, then Southeast Asia constructivists must avoid presuming a preordained subjectivity that invalidates their claim to study social construction.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Narine Shaun

The English School and ASEAN

in *Pacific Review (The)* , Volume 19, Number 2, June , 199-218



This paper argues that the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) can be credibly and usefully described and explained using an analysis based in the English School (ES) of International Relations (IR). Recent efforts to use constructivist theory to explain ASEAN have focused on changes in Southeast Asian regional identity to explain the durability of ASEAN. However, while ASEAN is the basis of a regional identity, this identity is too weak to explain intra-ASEAN cooperation. Indeed, East Asia remains a region committed to the primacy of state sovereignty, territoriality and nationalism. The ES offers an explanation of ASEAN's durability that focuses on the organization's symbolic importance as a representation of Southeast Asia's commitment to national sovereignty and the norms of the Westphalian system. The ES approach offers insights into the operation of the international system that distinguish it from Wendtian constructivism, and which are more in accordance with the realities of regional relations in the Asia Pacific.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Dent Christopher M.

The New Economic Bilateralism in Southeast Asia: Region-Convergent or Region-Divergent?
in *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, Volume 6, Number 1, January , 81-111

A new pattern of bilateralism is evident in Southeast Asian economic diplomacy, and this may be broadly viewed from extra-regional and intra-regional perspectives. Regarding the former, an increasing number of states from the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) group have engaged in the Asia-Pacific's new bilateral free trade agreement project trend, and two ASEAN member states – Singapore and Thailand – have been at its forefront. Regarding the latter dimension, recent developments in intra-ASEAN diplomacy have revealed the emergence of a Singapore–Thailand bilateral axis or alliance on matters of Southeast Asian economic regionalism. These two dimensions of economic bilateralism are studied in relation to their implications for Southeast Asian or ASEAN-led regionalism. In this context, region-convergent bilateralism can make positive contributions to the development of regionalism, whereas region-divergent bilateralism essentially undermines regional community-building endeavours. This forms the conceptual framework for studying the impact of Singapore and Thailand's active bilateral economic diplomacy upon ASEAN's own regional economic projects, such as the ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA), and also on ASEAN as an organization for fostering Southeast Asian economic regionalism generally. It is contended that based on both the deeper strategic intentions behind Singapore's and Thailand's foreign economic policies and wider international political economy considerations the region-divergent outcomes are more likely to arise within Southeast Asia from the economic bilateralism they are currently championing.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Acharya Amitav, Stubbs Richard

Theorizing Southeast Asian Relations: an introduction
in *Pacific Review (The)* , Volume 19, Number 2, June , 125-134

In the introduction, the editors discuss the emergence of a new body of literature on Southeast Asia's regional relations that is both theoretically informed and stimulating. One element of this literature features a constructivist challenge to realism, traditionally the dominant perspective on Southeast Asian International Relations. Constructivist writings have



helped to broaden the understanding of Southeast Asia's regional order by capturing its ideational determinants (norms and identity), the agency role of local actors, and the possibility of transformation through socialization and institution building. But constructivism itself has been challenged by other perspectives, including neo-liberal, English School and critical approaches. The essays in this special issue of *The Pacific Review* capture this emerging debate. The editors argue that the articles in this special issue are a good indicator of the theoretical pluralism that marks the study of Southeast Asia's regional relations today. Southeast Asian studies need not be dominated by either realism or constructivism, but can accommodate a diversity that vastly enriches our understanding of regional conflict and order.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Kawasaki Kentaro, Ogawa Eiji

What Should the Weights of the Three Major Currencies be in a Common Currency Basket in East Asia?

in *Asian Economic Journal*, March 2006 - Vol. 20 Issue 1

We consider what type of regional common currency should be introduced in East Asia in the future. The common currency basket is, in itself, more desirable as an anchor currency. In this paper we define two types of currency basket and investigate the long-term sustainability of adopting a common currency basket in East Asia. From our empirical results, a larger weight (but less than 100 percent) for the US dollar in the common currency basket tends to make bilateral exchange rates among East Asian countries stable in the long run.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Ba Alice D.

Who's socializing whom? Complex engagement in Sino-ASEAN relations

in *Pacific Review (The)* , Volume 19, Number 2, June , 157-179

This article draws on constructivist approaches to explore processes of socialization in the context of evolving relations between China and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). Constructivist discussions have challenged traditional accounts of socialization; however, left under-examined are the processes by which social learning and social change take place. This article contributes to the theoretical discussion with its examination of ASEAN's regional engagement processes. It treats ASEAN states' 'complex engagement' of China as an exercise in argumentative persuasion, which seeks common agreement via a deliberative, non-coercive process. In contrasting ASEAN's particular style of engagement with other models that emphasize more coercive and utilitarian strategies of persuasion, the article draws attention to how particular kinds of interaction may facilitate social learning, as well as the conditions that may make social learning more likely. Particular attention is paid to the roles played by power asymmetries, uncertainty, and different kinds of engagement (mutual and interactive versus closed and unidirectional) in social learning, as well as the importance of viewing socialization as a process that involves different stages.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Hesse Joachim Jens, Grotz Florian

"Flexibilisierung" europäischer Politik als Weg aus der Krise?



in *Jahrbuch des öffentlichen Rechts der Gegenwart*, Band 54, 2006

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Verhofstadt Guy

"Only a new 'political core' can drive Europe forward again"

in *Europe's World*, Issue 2, Spring

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Milner Henry

"YES to the Europe I want; NO to this one." Some Reflections on France's Rejection of the EU Constitution

in *PS: Political Science & Politics*, Vol. 39, Issue 2, April

<http://www.apsanet.org/imgtest/257-260.pdf>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Brown Bernard E.

A Constitution for Europe

in *American Foreign Policy Interests*, Vol. 27, n. 6 / December, 477-492

comprehensive analysis that explains why voters in the Netherlands and France rejected the Constitution for Europe in recent referenda. In an insightful secondary analysis that compares the Philadelphia Convention of 1787 with the Brussels Convention that began in 2002 in terms of procedure and substance, the author introduces another telling dimension that helps to explain why the U.S. Constitution was ratified and why the Constitution for Europe was judged to be a lost cause once specific European voters rejected it.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Breda Vito

A European Constitution in a Multinational Europe or a Multinational Constitution for Europe?.

in *European law journal*, May 2006 - Vol. 12 Issue 3, 330-344

What is the role of the nation-state in the process of European constitutional integration? How can we transcend our divisions without marginalising those who believe in them? This article critically analyses the theoretical bases of the



Treaty Establishing a Constitution for Europe and tries to explain why its ratification is so problematic. Authors such as Habermas have argued that a new European model of social cohesion is needed, and Habermas suggests that the sense of 'community' in a democratic Europe should be founded exclusively on the acceptance of a patriotic constitution. However, this view is criticised by authors such as Weiler and MacCormick. In this article, I explain the limits of these theoretical analyses. I will argue that a European constitutional project can be more than formally legal only if two normative conditions are satisfied: it is the result of public debate and the European Constitution includes the procedures for the recognition of European national diversity. I suggest that a theory of constitutional multinationalism, similar to the one proposed by Tully, might provide an attractive model for a European social integration. The article is divided in two parts. In the first, I explain why Habermas' constitutional patriotism or MacCormick's states based Europe cannot provide a convincing theoretical model for a socially and constitutionally integrated Europe. In the second part, I will give an outline of Tully's idea of multinational democracy as a model for a European constitutional integration.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Piers Ludlow N.

A Welcome Change : The European Commission and the Challenge of Enlargement, 1958-1973

in *Journal of European Integration History*, n. 2, vol. 11 , 31-46

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Varsori Antonio

Alle origini di un modello sociale europeo: la Comunità europea e la nascita di una politica sociale (1969-1974)

in *Ventesimo Secolo. Rivista di Studi sulle Transizioni*, Anno V, n. 9, marzo, special issue "L'Europa negli anni Settanta: una svolta nella storia del continente"

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Fischer Thomas C.

An American Looks at the European Union

in *European law journal*, March 2006 - Vol. 12 Issue 2 , 226-278

Anyone who has followed the evolution of six European nations from a simple Coal and Steel Community to the current twenty-five Member State European Union (EU), has witnessed a truly remarkable passage. Nonetheless, the EU remains a decidedly jerrybuilt affair. Through numerous enlargements, increased competences, changes in structure and operation, the Union has been bedevilled by the fact that it is neither a simple international treaty with 25



signatories, nor a truly federal union. Rather, the EU has operated, sometimes effectively, often shakily, between these two extremes; exhibiting a sort of 'fear of federalism'. From a US perspective, this article looks at the present state of the European Union and asks why it has met its potential in some ways, but has fallen so far short in others. Obviously, the tension between the Member States and the Community institutions is one reason. The article asks why do the states compete so much with one another, when their true competition is often with non-European entities? Why does the European Council never seem to act in a timely manner? Why do euro-citizens have so poor of an appreciation of what the Community does for them? Why does the Common Agricultural Policy, which contributes such a small amount to European gross domestic product, so dominate the EU budget and agenda? Can the euro, clearly the world's second currency after the US dollar, ever win over its doubters and harmonise European financial service markets? Does enlargement improve or threaten the future of the Community? And can its Common Foreign and Security Policy ever be successful if it is forced to compete with parallel politics in the Member States? All of these questions are addressed in this article with the hope that, through an external critique, the EU will live up to its potential both at home and abroad.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Flores Juberías C.

Antieuropeísmo y euroescepticismo : el estado de la cuestión después de la ampliación hacia el Este
in *Cuadernos europeos de Deusto*, n. 33 , 53 - 78

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Berezin Mabel

Appropriating the "No": The French National Front, the Vote on the Constitution, and the "New" April 21
in *PS: Political Science & Politics* , Vol. 39, Issue 2, April

<http://www.apsanet.org/imgtest/269-272.pdf>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Chaltiel Florence

Arrêt CJCE Commission c./Conseil, du 13 septembre 2005 - Une nouvelle avancée de l'idée de souveraineté européenne: la souveraineté pénale en devenir
in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, numero 494, janvier , 24-28

ECCJ Commission vs. Council ruling dated September 13, 2005 - A new progress of the concept of European sovereignty. Criminal sovereignty in the making.

The European Union's pillar structure generates inconsistencies. The Commission vs. Council ruling dated September 13, 2005 is a clear example of such inconsistencies. Community environmental law is governed by the community



method. Criminal law is still broadly governed by the inter-government method. Yet the pursuit of efficiency by community law calls for efficient sanctions. Which is the reason for the Court's ruling to link criminal sanctions in the environmental area to the integrated community pillar.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Thym Daniel

Beyond Parliament's Reach? The Role of the European Parliament in the CFSP
in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, Volume 11, Issue 1 , 109-127

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Smith Karen

Beyond the civilian power EU debate
in *Politique européenne* , n. 17, 2005

This article argues that the European Union is no longer a civilian power ; instead it finds itself, like almost every other international actor on the planet, somewhere along a spectrum between two ideal-types of civilian and military power. But instead of debating what the European Union is (civilian power or not), we should move beyond this to analyse and debate what the EU does in international relations. The article suggests a few lines of enquiry to open that debate.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bourne Angela K.

Bringing Europe closer to the citizen? regions, stateless nations and the European convention
in *Regional and Federal Studies*, Volume 16, Number 1 / March , 1-19

This article investigates whether increased concern to 'bring Europe closer to the citizen' and the more inclusive European Convention format enhanced the influence of member state territorial actors in EU treaty-making. To this end, four questions are explored in a case study of Spanish territorial actors' experience of the Convention process: What did regions and minority nationalists hope to gain from the Convention? Who represented them there? What domestic pressures could they apply on Convention members? To what extent did individual Convention members defend or articulate regional and minority nationalist preferences? It is concluded that while the Convention method facilitated participation of actors formally representing certain Spanish territorial actors for the first time, overall the Convention method did not greatly improve their involvement in debate. This was largely due to the partisan and representative mandates of the Spanish Convention delegation, limited domestic collaboration between territorial actors, limited pressure territorial actors could apply on Convention members via domestic institutions, and the tendency of Convention members to articulate government or purely partisan positions.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Temple Lang John

Checks and Balances in the European Union: The Institutional Structure and the 'Community Method'.
in *European public Law*, Volume 12 (2006) Issue 1 , 127-154

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Orbie Jan

Civilian Power Europe: Review of the Original and Current Debates
in *Cooperation and Conflict*, n. 1, vol. 41, march , 123-128

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Gauchet Marcel, Rémond René

Comment l'Europe divise la France. Un échange
in *Debat (Le)*, N° 136 septembre-octobre 2005

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Padis Marc-Olivier, Mongin Olivier

Comment ne pas être
in *Esprit*, n. 322, février 2006 , 7-10

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Maher Imelda

Committing to Change: Economic Governance and the EU Constitution
in *European law journal*, January 2006 - Vol. 12 Issue 1 , 9-11



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Junker Kirk W.

Constitution

in Futures, issue 2, vol. 38, march , 224-233

ABSTRACT: In looking toward the futures of Europe, the focal point of the legal and governmental aspects of European life has recently become the Treaty Establishing a Constitution for Europe—or just the ‘Constitution’ as it has become colloquially known. That socio-linguistic act of referring to a document as a constitution is a mammoth move. First, it ignores all of the concerns and hand-wringing around the idea of producing a legal document called a constitution that might immediately be thought of as a sovereign-building document, such as the German constitution or the Irish constitution. Second, it suggests that the people of Europe are in some way similarly situated as together to constitute something. In this article, the author continues a series of reflections on words regarding futures, and takes an extensive look at the use, misuse and power of the word ‘constitution’.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Haack Stefan

Constitutional concepts within the process of European integration

in Futures, issue 2, vol. 38, march , 180-196

ABSTRACT: In order to come to an understanding concerning the questions surrounding the drafting of a European constitution, one must differentiate the three different meanings of the word ‘constitution’ by virtue of the very nature of its beginnings. The concept of a constitution in the organisational sense is the first possible way to understand the term. As such, ‘Constitution’ is synonymous with the organizational founding statute of any association or collective. Separate from this is a second possible context of the term, which refers to the legal meaning of the word. Here, the expression is understood as the highest legal norm of an autonomous legal order, its first and highest law. Within both of these meanings, one can speak of a ‘European Constitution’. A third, political way of understanding the term refers to the concept of the constitution as an ordering idea, which a specific place to the internal and external independent political unity combines and which orders from the outside inward. In other words, with this is concerned the question, why exactly this specific space within these specific limits to the independent political unity should be combined/bound. The introduction of such an order upon which can be founded, why exactly this concrete space in the specific limits as independent unity should be constituted, is still not today found for Europe.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process



Bignami F.

Creating European Rights: National Values and Supranational Organizations
in *Columbia Journal of European Law*, Vol. 11 n. 2 , 241 - 354

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

MARÍN GÁMEZ J.A.

Cultura constitucional europea: con ocasión del Tratado por el que se establece una Constitución para Europa
in *Revista de Derecho Constitucional Europeo* , n. 4 Anno 2

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Gerhards Jürgen, Lengfeld Holger

Das Ökologieskript der Europäischen Union und seine Akzeptanz in den Mitglieds- und Beitrittsländern
in *Zeitschrift für Soziologie*, Jahrgang 35, Heft 1, Februar 2006

The European Union's Ecological Script and Its Acceptance by the Citizens of the EU Member and Candidate Countries

European Integration can be interpreted not only as a process of increased regulation and the emergence of a new supranational political system. European integration can also be seen as an attempt to establish a European society with specific values. Part of these values are ecological values. We ask to what extent European citizens – of both EU member and candidate countries – support the environmental values of the EU. In a first step we reconstruct the ecological standards of the EU as it is defined in the treaties and in European law. In a second step we examine whether citizens support the position of the European Union, whether there are significant differences between the member states and the candidate countries, and how these differences can be explained. For these purposes we analyze the 1999 "Gallup Millennium Survey" and the "ISSP 2000" data set.

Overall the support of the ecological values is quite high. Nevertheless, there are significant differences between countries. The ecological standards of the EU get a high level of support within the fifteen old European Union countries and less support in the ten new and the further candidate countries. The level of support depends on several factors. The most important ones are the country's level of economic modernization and the respondent's postmaterial value orientation. We suppose that in the short run the new countries of the EU and the candidate countries will not support further EU-initiatives aimed at environmental protection. In the long run, however, this may change if the process of economic modernization and a shift from material to postmaterial values in these countries continues.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Guérot Ulriche



Der Countdown läuft. Europa braucht eine Vision für das 21. Jahrhundert
in *Internationale Politik* , n. 1, 61. Jahrgang, Januar , 70-75

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Lopez Pina A.

Derecho Europeo y principio constitucional de igualdad. El Tratado de la Unión ante la prueba de las tradiciones constitucionales

in *Revista de Derecho Constitucional Europeo* , n. 4 Anno 2

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Lopez Castillo A.

Derechos fundamentales y Estatuto de ciudadanía en el Tratado Constitucional de la Unión

in *Revista de Derecho Constitucional Europeo* , n. 4 Anno 2

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Coq Guy

Des propositions françaises pour l'Europe ? (Table ronde)

in *Esprit*, n. 322, février 2006 , 36-45

À quelles conditions le rejet du traité constitutionnel par les Français peut-il constituer un « choc salutaire » pour l'Europe ? Cela revient à se demander si la France se trouve en position de relancer des propositions à ses partenaires et si le modèle national qu'elle représente peut inspirer une ambition commune aux membres de l'Union européenne.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Eriksson Britz et Arita.

ESDP : A Fourth System of European Foreign Policy.

in *Politique européenne* , n. 17, 2005

The development of defence activities related to the European Union has been rapid since the end of the Cold War. The creation of the European Defence Agency (EDA) in 2004 might contribute to greater coherence in the Union's defence



related activities. This article investigates the development that has enabled the creation of the EDA and what these developments mean to the study of European foreign policy. The authors argue - in opposition to Brian White (2001) - that defence should, by 2005, at least be seen as a fourth sub-system of European foreign policy.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Boscheck Ralf

EU Constitutional Governance: Failure as Opportunity?

in *Intereconomics*, Volume 41 No. 1 • 2006 , p. 25

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Münichsdorfer Olaf

EU: Entbürokratisierung als Entdemokratisierung

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, Januar, 2006 , 16-20

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Cué A.

El rechazo a la Constitución Europea

in *El Cotidiano : revista de la realidad mexicana actual* , n. 135 , 101 - 111

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

McNeill Donald

Euro-commentary: Performing European Space?

in *European Urban and Regional Studies*, Volume 13, No. 1 , 83-87

This paper examines the role of Rem Koolhaas, his architectural firm and think-tanks OMA and AMO, and his recently published book *Content* in the shaping of debates on European identity. The paper focuses on two issues: (a) Koolhaas's attempt to re-brand, re-present and re-envision Europe and Brussels for the Prodi Commission; (b) his use of creolized and graphic communication and publishing strategies to pursue a distinctive 'European' standpoint on globalization.



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Rifkin Jeremy, Gubert Romain

Europe : faisons un rêve. Interview de Jeremy Rifkin par Romain Gubert

in *Politique internationale*, n°108, hiver 2005-2006

Interviewed by Romain Gubert, American economist Jeremy Rifkin, an avowed Europhile, makes no secret of his disappointment: France's "no" vote on the referendum stung him deeply. It does not, however signal the end of the "European dream", because Europe continues to enjoy tremendous assets and potential-even if Europeans have a hard time recognizing them. Energized by expansion, Europe is the leading exporter and the biggest domestic market on the planet. In the past, it was the U.S. that symbolized a world "where everything is possible". This promise has proved fleeting, though: upward social mobility has lost traction, violence is on the rise, and the number of citizens simply left behind continues to rise. In other words, the prosperity of the United States masks its extreme fragility. Hope now abides in Europe, even though Europe's social model is in need of in-depth reform. The only danger lurking is demographic decline which, if not stemmed by massive immigration, could deal a fatal blow to the "European dream".

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Padis Marc-Olivier

Europe : que faire de la pause?

in *Esprit*, n. 322, février 2006 , 10-13

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Hooghe Liesbet, Marks Gary

Europe's Blues: Theoretical Soul-Searching after the Rejection of the European Constitution

in *PS: Political Science & Politics* , Vol. 39, Issue 2, April

<http://www.apsanet.org/imgtest/247-250.pdf>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Favell Adrian

Europe's identity problem

in *West European Politics*, n. 5, vol. 28, november , 1109-1116

No abstract available



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Wyplosz Charles

European Monetary Union: the dark sides of a major success
in **Economic Policy**, Volume 21, Issue 46

This paper revisits the debates that have surrounded the launch of a unique experience: the adoption of a common currency among developed countries. A striking aspect of this history is that, pressed by what they correctly identified as a window of opportunity, policy-makers crafted this complex project in a short period of time, largely eschewing inputs from the academic profession. Academic research, in turn, developed its own views, which turned out to be critical of some key orientations, yet it generally recognizes that, in the end, the launch of the euro has been a major success.

Over time, many of the academic criticisms have been taken on board, but not yet fully. The monetary strategy has been slightly amended, but it remains the subject of disagreements between the European Central Bank and monetary economists. Events have confirmed that the Stability and Growth Pact was ill-designed; its reformulation goes some way to address some of the concerns but not all of them. Its ability to deliver fiscal discipline is in doubt.

Another look at the experiment highlights the gap between the principles laid out by those who designed the monetary union and the pragmatism that has prevailed thereafter. The resulting tension between principles and actions sometimes obscures the fact that the Eurosystem has acted wisely so far. The widespread perception that monetary policy is not as transparent as it should be and suffers from a lack of adequate democratic accountability is not just annoying. The general public, including politicians, sometimes blames the Eurosystem for Europe's poor growth performance since the adoption of the euro. This is unfair and could dangerously undermine the monetary union if the Eurosystem were to become the scapegoat for the slow and incomplete reforms that are needed to revigorate the euro area's economies.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Möllers Christoph

European governance: Meaning and value of a concept
in **Common Market Law Review**, issue 2, vol. 43, 313-336

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 6. The European unification process

Faíña, J., García-Lorenzo A., López-Rodríguez J.

European integration from the agency theory perspective

in *European Journal of Law and Economics*, Volume 21, Number 1, 5-12

European integration is a process in which national governments look for higher levels of integration and promote new requests for allocations from the supranational authority while the balance between the benefits and costs of the supranational collective action becomes increasingly favourable. This process may be analyzed as an agency problem where different national governments, acting as principals, try to lead a single agent—the supranational authority—to make a decision on the level of integration. In this paper, decisions on integration of equilibrium are studied as the result of a non co-operative two-stage game, where national governments outline their political support strategies in the first stage and the supranational authority decides the level of integration in the second stage.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Müller Jan-Werner

Fin de la constitution, fin du patriotisme constitutionnel?

in *Esprit*, n. 322, février 2006, 13-19

L'Europe peut-elle se poursuivre sans constitution ? Sans doute, car on aurait pu éviter de remuer les lourds symboles de l'idée constitutionnelle pour mettre de l'ordre dans les institutions. Mais s'il ne faut pas attendre d'une constitution l'adhésion des citoyens à l'Europe, alors quel type de sentiment d'appartenance le projet européen peut-il favoriser ?

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Merlini Cesare

For a Core Europe in an Open Union

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

The famous Austrian general, Radetzky, jotted down in his diary that "the noble idea of a united Europe, the urgency of which is before our eyes", runs the risk of not being put into practice because "Europe is divided as never before". Almost 150 years later, is Europe still in the same position? There are two possible scenarios for exiting the current European crisis and moving toward union. One is to freeze all further enlargement of the Union, at least for the foreseeable future - and to digest what has already been achieved and put the house in order. The other envisions going ahead with the planned enlargements and perhaps even those proposed for the future while at the same time creating more closely integrated groups within the Union. The latter, focussing Europe's more specific and eminent personality in a core-Europe that is not only political and economic, but in some ways also civil and cultural, with more precisely defined borders could exorcise the people's sense of confusion which seems to be contributing to their estrangement from community institutions.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Colas Diego

**French European Policy and Foreign Policy After the Referendum
in American Foreign Policy Interests**, Vol. 28, n. 1 / February , 37-51

A prediction that France and other major powers in the European Union (EU) will turn their attention to making enlargement a success and may use the EU's Security Strategy to strengthen the transatlantic relationship.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Tomescu Hatto Odette, Hatto Ronald

Frontières et identités : la Roumanie et la Moldavie dans l'Europe élargie (Note)
in *Etudes Internationales*, 3, Septembre 2005

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bailey David J.

Governance or the crisis of governmentality? applying critical state theory at the European level
in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 13, Number 1 / January , 16-33

This article argues that accounts of EU-level decision-making drawing upon national-level comparisons have predominantly derived their analyses from liberal democratic and social democratic accounts of the nation state. This has had a detrimental effect on the development of a more critical account of EU decision-making. Following insights made by critical state theorists at the national level, we can view developments in EU-level politics as the result of the problematic nature of representative-democratic institutions within market economies. From this perspective the rise of European governance is viewed as a(n) (inadequate) response to the ongoing crisis of governmentality afflicting the European polity.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Woll Cornelia

Herrschaft der Lobbyisten in der Europäischen Union?
in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 15-16, 2006



No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Hughes Hallett Andrew, Weymark Diana N.

Heterogeneity in a currency union with social market objectives

in **Scottish Journal of Political Economy**, February 2006 - Vol. 53 Issue 1

In this paper, we explore whether heterogeneity among union members could threaten the stability of the European Monetary Union. The types of heterogeneity we consider are (1) asymmetries in the transmission of monetary and fiscal policies, and (2) differences in national preferences for price stability, output growth, and income redistribution. Our results show that the costs of membership can be significant for countries whose transmissions, structure, or preferences deviate from those underlying the common monetary policy. In part, these costs arise because monetary policy imposed by an independent central bank automatically constrains the use of fiscal policy by national governments.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Von Bogdandy A.

Identidad constitucional - exploracion de un fenomeno ambiguo con la ocasion de la politica de identidad europea de lege lata y lege ferenda

in **Revista Espanola de Derecho Constitucional**, n. 75 , 9 - 32

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Calamia Pietro

Il periodo di riflessione sul Trattato costituzionale

in **Affari Esteri**, Anno XXXVIII, n. 150 , 319-324

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Editoriale

Il problema della difesa europea e il nucleo federale

in **Federalista (II)/Federalist (The)**, Anno XLVII, n. 3 , 137-143

No abstract available



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Giuseppe Allegri

Il processo costituzionale europeo in surplace. L'indeterminata risoluzione del Parlamento europeo «sul periodo di riflessione»

in *Federalismi*, Anno IV, n. 3

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Passaglia P., Giovannetti T., Azzena L., Pinelli C., Salmoni F., Pertici A., Donati F., Barone A., Cartabia M.

Il trattato che adotta una Costituzione per l'Europa

in *Foro Italiano*, 2005, P. V, 1-37

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Melakopides Costas

Implications of the Accession of Cyprus to the European Union for Greek-Turkish and Euro-Turkish Relations

in *Mediterranean Quarterly*, Volume 17, Number 1, Winter 2006, 73-101

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Cascajo Castro

Integracion europea y constituciones nacionales

in *Revista d'Estudis Autonomics i Federals*, n. 1, 61 - 78

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Schneider Friedrich

Is a Federal European Constitution for an Enlarged European Union Necessary? Some Preliminary Suggestions using Public Choice Analysis

in *Swiss Political Science Review - Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft - Revue suisse de science*



politique, Volume 11, Issue 4, Winter 2005 , 203-225

In order to guarantee a further successful functioning of the enlarged European Union a Federal European Constitution is proposed. Six basic elements of a future European federal constitution are developed: the European commission should be turned into a European government and the European legislation should consist of a two chamber system with full responsibility over all federal items. Three further key elements are the subsidiarity principle, federalism and the secession right, which are best suited to limiting the domain of the central European authority to which certain tasks are given, such as defense, foreign and environmental policy. Another important feature is direct democracy, which provides the possibility for European voters to participate actively in political decision making, to break political and interest group cartels, and to prevent an unwanted shifting of responsibilities from EU member states to the European federal level.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Majocchi Alberto

Issuing Union Bonds to Finance the Lisbon Agenda

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

The Euro area has been going through a long economic downturn since the launching of Monetary Union. This has compounded the widespread Euroscepticism confirmed by the "nos" in the French and Dutch referendums on ratification of the Constitutional Treaty. The Lisbon Agenda was agreed upon in 2000 as a way to boost Europe's economic growth and dispell some of this scepticism. Yet its implementation has not been possible at the national level due to the constraints of the Stability and Growth Pact nor at the European level, given the small size of the budget and the member states' unwillingness to increase their contributions. The only solution is for the Euro area to finance the expenditures required by the Lisbon Strategy through the emission of Union bonds.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Padoa-Schioppa Tommaso

L'Europa della Malinconia

in Mulino (il), n. 1, gennaio-febbraio, 2006 , 199-212

ABSTRACT: All'Unione europea manca il requisito essenziale di un'unione politica: un patto fondante in forza del quale lo stare insieme, il decidere insieme, l'agire insieme siano assicurati non solo nell'accordo ma anche nel disaccordo. Se e solo se esiste quel solido patto un'unione può dirsi realizzata, perché solo allora chi ne fa parte riconosce allo stare insieme una ragione più alta e più forte della diversità di vedute.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Ciampi Carlo Azeglio



L'Unione europea di fronte alle sue responsabilità

in *Affari Sociali Internazionali*, n. 4, 2005 , 83-87

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Delors J.

L'unité de l'Europe: un projet pour le XXI siècle

in *Revue du droit de l'Union Européenne*, n. 4 , 709 - 719

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Garavini Giuliano

La Comunità europea e il Nuovo ordine economico internazionale: 1974-1977

in *Ventesimo Secolo. Rivista di Studi sulle Transizioni*, Anno V, n. 9, marzo, special issue "L'Europa negli anni Settanta: una svolta nella storia del continente"

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Pistone Sergio

La Conferenza di Messina e lo sviluppo di unificazione europea

in *Federalista (II)/Federalist (The)*, Anno XLVII, n. 3 , 192-201

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Moussis Nicolas

La Constitution est morte! Vive la Constitution! Une Constitution rédigée par une assemblée constituante

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, numero 496, mars , 151-165

The Constitution is dead! Long live to the Constitution!

The Constitution is dead! The sad truth be admitted! But, contrary to what everybody thinks, it was not killed by the people of France and the Netherlands. They could not kill it since it was still-born, because of a congenial vice, the requirement of unanimity for its ratification. Knowing this vice, Tony Blair pronounced its death, when it announced in the House of Commons, on April 20, 2004, that he was going to hold a referendum on the ratification of the Treaty



establishing a Constitution for Europe, whereas his vast majority (reinforced by the votes of the Liberal party) could ensure this ratification by the parliament way. The Heads of State or government of the Twenty-five, who cheerfully signed this Treaty, on October 29, 2004, should have known that it could never be put into force, since they knew, like Tony Blair himself, that the British people were hostile to it. Could they hope that this traditionally eurosceptic nation, would change opinion, if it saw that all the other Member States of the EU had ratified this Treaty? It is probably in this snare that Jacques Chirac was taken, when he announced that he also was going to hold a referendum, whereas the French Constitution did not oblige him to do it. At all events, the question should now be asked: does the European Union need a Constitution to function and to develop and, if so, would it be better to try to resuscitate the still-born Constitution or to begin again the work, avoiding the errors which condemned to death the latter, in particular the unanimity rule? This article proposes: that the drafting of the Constitution be entrusted to a democratically elected constituent assembly; that the Constitution be adopted, after a universal referendum, by a reinforced majority of the Member States, not necessarily by all of them; and that the Member States which do not want the Constitution form a group governed by a modified Treaty on the European Community or participate in the group of the European Economic Area

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Ziller Jacques

La Constitution pour l'Europe, parlons-en!

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, numero 496, mars , 145-150

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Russo T.

La Costituzione europea tra revisione e continuità normativa

in *Diritto comunitario e degli scambi internazionali*, n. 3 , 573-602

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Chirac Jacques

La Francia e il rilancio dell'Europa

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XXXVIII, n. 149 , 67-71

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process



Marzouki Nadia

La Turquie et l'Union européenne : le discours des néoconservateurs américains
in *Esprit*, n. 323, mars 2006 , 344-349

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Balaguer Callejon F.

La configuración normativa de principios y derechos constitucionales en la Constitución europea
in *Revista de Derecho Constitucional Europeo* , n. 4 Anno 2

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

De Grossouvre Henry

La creazione di una avanguardia europea
in *Federalista (II)/Federalist (The)*, Anno XLVII, n. 3 , 202-208

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Papanikolau Irene

La politica europea di sicurezza e difesa
in *Affari Sociali Internazionali*, n. 4, 2005 , 109-118

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Agudo Zamora M.

La protección de los derechos en la Unión Europea. Claves para entender la evolución histórica desde el Tratado constitutivo de la Comunidad Económica Europea al Tratado por el que se establece una Constitución para Europa
in *Revista de Derecho Constitucional Europeo* , n. 4 Anno 2

No abstract available



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Tadié Alexis

La présidence britannique de l'Union européenne : une non-présidence?

in *Esprit*, n. 321, janvier 2006 , 160-166

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Toulemon Robert

La tentation de l'Europe à la carte

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, numero 494, janvier , 8-9

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Romeu Francisco Ramos

Law and politics in the application of EC law: Spanish courts and the ECJ 1986–2000

in *Common Market Law Review*, issue 2, vol. 43 , 395-421

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Coq Guy

Le

in *Esprit*, n. 322, février 2006 , 90-104

Moment démocratique pour les uns, vote d'incompréhension pour les autres, le choix du 29 mai 2005 renvoie à des lectures parfois divergentes, parfois complémentaires, des attentes politiques et sociales des Français. Entre le choc d'avril 2002 et l'ouverture du prochain cycle présidentiel, qu'en est-il des attentes démocratiques du pays ?

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Marian Michel, Abel Olivier

Le débat européen sur la Turquie. Quelle Europe ? Quel projet ? Quelle périphérie ? (Entretien)

in *Esprit*, n. 322, février 2006 , 45-59



Alors que le processus définitif de candidature a commencé, quels sont les arguments pour ou contre l'entrée de la Turquie en Europe ? Au-delà de la question de savoir si le pays candidat répond aux critères imposés, nous sommes confrontés à nos incertitudes concernant la définition collective qui est donnée aux limites géographiques, culturelles et politiques du projet européen.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Bouchindhomme Christian

Le peuple français et la volonté générale européenne

in *Esprit*, n. 322, février 2006 , 19-28

Comment comprendre le rejet français du projet de traité constitutionnel européen ? Il faut repartir des malentendus d'un traité ratifié par des États, présenté aussi comme une constitution sollicitant l'adhésion d'un « peuple européen », sans vouloir pour autant le consulter en dehors de l'échelle nationale à l'occasion d'un référendum unique.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Pinelli C.

Le tradizioni costituzionali comuni ai popoli europei fra apprendimenti e virtù trasformativa

in *Giornale di storia costituzionale*, I , 11-20

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Miquet-Marty François

Les quatre crises de la représentation politique

in *Esprit*, n. 322, février 2006 , 79-90

Le référendum de 2005 n'a pas révélé la crise de la représentation, mais il a accentué l'expression de quatre crises dont les cycles ne sont pas toujours en phase : discrédit des leaders politiques, défiance envers les représentants, difficile transcription du social en politique, sentiment d'une dépossession démocratique.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Camara Villar G.

Los derechos fundamentales en el proceso histórico de construcción de la Unión Europea y su valor en el Tratado Constitucional



in *Revista de Derecho Constitucional Europeo* , n. 4 Anno 2

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bagayoko-Penone Niagalé

L'européanisation des militaires français : socialisation institutionnelle et culture stratégique

in *Revue française de science politique*, Volume 56, Numéro 1, Février , 49-78

This paper aims to study collective representations of the EU which are the result of the daily experience of European officers, called to adapt their professional practices to European standards, norms and procedures. Whereas most of the research focuses on a top-down approach to the integration process, this article adopts a bottom-up approach. It deals with institutional socialization processes in which militaries working within the EU structures are involved. It also analyses how the introduction of military values through the ESDP (European and Security Defense Policy) is transforming the civil actor the EU used to be until the European summits of Cologne and Helsinki. It is then considered the emergence of a civil-military culture which could define in the future the EU international action.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Reynié Dominique

L'idée d'une «opinion européenne»

in *Raisons politiques*, N° 19, août 2005

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Guadini E.

L' "européizzazione" delle politiche regionali: mutamento di policy e innovazione istituzionale nel caso italiano

in *Stato e mercato*, n. 3 , 487 - 518

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Dalem Alexis

L'économie, le peuple et la Constitution. Le « non » français en perspective

in *Raisons politiques*, N° 20, novembre 2005



No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Kaldor Mary, Salmon Andrew

Military force and European strategy

in *Survival*, n. 1, vol. 48, spring , 19-34

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Feld Lars P., Hug Simon

Musings About the EU's Constitutional Future

in *Swiss Political Science Review - Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft - Revue suisse de science politique*, Volume 11, Issue 4, Winter 2005 , 227-247

The constitutional future of the European Union (EU) has attracted many scholars in economics and political science to apply their knowledge on political institutions and propose concrete suggestions. We highlight that economists and political scientists proceed quite differently in this endeavour and suggest that, due to this, they also are exposed to different pitfalls. We illustrate this by critically assessing specific proposals made in the context of the proposed constitution for the EU.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Drake Sara

National Remedies Before the Court of Justice: Issues of Harmonisation and Differentiation

in *European public Law*, Volume 12 (2006) Issue 1 , 159-161

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Sidaway James D.

On the nature of the beast: Re-charting political geographies of the European Union

in *Geografiska Annaler, Series B: Human Geography*, Vol. 88, Issue 1 , 1-14

This review paper begins with the premise that since the European Union remains a process of construction with no agreed or pre-designated end-point, its power structure is open to a diverse range of interpretations. Moreover, the



apparent novelty of the EU renders it hard to characterize according to familiar taxonomies. The novelty lies in part in the complex territorial configurations of authority in the EU. Different conceptualizations of the EU are varied readings of the structure, balance and scales of authority — which thereby invoke different actions and spaces of possibility.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Volker Heins

Orientalising America? Continental Intellectuals and the Search for Europe's Identity

in Millennium: Journal of International Studies, n. 2, vol. 34, february , 433-448

ABSTRACT: Against the backdrop of the failure of the Constitutional Treaty and rising scepticism about the prospects of the European Union, this article looks at recent attempts by prominent German intellectuals to turn the tide by endowing Europe with a new sense of mission. It is argued that while the crusading writings by Jürgen Habermas, Ulrich Beck and Thomas Meyer on the political identity of Europe effectively criticise cultural essentialism, technocratic anti-politics and classical Eurocentrism, they are still caught in the trap of a binary moral geography. To varying degrees, their polarising ideological narratives seek to freeze authoritatively the meaning of 'Europe' by expurgating its Other, which is now 'America'. Partly motivated by fresh world-political ambitions, the new German ideology aims at a symbolic closure of 'Europe' at a time when real-world borders have become increasingly flexible and negotiable.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Marks G.

Party Competition and European Integration in the East and West. Different Structure, Same Causality

in Comparative Political Studies , Vol. 39 n. 2 , 155 - 175

How does the ideological profile of a political party affect its support or opposition to European integration? The authors investigate this question with a new expert data set on party positioning on European integration covering 171 political parties in 23 countries. The authors' findings are (a) that basic structures of party competition in the East and West are fundamentally and explicably different and (b) that although the positions that parties in the East and West take on European integration are substantively different, they share a single underlying causality.

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Schlesinger Philip, Foret François

Political Roof and Sacred Canopy?: Religion and the EU Constitution

in European Journal of Social Theory , Volume 9, No. 1, February 2006 , 59-81

Debate over the place of Christianity in European politics and society has made an important come-back. The Convention on the Future of Europe's deliberations over the EU Constitution has thrown into relief the role of religion in defining 'Europeanness'. In the context of a secularized Europe, Christianity is fighting for its institutional recognition and



space in the public sphere. Religion may offer a cultural identity and work both to resist and to accommodate change. However, the Christian mobilization has been challenged by those who defend the secular order. The debate over whether Christianity should be seen as constitutive of European identity has been framed by wider concerns about collective identities and memories in Europe.

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Ben-Ari Guy

Politics and Defence R&D Policies. The United States and Israel and Lessons for the European Union
in *Oesterreichische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft* , 2006/1 , 45-56

This article employs the bureaucratic politics paradigm to analyse defence research and development (R&D) programs. It uses this paradigm to analyse the defence R&D policies of two countries - the United States and Israel - and to make recommendations for the European Union, which is currently initiating defence R&D efforts at the European level. The bureaucratic politics paradigm is useful for understanding the politics of innovation activities related to national security, since it offers a systematic framework for explaining how different elements in government make decisions in political systems where power is intentionally fragmented and dispersed among a multitude of actors. Using this paradigm, the article concludes that the political rationale for defence R&D investment involves a compromise between different positions held by various policy stakeholders, including different elements within the bureaucracy. While decisions made by political leaders will steer and guide the actions of bureaucracies, they are not automatically translated into accomplishments. For defence R&D policy to be implemented as it was formulated, continuous negotiations and re-negotiations between politicians, bureaucrats, the military, industry and other external interest groups are needed.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Sturm Roland

Politische und ökonomische Integration - Das Problem der Finalität Europas
in *Politische Studien*, Heft 405, 57. Jahrgang, Januar-Februar , 24-32

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Beasley Alessandra

Public discourse and cosmopolitan political identity: Imagining the European Union citizen
in *Futures*, issue 2, vol. 38, march , 133-145

ABSTRACT: European Union citizenship has thus far been constructed largely in national and economic terms, which are unlikely to redeem the promise of a rich and vibrant political future in the wake of the EU constitution. Therefore, one of the central challenges facing scholars, political leaders and citizens is to fashion new argumentative spaces that



enable citizens to forge cosmopolitan political identities that may help to fulfill the vision of alternative futures. This paper addresses the rhetorical dimensions of European Union citizenship as it focuses on public discourse as constitutive of new models of political participation and engagement. Tracing the idea of citizenship in the writings of Hannah Arendt, Immanuel Kant, and Giambattista Vico, discourse and imagination become necessary for a new dimension of European Union citizenship.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Panebianco M.

Quale leadership democratica nel nuovo Trattato di Roma?

in *Diritto comunitario e degli scambi internazionali*, n. 3 , 421-442

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Seidenfaden Tøger

Saving Europe from the tyranny of referendums

in *Europe's World*, Issue 2, Spring

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Gosalbo Bono Ricardo

Some reflections on the CFSP legal order

in *Common Market Law Review*, issue 2, vol. 43 , 337-394

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Lenaerts K.

Speech: The Constitution for Europe: Fiction or Reality?

in *Columbia Journal of European Law*, Vol. 11 n. 3 , 465 - 480

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process



Davies Garreth

Subsidiarity: The wrong idea, in the wrong place, at the wrong time
in *Common Market Law Review*, issue 1, vol. 43 , 63-84

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Lequesne Christian

Sur les craintes françaises d'une Europe espace

in *Esprit*, n. 322, février 2006 , 28-36

Le « non » français attire l'attention sur la difficulté hexagonale à se situer dans la nouvelle géographie européenne. Pays de loin le plus hostile à l'élargissement, la France prend conscience tardivement du déphasage de sa conception de l'Europe.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Stefanova Boyka

The "No" Vote in the French and Dutch Referenda on the EU Constitution: A Spillover of Consequences for the Wider Europe

in *PS: Political Science & Politics* , Vol. 39, Issue 2, April

<http://www.apsanet.org/imgtest/251-255.pdf>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Goucha Soares António

The Division of Competences in the European Constitution

in *European public Law*, Volume 11 (2005) Issue 4 , 603-621

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Sbragia Alberta

The EU and Its "Constitution": Public Opinion, Political Elites, and Their International Context

in *PS: Political Science & Politics* , Vol. 39, Issue 2, April

<http://www.apsanet.org/imgtest/Intro.pdf>



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Gamble Andrew

The European Disunion

in **British Journal of Politics & International Relations** , Vol. 8, Issue 1, February , 34-49

This article explores the state of the UK debate on Europe following the rejection of the Constitutional Treaty by France and the Netherlands in 2005. It examines the conflict between the intergovernmental and supranational conceptions of the EU that lay at the heart of the Constitutional Treaty, various scenarios that have been proposed for how the EU might now develop and different overlapping images of Europe that have defined the European debate. The contradictory nature of Britain's attitude to the EU is noted. The British remain strongly attached to an intergovernmental conception of the EU and reject any further pooling of sovereignty, while at the same time they are strongly attached to the virtues of a liberal world order, requiring constant subordination of national sovereignty to achieve it. It is argued that a re-founding of the European Union on Euro-sceptic principles might be a necessary precondition for further advance.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Chaban Natalia, Elgström Ole, Holland Martin

The European Union As Others See It

in **European Foreign Affairs Review**, Volume 11, Issue 2 , 245-262

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Brouard Sylvain, Tiberj Vincent

The French Referendum: The Not So Simple Act of Saying Nay

in **PS: Political Science & Politics** , Vol. 39, Issue 2, April

<http://www.apsanet.org/imgtest/261-268.pdf>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Ágh Attila

The Future of Europe as Seen from Hungary

in **Internationale Politik und Gesellschaft**, Heft 1, 2006 , 93-104

ABSTRACT: While the EU-15 states appear to have reached their limit in terms of their integration efforts, new member states, such as Hungary, continue to push ahead with their EU integration. The need for improvements in the quality of



democracy and economic reforms is not considered a burden but a historic opportunity.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Severin Adrian

The Future of the EU: A Need for a New Vision

in *Internationale Politik und Gesellschaft*, Heft 1, 2006 , 11-19

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bauer Michael W.

The German Länder and the European constitutional treaty: Heading for a differentiated theory of regional elite preferences for European integration

in *Regional and Federal Studies*, Volume 16, Number 1 / March , 21-41

Theorizing subnational and supranational relationship in the EU has been mired by what can be called the 'homogeneity assumption': most analyses firmly, if often only implicitly, presume identical preferences of the various regional actors in an individual member state. As a starting point for analysing regions and local authorities in the EU such a supposition was probably justified and certainly had its merits. Today, however, neglecting intra-national heterogeneity and confining our concepts of regional–supranational exchange to the borders of the nation states seem increasingly problematic. More precisely, not going beyond the country-specific features of subnational authorities may pose a serious obstacle for discovering generalizable characteristics in the relationship between regions or local authorities and the EU which, in turn, would be needed to broaden understanding of the emerging European polity. By analysing the preferences of the German Länder – a group of subnational actors which presumably belongs to the most homogeneous set of regional actors in the EU – as regards the European constitutional debate, this article confirms a growing heterogeneity of regional predilections. In an attempt to systematize the inductively collected evidence, four hypotheses for further empirical testing are developed in order to contribute to the discussion about how to work out a more differentiated theory of regional elite support for European integration. As it turns out, the hitherto neglected dimension of party politics appears to bear great potential to explain regional action relating to European integration.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bekemans Léonce

The Idea and Practice of Europe in a Globalising World: Reality and Responsibility

in *Pace Diritti Umani*, n. 1, anno 2, gennaio-aprile

ABSTRACT: Quali sono oggi il senso e la rilevanza dell'Europa, il suo patrimonio culturale, i suoi valori e le sue norme, il suo modello societario? Le risposte a questo fondamentale interrogativo modellano il futuro europeo e la costruzione



delle nostre società europee. L'autore si chiede se l'Europa è ancora una idea(le) ispiratrice che merita di essere perseguita. Temi quali le frontiere dell'Europa, la cittadinanza europea, la diversità culturale, il ruolo e il fine dell'Europa in una prospettiva globale esigono che si chiarisca ciò che l'Europa è e deve essere. L'Europa è ad un bivio, tra passato, presente e futuro. Siamo confrontati da numerose sfide, interne ed esterne, al modello europeo di coesione socio-economica e di diversità regionale. L'Europa ha dunque una missione ed una responsabilità nel mondo globalizzante.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Szabo Steven

The Leadership Deficit in Europe

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

Europe has entered a period of transition of its leaders. Most of the current political leadership of Europe is either weak or on its way out of power. This is occurring at the end of an annus horribilis in which the European Project suffered a number of self-inflicted wounds and is left wondering about its future. Will this period of a leadership vacuum be replaced by an era of a new type of collaborative leadership, or will much of Europe yield to the temptation of charismatic and populist figures who will only deepen the current leadership deficit? What is needed is a longer-term approach to the definition of effective leadership rather than the short-term electoral-cycle-oriented one favouring "clever" leadership. The new generation of European leaders will have to recommit to the European dream. They will have to avoid the easy temptation to bash Brussels, blaming the domestic problems of their nations on Europe and they will have to find ways to create more transparent and effective links between their publics and the EU.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Schwarze Jürgen

The Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe – Some General Reflections on its Character and its Chances of Realisation

in European public Law, Volume 12 (2006) - Issue 2 , 199-211

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Kumm M.

To Be a European Citizen? The Absence of Constitutional Patriotism and the Constitutional Treaty

in Columbia Journal of European Law, Vol. 11 n. 3 , 481 - 522



No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Louis . Louis , Jean-Victor .

Un nouveau départ pour l'Union?

in *Les Cahiers de droit europeen*, Vol. 41 n.3-4 , 277 - 284

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Walker Neil

Una costituzione con la "C" maiuscola o con la "c" minuscola?

in *Quaderni Costituzionali*, numero: 4, dicembre , 881-883

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Aarts Kees, van der Kolk Henk

Understanding the Dutch "No": The Euro, the East, and the Elite

in *PS: Political Science & Politics* , Vol. 39, Issue 2, April

<http://www.apsanet.org/imgtest/243-246.pdf>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Moreau Defarges Philippe

Union Européenne : La crise et après. Interview de Philippe Moreau Defarges

in *Politique internationale*, n°108, hiver 2005-2006

Did the 55% of the French who voted "no" on the European constitution truly realize the consequences of rejecting the Treaty? The text proposed a modus operandi that would have allowed a 25-nation Europe to function efficiently while spurring the three clay-footed giants-France, Germany and Italy-to carry out the reforms that are indispensable to adapt to globalization. Four possible scenarios for Europe are now taking shape. The first is stagnation, if the EU reverts to the Treaty of Nice. The second is a breakup, which is likely if populist, anti-European governments come into power in member states. The third is damage control by retaining some of the advances in the Treaty, if the different countries agree to this. The last is a hypothetical reinvention of the EU project, requiring that member states abandon some of their sovereignty and carry out reforms-precisely what the French have shown they refuse to do.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Häberle Peter

Verfassungsgebung in Europa

in *Jahrbuch des öffentlichen Rechts der Gegenwart*, Band 54, 2006

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Schwall-Düren Angelica

Wie weiter mit der EU? Wege aus der Krise

in *Internationale Politik und Gesellschaft*, Heft 1, 2006 , 28-38

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Hobe Stephan

Will the European constitution lead to a European super-state?

in *Futures*, issue 2, vol. 38, march , 169-179

ABSTRACT: The Treaty establishing the Constitution of Europe is cause to raise the question yet again as to whether Europe is headed for super-statehood, at the expense of the sovereign independence of the member states. In his analysis from the perspective of public law, the author places this latest legal re-characterization into the context of the history of European integration, makes further analogy to the German Constitutional Court decision when German citizens raised a similar question at the signing of the Treaty of Maastricht, and concludes that the Treaty has not provided sufficient change in legal power to create a European super-state.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

O'Brennan John

'Bringing Geopolitics Back In': Exploring the Security Dimension of the 2004 Eastern Enlargement of the European Union

in *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* , Vol. 19, n. 1, March , 155-169

Notwithstanding the functional and technocratic basis of the European integration process, and the fact that the



accession criteria hardly mentions security issues, the 2004 eastern enlargement brought to the forefront of EU politics important geopolitical and security issues. Eastern enlargement came on to the agenda of the EU in the wake of 1989's peaceful revolutions in Central and Eastern Europe. Security and geopolitics mattered to the decision taken by the EU to embark on expansion in the early 1990s, and thereafter security issues remained prominent in enlargement debates. This article seeks to analyse the most important geopolitical issues that eastern enlargement has brought to the fore. In exploring the geopolitical dimension of the eastern enlargement process, the article foregrounds some key issues including: the potential power realignments in Europe triggered by enlargement, the EU's relationship with Russia and its importance to the unfolding of the enlargement process, and how eastern enlargement was conceived as a mechanism for stabilising the EU's external environment. The article contrasts realist and constructivist images of post-1989 Europe and the eastern enlargement process and assesses their contribution to enlargement scholarship. It argues that constructivist imagery best explains the way in which EU actors interpreted key geopolitical issues within the enlargement framework. In particular, it presents enlargement as the expansion of the existing European security community, wherein geopolitical issues were subject to a process of securitisation and desecuritisation.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Tsoukalis Loukas

¿Por qué necesitamos un fondo de ajuste a la globalización?

in *Relaciones internacionales* : revista publ. por el Instituto de Relaciones Internacionales , N° 4

Transcurridos más de cincuenta años desde su comienzo, la integración regional en Europa ha desarrollado un complejo sistema sin precedentes históricos y sin rival en otras partes del mundo contemporáneo: una revolución pacífica de la cual los europeos tenemos que sentirnos orgullosos[1]. Fijándonos en lo más imprescindible, este nuevo sistema europeo se caracteriza por las fronteras abiertas, la gestión simultánea de muchos aspectos de la vida diaria de los ciudadanos, y la solidaridad entre sus miembros.

La integración regional ha servido como instrumento - seguramente no el único - para la paz y la seguridad en una parte muy poblada del mundo, y con una larga y turbulenta historia. La integración se fue gestando de forma indirecta, con un bajo perfil político, por lo menos en las fases más tempranas. Algunos lo llamarían funcionalismo, pero en su mejor y bastante ambicioso. La integración regional también ha contribuido a una mayor prosperidad. Los economistas coinciden en esto, aunque nadie puede aislar totalmente los efectos de la creciente interdependencia de la integración europea en el bienestar. Después de todo, a las grandes preguntas, la economía proporciona, como mucho, respuestas imprecisas.

Desde el cambio de siglo, este sistema político europeo nos ha proporcionado una moneda común, sustituyendo doce divisas nacionales con una larga historia a sus espaldas, ha abierto sus puertas a diez nuevos miembros, y ha negociado otra revisión de los tratados, esta vez llamada constitución. Cualquiera que sean las dificultades que se encuentren - y son, seguramente, muchas - no es un mal expediente para cualquier estándar, especialmente para un sistema político generalmente criticado por ser extremadamente lento, ineficaz y excesivamente burocrático.

El mapa político y económico europeo ha cambiado radicalmente y para mejor. Es más, Europa está atravesando una fase en la que duda de sí misma y mira con pesimismo hacia el futuro. ¿Ha alcanzado el proyecto europeo sus límites - o peor aún, estamos ya en el engranaje inverso? Los problemas a los que estamos haciendo frente actualmente tienen mucho que ver con la pobre situación económica y la sensación cada vez mayor de inseguridad entre muchos de nuestros ciudadanos, en unos tiempos de rápidas transformaciones. También tienen que ver con el debilitamiento del



viejo consenso sobre los principales objetivos de la integración.

LECCIONES DE LISBOA

La integración regional comenzó básicamente como un asunto económico, aunque con fuertes matices políticos. La economía sigue siendo hoy su espina dorsal. Durante muchos años, la integración ayudó a mantener una sucesión de círculos virtuosos que ayudaron a las economías nacionales a crecer mientras, al mismo tiempo, alentaban el consenso esencialmente permisivo de los ciudadanos europeos hacia más integración. El amor a Europa ha tenido siempre una dimensión económica muy fuerte, y ha dependido de la capacidad de las instituciones europeas y nacionales de proveer bienes. Estuvo bien mientras duró. El funcionamiento de varias economías europeas, sobre todo de las tres grandes economías de la eurozona, ha sido decepcionante durante mucho tiempo. Las economías estancadas con escasos puestos de trabajo y poblaciones envejecidas son una fórmula desastrosa, no sólo para los generosos sistemas de bienestar nacionales sino también para el proyecto europeo en general.

Necesitamos más crecimiento y más empleo, sobre todo al final de la escala de la educación superior - vale la pena recordar que Europa pierde miles de investigadores postdoctorales que se marchan a Estados Unidos cada año, de los cuales, la mayor parte nunca vuelve. Y tenemos que ajustar nuestras políticas para atinjar aquellos objetivos. Ni el mercado interno ni la Unión Monetaria Europea (UME) han tenido éxito hasta ahora en la inyección de dinamismo, muy necesario en muchas de nuestras economías nacionales. Desde hace algún tiempo, hay un amplio consenso entre economistas y, según la retórica oficial, también entre los políticos sobre la idea de que Europa necesita una reforma económica, sobre todo en la dirección de medidas que prioricen la oferta, para generar más crecimiento y empleo; lo cual debería ir más allá de la puesta en práctica del programa del mercado interno.

La reforma económica ha estado en el orden del día durante varios años; constituyó un elemento clave en la agenda de Lisboa acordada por nuestros líderes políticos en el 2000. Pero a diferencia de la experiencia más temprana de la integración económica, el proceso de Lisboa no se basa en legislación común y regulaciones, que han sido una parte integral del programa del mercado interno, o en la centralización política, como sucedió con la política monetaria, por ejemplo, en el contexto de la UME. Incluso se puede argumentar que esta es la opción más adecuada, si tenemos en cuenta que el proceso de Lisboa aborda, entre otras cosas, muchos aspectos del mercado de trabajo y de la política de bienestar donde la diversidad y la subsidiaridad siguen siendo la tónica dominante; de ahí el énfasis sobre el papel de la Unión Europea más como un catalizador externo y facilitador, que como legislador.

Cinco años más tarde, tenemos lecciones que extraer. La presión mutua entre los miembros, el establecimiento de marcos de referencia, y un grado de coordinación débil, son los rasgos que se distinguen del proceso de Lisboa, y que han mostrado sus limitaciones. El consenso sobre la dirección que debe tomar la reforma de económica ha demostrado ser frágil: cuando el catalizador externo chocó con la realidad política doméstica, esta última fue la que prevaleció. El nombramiento y la consecuente vergüenza de aquellos países que se quedan atrás en la puesta en práctica de las medidas que solemnemente son convenidas al nivel europeo, a través de la publicación de los indicadores por la Comisión, no funciona a no ser que esa parte de vergüenza sea interiorizada por los sistemas políticos nacionales - y esto apenas ha pasado hasta ahora.

La Unión Europea puede y debe proporcionar un foro útil para el debate, así como una base para comparar experiencias nacionales y, posiblemente, también un marco de referencia relativamente débil. Al mismo tiempo, la UE puede y debe proporcionar un amplio marco político. Es importante, sin embargo, reconocer las limitaciones de tal ejercicio, en el cual, la responsabilidad final es de los Estados miembros, mientras el papel de la Unión Europea se limita, como mucho, a la coordinación "débil". Hay una enorme diferencia entre el proceso de Lisboa por un lado, y el mercado interno y la UME por el otro. No sería bueno para Europa ser percibida por los ciudadanos como la responsable de asuntos sobre los que, en realidad, no tiene ningún verdadero poder de acción. Dicho esto, una de las posibilidades puede ser explorar el uso de incentivos financieros a través del presupuesto común como una forma de reforzar el proceso de Lisboa.

UN FONDO DE AJUSTE A LA GLOBALIZACIÓN



Para que la Unión Europea sea un agente efectivo de reforma, necesita una dimensión social más fuerte. El cambio tecnológico y los mercados cada vez más globales, combinados con la subida de nuevos poderes económicos, como China e India, están transformando rápidamente el escenario económico mundial. Muchas personas esperan beneficiarse de las nuevas ocasiones creadas: un mayor crecimiento económico, mejores empleos y bienes más baratos. Pero están también aquéllos cuyo sustento se ve amenazado por las nuevas tecnologías y una competencia más fuerte. Mientras las ventajas son difusas, y generalmente necesitan tiempo para materializarse, los costes son más inmediatos y concentrados. Esto casi nunca supone una fácil combinación hablando en términos políticos.

Los pobres resultados económicos, la angustia social y el fracaso en desarrollar un discurso político creíble para la reforma, han creado un círculo vicioso en varios países europeos. Hoy en día existe un miedo generalizado al cambio y un sentimiento de pesimismo en muchas partes de Europa. Cada vez más personas se ven como perdedores, ya sean potenciales o imaginarios, y se oponen firmemente al cambio. Y estas personas son las mismas que ahora están dando la espalda a la integración europea, la cual perciben como un vehículo de cambio y de la temida globalización. En los años recientes, las instituciones europeas han hecho, no en pocas ocasiones, de chivo expiatorio relativamente a las decisiones impopulares de sus propios Estados. Ahora pagamos el precio de este comportamiento miope. Por consiguiente, la confianza en las instituciones comunes y el papel de la integración regional como un factor clave de estabilidad y prosperidad para todos los europeos, se han visto afectados.

Necesitamos un nuevo discurso político que rompa este círculo vicioso, mientras reconocemos que todos tenemos interés en el proyecto europeo. Necesitamos medidas concretas en el nivel de la Unión Europea para convencer a los ciudadanos de que Europa está dispuesta, y es capaz de apoyar a aquéllos que se están viendo afectados negativamente y, por consiguiente, de ayudarles a adaptarse a un ambiente más competitivo.

La faceta de solidaridad de la Unión Europea es ya familiar para quienes viven en los países y en las regiones menos desarrolladas de la Unión. Los fondos estructurales y de cohesión han jugado un papel crucial y deberían seguir jugándolo en el futuro. Pero la solidaridad europea también debería hacerse más visible en otras partes de la Unión Europea. Esto es crucial en lo referente al cambio rápido y a la dolorosa reestructuración que afecta a un número significativo de personas en el mercado de trabajo.

La propuesta de la Comisión Europea para establecer un Fondo de Ajuste a la Globalización es un buen ejemplo del tipo de acción que la Unión Europea debería adoptar para ayudar al proceso de reestructuración, dado la redundancia de los trabajadores que buscan empleo como consecuencia del mismo proceso de globalización. El objetivo es disminuir el negativo impacto de la globalización sobre los trabajadores despedidos y mejorar sus posibilidades de encontrar nuevos y mejores empleos, proporcionando la financiación necesaria para su formación y reubicación. El énfasis se pone en la protección y en el empoderamiento de la gente: ayudando a la movilidad de los trabajadores redundantes, la creación de nuevos negocios, la adquisición de nuevas habilidades, y la formación y educación continua del trabajador en su puesto de trabajo. Esto es obviamente una estrategia muy distinta a la de intentar proteger los empleos.

Será un nuevo fondo abierto a todos los Estados miembros. Esto lo hará más visible y, por lo tanto, ayudará a desarrollar un mensaje político más fuerte. Por otra parte, no requerirá una nueva burocracia, ya que el Fondo de Ajuste a la Globalización debería ser capaz de usar los instrumentos ya existentes. El candidato obvio es el Fondo Social Europeo, que funciona de forma descentralizada entre los Estados miembros y que posee una amplia experiencia en la gestión de fondos para formación, apoyo en la búsqueda de nuevo empleo y reubicación de los trabajadores. El Fondo Social Europeo se concentra en acciones preventivas a largo plazo, mientras se recurriría al nuevo Fondo de Ajuste de Globalización para reaccionar ante la crisis y facilitar ayuda a todos aquellos que han perdido sus empleos como consecuencia de la creciente competitividad internacional. No obstante, la línea fronteriza entre los dos deberá hacerse lo más nítida posible.

Ya que la Unión Europea es responsable de la política comercial exterior y, por lo tanto, de las decisiones que conducen a la apertura de mercado para todos los Estados miembros, es lógico que también afronte su parte de



responsabilidad en la reestructuración causada por la competencia internacional. En la práctica será difícil aislar los efectos de la globalización sobre la convulsión en el mercado de trabajo. ¿Hasta qué punto las pérdidas de puestos de trabajo se pueden achacar a la competencia extra-europea o intra-europea, o a muchas otras causas posibles? Si los criterios para la selección son definidos de manera restrictiva, habrá un riesgo de marginar al nuevo fondo; si se definen de forma demasiado amplia, los recursos disponibles pueden no ser suficientes. Como siempre, esto será en gran parte una cuestión de dinero. Pero también necesitaremos criterios estrictos y exactos para evaluar las necesidades de apoyo por parte de la Unión Europea.

La Comisión Europea ha propuesto que el nuevo fondo no tenga un presupuesto anual dentro de las perspectivas financieras y que sólo se usen los recursos cuando sea necesario, estando éstos sujetos a un techo anual. Por lo tanto, funcionaría como una especie de mecanismo de crisis para tratar los choques económicos y sociales más significativos causados por el cambio de la producción hacia fuera de la Unión o por la competencia en las importaciones. La decisión final descansará en el Parlamento y en el Consejo, tras una propuesta de la Comisión.

La Comisión se refiere a ciertos umbrales que serán necesarios para justificar la intervención europea: el número de trabajadores afectados de forma reiterada por la redundancia en el sector y la región afectada, así como la tasa de paro regional. Esto supone emplear recursos sólo para la formación, apoyo en la búsqueda de un nuevo empleo y gastos de reubicación, lo cual sugiere que no existiría ninguna provisión de subsidios diarios para la gente que ha perdido sus empleos. En cuanto a esto, la propuesta es diferente del mecanismo de ajuste al comercio que ya funciona en Estados Unidos desde hace muchos años. Por lo visto, la Comisión quiere subrayar que el objetivo es ayudar a los trabajadores a encontrar un nuevo empleo, mientras el resto se confía a la responsabilidad de los sistemas nacionales del estado de bienestar.

La propuesta para establecer un Fondo de Ajuste de Globalización tiene muchos méritos. Está dirigido a los que sufren la globalización y la reestructuración económica, y proporciona una respuesta más a los que critican a las instituciones europeas afirmando que su única preocupación es exclusivamente la liberalización del mercado. Es una propuesta respaldada por recursos financieros reales y no se queda simplemente en las declaraciones de intenciones, algo que ha sucedido a menudo en el ámbito de la política social europea. Está dirigido a promover el cambio, en lugar de resistirse, lo cual favorece una mayor apertura al comercio internacional. Por último, aunque no por ello menos importante, las medidas propuestas serán complementarias a las acciones ya tomada tanto en los niveles nacionales como en los regionales, yendo así más allá de discusiones estériles sobre centralización y subsidiaridad.

En otras palabras, Europa está tratando de combinar el lenguaje de la reforma con las medidas de solidaridad, respondiendo, de esta forma, al mensaje enviado por los ciudadanos que reclaman una Europa más social. La creación del Fondo de Ajuste a la Globalización podría tener un importante valor simbólico en esta difícil fase de la integración europea. Sin embargo, no debería limitarse al simbolismo. Hay un verdadero problema al que hay que dar solución. Las críticas a esta propuesta pueden venir de muchos ángulos y tendencias políticas diferentes. Unos indicarán el riesgo de premiar el fracaso, refiriéndose al fracaso de no adaptarse a tiempo a un escenario que está cambiando rápidamente. Esta crítica puede ser contestada indicando que la Unión ayudará a los trabajadores a encontrar nuevos y mejores empleos pero no proveerá apoyo a las empresas. Otros advertirán del peligro de una mala gestión del dinero y, por lo tanto, del mal aprovechamiento de los ya escasos recursos: procedimientos burocráticos pesados, responsabilidades superpuestas y la utilización de criterios imprecisos para la selección de los buenos proyectos. El problema siempre está en la puesta en práctica, aún más cuando se trata de instituciones europeas. Por lo tanto, definir un marco flexible, efectivo y transparente para el nuevo fondo será esencial. La gestión preventiva de la reestructuración económica también podría ser reforzada por los nuevos programas de Fondos Estructurales. Probablemente, la crítica también vendrá de ambos representantes en los extremos opuestos del espectro: los que argumentan que la reestructuración debería dejarse en manos de las instituciones nacionales o incluso por debajo - quizás sólo al mercado -, y los que creen que la escala del problema para la Unión Europea de los 25 es tan grande que la acción a nivel de la Unión puede no suponer una diferencia real. La Unión Europea necesitará una política



innovadora para afrontar los problemas que se originan, quizá fuera del marco convencional de las competencias de la Unión, así como sacar el máximo provecho a sus limitados recursos. Será un desafío difícil pero merece la pena intentarlo.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Moniz Bandeira Luiz Alberto

Brazil as a Regional Power and Its Relations with the United States

in Latin American Perspectives: a Journal on Capitalism and Socialism , Vol. 33, No. 3 , 12-27

Since the mid-nineteenth century, Brazil's interests have conflicted with those of the great industrial powers. Its alignment with the United States in the first half of the twentieth century reflected its dependence on coffee exports and the North American market, and even then it did not always passively accept U.S. predominance. An inevitable consequence of Brazil's ambition to win its rightfully prominent place in the international structure of power has led to a withering away of that unwritten alliance over the past quarter of a century. Brazil has steadily improved its ties with other South American countries in an effort to expand its room for maneuver and increase its bargaining power. While the current administration has pursued friendly relations with the United States, divergences between the two countries remain. In particular, along with other South American countries, Brazil has serious economic and political concerns that run counter to the proposed Free Trade Area of the Americas.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Amineh Mehdi P.

Die Politik der USA, der EU und Chinas in Zentralasien

in Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte, Band 4, 2006

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Gompert David C.

For a capability to protect: Mass killing, the African Union and NATO

in Survival, n. 1, vol. 48, spring , 7-18

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Juergen Rueland

Interregionalism and the Crisis of Multilateralism: How to Keep the Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM) Relevant



in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, Volume 11, Issue 1 , 45-62

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Reiterer Michael

Interregionalism as a New Diplomatic Tool: The EU and East Asia

in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, Volume 11, Issue 2 , 223-243

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Richmond Oliver P.

Shared sovereignty and the politics of peace: evaluating the EU's 'catalytic' framework in the eastern Mediterranean

in *International Affairs* , issue 1, vol. 82, january , 149-176

There has been a consistent failure on the part of international actors over the past four decades to resolve the Cyprus problem. The EU framework, heralded as a catalyst, has failed so far to bring the two sides together, despite the significant advantages it possesses in linking resolution of the Cyprus problem with the Turkish ambition to join the EU. Cyprus has always been a testing ground for experimental approaches to dealing with conflict, and what may well emerge after the failure of the Annan Plan in 2004 is a form of 'shared sovereignty' where important governance functions that remain contested are undertaken by the UN and EU Commission. Furthermore, the EU framework has led to the Cyprus problem becoming a catalyst for Turkish accession. While very controversial, these avenues offer the opportunity for the international community to accept the political and interventionary nature of the 'peace' they prescribe.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Gavin Brigid

The EuroMediterranean Partnership – An Experiment in NorthSouthSouth Integration

in *Intereconomics*, Volume 40 No. 6 • 2005 , p. 353

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Gumpfenberg Marie-Carin von, Brach-von Gumpfenberg Markus



Zur Rolle der OSZE in Zentralasien

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 4, 2006

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1. Federalism

Levy Jacob T.

Beyond Publius: Montesquieu, Liberal Republicanism and the Small-Republic Thesis

in *History of Political Thought*, Vol. 27, Issue 1, 50-90

The thesis that republicanism was only suited for small states was given its decisive eighteenth-century formulation by Montesquieu, who emphasized not only republics' need for homogeneity and virtue but also the difficulty of constraining military and executive power in large republics. Hume and Publius famously replaced small republics' virtue and homogeneity with large republics' plurality of contending factions. Even those who shared this turn to modern liberty, commerce and the accompanying heterogeneity of interests, however, did not all agree with or know about Publius' institutional responses to the problems of executive and military power. Throughout the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and on both sides of the Atlantic, it remained a live question whether large states could be stable moderate republics, with responses ranging from embraces of Montesquieuan limited monarchy, to denials that there was any real large-republic problem at all, with a variety of institutional solutions in between for those who thought there was a real but soluble large-republic problem.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1. Federalism

Descamps Philippe

L'argent d'Ottawa contre les souverainistes

in *Monde Diplomatique (Le)*, janvier 2006

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1. Federalism

Gray Gwen

Women, Federalism and Women Friendly Policies

in *Australian Journal of Public Administration*, Volume 65, Number 1, 25-45

Australian women activists have never been enthusiastic about federalism because of its reputation as a system that restricts the scope of government and obstructs the path of progressive social change. Like their sisters in other countries, women's groups have sought collectivist solutions to economic and social problems. In the last couple of decades, however, orthodox ideas about the restrictive impact of federalism have been questioned. A revisionist view has emerged, which holds that the system sometimes facilitates the adoption of innovative policies and may lead to an



expansion of the role of government. The revisionist perspective raises the question of whether women's groups have been wise to oppose federalism. This article examines relevant Canadian and Australian studies in order to test the validity of orthodox and revisionist perspectives and to draw conclusions about appropriate feminist approaches to federalism. The evidence is mixed. The main argument of this article is that, to the extent that we can distinguish its independent effect, federalism sometimes obstructs policy development and sometimes facilitates it. There are serious methodological problems involved in trying to isolate the impact of the federal variable from the many factors that influence policy, making generalisations precarious. Experience, therefore, offers little guidance to women's groups seeking to decide whether to support centralised or decentralised decision-making structures. However, this study concludes that in the context of present Australian federal arrangements, women are more likely to achieve their aims when the Commonwealth government takes action, either alone or in cooperation with sub-national jurisdictions.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Volcic Z.

Belgrade vs. Serbia: Spatial Re-Configurations of Belonging

in *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, Vol. 31 n. 4 , 639 - 658

This article explores the relationship between the nation, the city, narratives, and belonging in Serbia through an analysis of narratives of a set of 30 interviews with young Belgrade intellectuals aged 23–35. I argue that what appears to be emerging in post-Milosevic Serbia is a new articulation and a new scale of belonging. Most of my informants are mobilising their city identities, moving from a national to an urban perspective. They imaginatively defend their city identity through a discourse that 'others' its newcomers, i.e. the rural residents. However, the article is critical of their articulated dichotomous rhetoric of 'Us, the City Cosmopolitans' vs. 'Them, the Rural Nationalists'. My overall aim is to offer an analysis of the Serbian case, where one sees that the city of Belgrade has become a microcosm and a symbolic expression for modernity, resistance, openness and democracy. However, instead of seeing urbanity as the only locus of modernity, one needs to understand that urbanity does not one-dimensionally lead to the urbanisation of the mind, implying that once you have cities, or live in a city, there is a specific urban, cosmopolitan experience.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Scharpf F.W.

Conceptos de legitimación más allá del Estado-nación

in *Revista española de ciencia política*, n. 13 , 13 - 50

Las acciones de la autoridad gubernamental que son contrarias a las preferencias o los intereses de los gobernados requieren legitimación. En los sistemas políticos democráticos, tales acciones pueden legitimarse bien en términos de proceso decisorio, haciendo referencia a las preferencias colectivas de los gobernados o bien en términos de resultado 1, por referencia a sus intereses comunes. Ambos tipos de argumentos de legitimación se complementan y se refuerzan mutuamente en el Estado nacional; y ambos encuentran su fundamento en las instituciones políticas, que deben asegurar la dependencia directa o indirecta de los gobernantes respecto de los gobernados, posibilitar una acción política eficaz y evitar el abuso de poder.



Más allá del Estado-nación no sólo se carece de los requisitos institucionales esenciales para posibilitar una legitimación en términos de proceso decisorio democrático, sino también se carece de una robusta identidad colectiva que facilite la formación de unas preferencias colectivas que legitimen la redistribución forzosa y los sacrificios no compensados.

La legitimación en términos de resultado, aunque posible en este caso, aparece como limitada en su alcance. No podría legitimar la vulneración de intereses fundamentales de los gobernados. En la Unión Europea la observancia de tal limitación normativa se garantiza en efecto mediante la estructura de vetos de sus instituciones «políticas». Sí pueden aparecer, no obstante, déficit de legitimación, que se deberían entonces a los actos con efecto legal inmediato de las instituciones «no políticas» de la UE (el Banco Central Europeo, el Tribunal Europeo de Justicia y la Comisión Europea en los procedimientos de violación de los tratados), por no estar sometidas estas al control último de instancias políticamente responsables.

Fuera de la UE, la gobernación en el nivel internacional carece de eficacia jurídica inmediata. Se mantiene por ello intacto el fundamento de la legitimación de los acuerdos entre gobiernos nacionales (responsables políticamente ante sus votantes). Al contrario que en la UE, ni la redistribución internacional ni una acción solidaria internacional pueden imponerse mediante instancias supranacionales o por decisión mayoritaria. Y aunque tales acciones no quedan categóricamente excluidas, su legitimación sólo puede basarse en términos de proceso, mediante discursos en el seno de los sistemas políticos nacionales, cuyos ciudadanos son libres para definir sus preferencias tanto de modo solidario como altruista.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Morales Moya A.

Contradicciones del nacionalismo. Pluralismo, identidad y autodeterminación,
in *Nueva Revista de Política Cultura y arte (Spagna)*, n. 103

Frente a la riqueza de la diversidad y el trabajo por lograr una convivencia entre ciudadanos, los nacionalismos limitan las libertades imponiendo una identidad bajo capa de pluralismo que resulta inaceptable en los tiempos actuales.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Kriel Mariana

Fools, philologists and philosophers: Afrikaans and the politics of cultural nationalism
in *Politikon: South African Journal of Political Studies* , Volume 33, Number 01 / April , 45-70

This article attempts to develop a general theoretical framework within which the hypothesis can be tested that the contemporary social movement for the promotion of Afrikaans in South Africa is essentially an Afrikaner nationalist movement. It defines nationalism as an ideology, a movement and a sentiment, and explores the role of language in each of these dimensions of nationalism (the philosophical, the social and the psychological).



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Bakan Filiz

Globalization and Nationalism: The Nationalist Action Party of Turkey

in *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, Volume 12, Number 1, Spring 2006 , 83-105

In discussions on globalization, it has been generally proposed that globalization, by removing boundaries, constitutes a threat to the survival of nation-states, the backbone of nationalism. The aim of this study is to answer the question of how a nationalist party articulates the notion of globalization into its discourse to shed light on its place in the political arena in this global era by examining the ultranationalist Nationalist Action Party of Turkey as a case study. After analyzing the discourse of the MHP on globalization, it is proposed that its discourse has elements of pro-globalization rhetoric on the one hand and a critical perception of the process of globalization on the other hand.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Zurlo Michele

I nazionalismi balcanici e l'Unione Europea

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XXXVIII, n. 150 , 395-413

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Seodu Herr Ranjoo

In Defense of Nonliberal Nationalism

in *Political Theory* , Volume 34, n. 3, June , 304-327

Although nonliberal nationalism has played a prominent role in previously and currently colonized nations of the Third World, its assessment by liberal political theorists has been less than favorable. These theorists believe that nonliberal nationalisms are bound to be oppressive to marginalized members, since they view nonliberal cultures, which such movements aim to protect and maintain, as essentialist and static monoliths that do not recognize the fundamental value of individual rights. In this article, I defend nonliberal nationalisms of previously or currently colonized nations—what I call nonliberal polycentric nationalisms—by arguing that they can be morally justifiable, provided that they are democratic. This argument is supported by communitarian constructions of moral agency and culture, which show that nonliberal cultures hold emancipatory potential for the insiders who actively participate in the reconstruction of their national culture.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Gorrotxategi Azurmendi M.

La gestion de la diversidad cultural. El multiculturalismo en una sociedad plurinacional

in *Revista de Estudios Políticos* , n. 129

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Nootens Geneviève

Liberal nationalism and the sovereign territorial ideal

in *Nations and Nationalism*, Vol. 12, Issue 1, January 2006 , 35-50

Even if most liberals nowadays recognise that liberalism depends on some nationalist justification of popular sovereignty and state boundaries, they still underestimate the consequences of the fact that the sovereign territorial ideal is at the heart of the modern state. Therefore, their normative stance either oscillates between fairness and stability requirements (Kymlicka) or is built on a distinction between self-rule and self-determination that contradicts the normative import of the modern idea of the nation (Tamir). However, there exist counter-traditions that may be helpful in challenging the assumption on behalf of the sovereign territorial state. National cultural autonomy is one of these; it is used here to show how starting from different premises, one may escape the 'statist assumption' and work out a political framework which would be fairer to minorities.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Leonhard Jörn

Nati dalla guerra e macchine da guerra? Nazione e stato nazionale nell'età del bellicismo fino al 1871

in *Ricerche di Storia Politica*, numero 1, aprile 2006 , 31-52

War Babes and War Machines? Nations and Nation States in the Era of Bellicism up to 1871

The work analyses the specific characteristics of the different interpretations of war and their relevance in determining the respective national models of reference in France, Germany, Great Britain and United States, in the years between 1854 and 1871, taking account of the factors, in the various contexts, which superposed the experience of war with conceptions of the nation. Briefly reviewing the main conflicts of the period in question (Crimean war, Indian Mutiny, conflicts arising from the processes of Italian and German unification, and the American Civil War), a comparison among the different interpretations brings the author to conclude, in primis, that in all societies there was a strong dynamic nexus linking war experiences and national conceptions. It is further noted, from the structural viewpoint, how war promoted the intensification of contacts, the spreading of ideas and of means of communication. The wars from 1914 to 1945 were the first to implicate in their ideological projections the maximum affirmation of the idea of national integration, as well as the end of the nation states. It was only with these conflicts that Europe finally underwent the



delegitimation of the classic model of interpretation of the nation and of the bellicose outlook inherent within it.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Larmour Peter, Barcham Manuhaia

National integrity systems in small Pacific Island states

in **Public Administration and Development**, Volume 26, Issue 2 , 173 - 184

Studies of national integrity systems are part of the new international concern with corruption and its prevention. Alan Doig and Stephanie McIvor coordinated studies of 18 countries, and reflected on their method in *Public Administration and Development* (2003). This article compares their conclusions with an overview of a subsequent study of 12 small island states in the South Pacific using the same method. Though the sample was not chosen with scale in mind, smallness might explain some of the similarities between the Pacific Island cases, particularly the risks associated with offshore financial centres, trust funds and investments. Their relative size and weakness has also made them targets for direct intervention by Australian police and officials to rebuild anti-corruption institutions. The article goes on to show how the evidence from the Pacific Island cases raises questions about some of the standard proposals for anti-corruption reform: stronger parties, an ICAC, civil society coalitions and greater accountability and transparency.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Zuzowski Robert

Nationalism and Marxism in Eastern Europe

in **Politikon: South African Journal of Political Studies** , Volume 33, Number 01 / April , 71-80

This paper analyses the impact of nationalism on communism in Eastern Europe. It argues that the communist idea, by itself, is too narrow, weak and ambiguous to succeed in real life. Left to itself, communism cannot generate a vigorous, effective political system. But, coupled with the simple, encompassing idea of nationalism, comprehensible and convincing to everybody, communism can become an efficacious political force for a while. On the other hand, when nationalism clashes with communism, political tension results that weakens and/or destroys the latter ideology. In fact, communism has to deny its own nature in order to become an efficacious political movement. It resembles a bottle with a false label: the contents differ from that which the label proclaims. The impact of nationalism upon communism has been twofold, depending on circumstances. It can bolster communism among independent nationals, as in Soviet Russia and—for over a generation—in part of Eastern Europe. Or, nationalism can weaken communism in dependent countries, as among the non-independent nationalities of the Soviet Union and—once Soviet military protection was withdrawn—in the eastern bloc states. Nationalism clearly has the capability to either stabilise or destabilise communist polities.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea



Subsection 2.Nationalism

Vincent Andrew

Nationalism and the Open Society

in *Theoria*, 107 (August 2005)

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Di Benedetto Michele

Nazionalismo e identità culturale in Bosnia-Erzegovina

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XXXVIII, n. 149 , 197-208

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Ceppa Leonardo

Nazionalismo e umanitarismo nel Doctor Faustus

in *Teoria Politica*, Vol. 21, Fascicolo 3

Strength of the nation as opposed to human democracy. In Thomas Mann two types of universalism fight fiercely between themselves. In appearance the first refers to Nietzsche's philosophy of life, the other to the categorical imperative of Kant. But in reality Mann doesn't withdraw from Nietzsche's influence, neither does he convert to Kant. He rather converts Nietzsche himself to democracy. Mann doesn't change from «Kultur» to «Zivilisation». He rather expands «Kultur» to the point of including «Zivilisation» itself. Mann doesn't forsake the imperialism of the «will of power» to take on the universal logic of law. Rather he endeavours to give a voluntary base to the civic religion of democratic humanity. In other words Mann doesn't relinquish myth to convert to science. Rather he humanizes and enlightens myth enriching it with a pedagogic and formative worth.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Chernilo Daniel

Social Theory's Methodological Nationalism: Myth and Reality

in *European Journal of Social Theory*, Volume 9, No. 1, February 2006 , 5-22

The equation between the concept of society and the nation-state in modernity is known as methodological nationalism in scholarly debates. In agreement with the thesis that methodological nationalism must be rejected and transcended, this article argues that we still lack an understanding of what methodological nationalism actually is and, because of that, we remain unable to answer the substantive problem methodological nationalism poses to social theory: how to understand the history, main features and legacy of the nation-state in modernity. The first section of the article reconstructs the origins of the critique of methodological nationalism in the 1970s and differentiates between its logical



and historical versions. It then critically reviews the most salient critique of methodological nationalism in contemporary social theory, that of Ulrich Beck. The final part of the article assesses the thesis of social theory's immanent methodological nationalism by demonstrating how social theory's equivocations towards the nation-state only mirror the nation-state's own ambivalence within modernity. It is shown that social theory's ambivalent attempts at conceptualizing the nation-state reflect the actual ambivalence of the position of the nation-state in modernity: its historical opacity, its sociological uncertainty and its normative ambiguity.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Béland Daniel, Lecours André

Sub-state nationalism and the welfare state: Québec and Canadian federalism
in *Nations and Nationalism*, Vol. 12, Issue 1, January 2006 , 77-96

This article examines the relationship between sub-state nationalism and the welfare state through the case of Québec in Canada. It argues that social policy presents mobilisation and identity-building potential for sub-state nationalism, and that nationalist movements affect the structure of welfare states. Nationalism and the welfare state revolve around the notion of solidarity. Because they often involve transfers of money between citizens, social programmes raise the issue of the specific community whose members should exhibit social and economic solidarity. From this perspective, nationalist movements are likely to seek the congruence between the 'national community' (as conceptualised by their leaders) and the 'social community' (the community where redistributive mechanisms should operate). Moreover, the political discourse of social policy lends itself well to national identity-building because it is typically underpinned by collective values and principles. Finally, pressures stemming from sub-state nationalism tend to reshape the policy agenda at both the state and the sub-state level while favouring the asymmetrical decentralisation of the welfare state.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Jones H. S.

The Idea of the National in Victorian Political Thought
in *European Journal of Political Theory*, Vol. 5, n. 1, January , 12-21

This article contests the argument that British political thought in the 19th century was exceptional in European perspective in lacking a strong concept of nationhood and nationality. On the one hand it argues, with reference to Mazzini, Michelet and Renan, that continental European theories of nationality were by no means as dependent on a strong concept of race as a focus on Germany might imply. On the other hand, it identifies the Liberal Anglican tradition (Thomas and Matthew Arnold, F.D. Maurice, Arnold Toynbee) as a current of thought which generated an important but certainly non-racial concept of nationhood, as part of a general rehabilitation of community in the face of what these thinkers took to be utilitarian neglect.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Carpenter Ted Galen

The Imperial Lure: Nation Building as a US Response to Terrorism

in Mediterranean Quarterly, Volume 17, Number 1, Winter 2006 , 34-47

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Biagini Eugenio

Ugo Foscolo's 'English' Constitutional Thought, 1816-1827

in European Journal of Political Theory, Vol. 5, n. 1, January , 34-49

This article explores the political thought of a leading Italian intellectual after his conversion from Jacobinism to liberalism. It shows the extent to which Foscolo was abreast of the then contemporary debate on constitutional government and nation-building. Moreover, it illustrates how he combined liberal with civic humanist and republican ideas, as well as idealism and Realpolitik in his perception of the problems faced by small nations struggling to be free in an era of international ideological conflict.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Pascolino Alessandro

Einstein contro la guerra

in Pace Diritti Umani, n. 2, anno 2, maggio-agosto

ABSTRACT: Except for his devotion to science, no cause was more important or closer to Albert Einstein's heart than the determination that the institution of war be forever abolished. Einstein fought for the abolition of war not merely because he hated brutality and considered it unacceptable to seek solutions to international conflicts through killing; he was convinced that as long as war existed as an accepted institution, the intellectual freedom and dignity of the individual could not be realized. He felt war as a violation of the laws of the universe, an interference with nature's course.

His pacifism was stern, but rational and realistic; he was far from being dogmatic or doctrinaire. During the years of Nazism, he announced that it was necessary to renounce to the policy of war resistance which he had so strongly promoted in the preceding years. He then came under severe attacks by the pacifist movement, which was not able to understand the changing circumstances and to adapt its action to the new conditions.

Constant during his all life the insistence for the realization of world institutions which would abolish war and safeguard international peace without resorting to arms and violence.

The paper follows the evolution of Einstein's thinking on peace and war, clarifies his contribution to the development of atomic bomb, and recollects his passionate fight against the arms race and in defence of human rights.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Polanyi Levitt Kari

Keynes and Polanyi: the 1920s and the 1990s

in *Review of International Political Economy*, Volume 13, Number 1 / February 2006 , pp. 152-177

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Vayssiere Bertrand

La lutte pour la supranationalité en Europe: un combat contre des chimères? L'engagement de l'Union européenne des Fédéralistes pour la Communauté Politique européenne (1952–1954)

in *European Review of History - Revue Européene d'Histoire*, V. 12, n. 3, November 2005 , 445 - 474

Militant federalism in postwar Europe contrasted with moderate Europeanism by asking for an integrated European society. Its main organ, l'Union européenne des Fédéralistes (created in December 1946), was immediately on the defensive against better organised European movements. Persevering, the UEF maintained its vanguard role and became increasingly heard as European integration progressed after the CED project and Schuman plan. The federalist influence became more prominent through political discourses and events that seemed to favour its integrationist logic. This hope was crushed by the 20 August crime which pushed the federal idea aside as Utopian. Yet federalists undoubtedly broadened their activities and evolved from being advisers to actually influencing the treatise of the Communauté politique européenne (article 38). External events undoubtedly played a role, as did the cold war; by making the European project a more viable solution, the federalists used this opportunity but their relative successes could not hide a weak coalition that would not resist the difficult political climate of the period.

résumé Le fédéralisme militant, tel qu'il apparaît dès l'après-guerre, ne peut que trancher par rapport à un européisme majoritairement modéré, dans la mesure où il réclame d'emblée la constitution d'une société véritablement intégrée au niveau européen: son principal représentant, l'Union européenne des Fédéralistes (créée en décembre 1946), entre tout de suite 'en résistance' face à des groupes plus prestigieux, qui vont être à la base de la création du Mouvement Européen. L'UEF doit alors défendre son originalité dans une période qui ne semble pas propice aux succès de ses idées. Cette persévérance a permis au mouvement fédéraliste de devenir le mouvement le plus à la pointe du combat européen et le plus écouté de ses pairs, à partir du moment où l'idée d'intégration n'est plus aussi marginale, avec le Plan Schuman puis le projet de CED, auquel vient s'ajouter très vite celui de CPE. L'influence fédéraliste se fait alors sentir à travers des débats, des discours, des faits qui semblent donner raison à la logique intégratrice. La désillusion n'en sera que plus forte lorsque sera perpétré le 'crime du 30 août', qui relègue toutes ces hautes priorités au rayon des utopies. Le mouvement a-t-il réellement été entendu des gouvernements, les seuls à même de transformer l'idée en réalité ? On peut remarquer, dans notre courte période, un élargissement de sa sphère d'influence. Cette fonction de 'conseillers', dans laquelle les fédéralistes excellent de plus en plus, évolue elle-même avec le temps, de la simple préparation psychologique à l'idée européenne, à laquelle l'UEF n'est pas seule partie prenante, à la fonction d' 'éminence grise', qui permet au mouvement de contribuer à changer l'esprit du traité politique européen le plus audacieux, celui de la Communauté politique européenne (article 38). Il convient de s'interroger sur le rôle de la



conjoncture internationale dans cette évolution. Celle-ci est en effet consubstantielle à l'histoire de l'UEF, comme elle l'est à l'idée d'Europe dans l'après-guerre: c'est la Guerre froide qui rétrécit l'espace européen susceptible de s'unir, mais qui l'érige en espoir. Les fédéralistes, surpris de cette aubaine, sauront en profiter et trouver les bons interlocuteurs. L'impression dominante est cependant que l'action fédéraliste, qui va effectivement profiter des grands débats européens qui émaillent la première moitié des années cinquante, ne repose pas sur des bases bien stables. Peut-être est-ce du à l'hétérogénéité trop importante du Fédéralisme, dont le 'front commun' ne pouvait pas sérieusement résister aux aléas et aux révisions constantes entraînés par un contexte dramatique qui échappe aux Européens eux-mêmes.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Timmermann Jens

Value without Regress: Kant's "formula of Humanity" reconsidered

in *European Journal of Philosophy*, Volume 14, Issue 1, April 2006 , 69-93

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Simhandl Katrin

"Western Gypsies and Travellers" – "Eastern Roma": the creation of political objects by the

in *Nations and Nationalism*, Vol. 12, Issue 1, January 2006 , 97-115

This article considers how the discourse of EU institutions on 'Gypsies' and 'Roma' has developed over time and how political space was and continues to be opened up in the process. It reveals that the evolution of that discourse contains a radical break. A dividing line separates a debate, now largely marginalised, on the situation of 'Gypsies' in Western Europe held in the European Community in the 1970s and 1980s from a high-profile discussion of the situation of 'Roma' in Eastern Europe carried out in the course of EU Enlargement. It shows how this divide allows for the inscription of ethnicity as a category relevant to 'Eastern Europe' while avoiding this with regard to the 'Western' part of the continent. In substantiating these claims, the article reveals how two different interpretative patterns have consecutively channelled the discourse of EC/EU institutions.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Chojnacki Sven

Anything new or more of the same? Wars and military interventions in the international system, 1946–2003

in *Global Society*, Vol. 20, n. 1, January , 25-42

In order systematically to trace the transformation of warfare on the global level, this article analyses the occurrence of different types of war in the contemporary international system. Starting from the hypothesis that change in the social



institution of warfare is anything but new, the aim is threefold. In the first part the article examines our empirical knowledge about the changing patterns of violent conflict and critically discusses the assumption of a qualitative transformation from 'old' to 'new' wars. Secondly an actor-based classification is proposed, which avoids attractive simplifications and which includes the often overlooked dimensions of sub-state warfare and military interventions in current conflicts. Thirdly, based on the conceptual framework, the article analyses empirically the identified forms of collective violence (wars, military interventions) and changes among the types over time by application of a new data set, covering the period 1946–2003. One of the empirical results is that it would be premature to either ignore 'old' intra-state wars (anti-regime or secession wars) or even to regard inter-state wars as on the brink of extinction. Even though sub-state wars have clearly gained in importance over the past two decades, they have not become the dominant form of violence. Nevertheless, the proposed integration of a sub-state category draws our attention to similarities and dissimilarities across different classes of war and suggests an improved perspective for the analysis of their correlates and etiologies.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Acemoglu Daron

Constitutions, Politics, and Economics: A Review Essay on Persson and Tabellini's The Economic Effects of Constitutions

in *Journal of Economic Literature*, volume 44 issue 1 , 1025-1048

In this essay, I review the new book by Torsten Persson and Guido Tabellini, *The Economic Effects of Constitutions*, which investigates the policy and economic consequences of different forms of government and electoral rules. I also take advantage of this opportunity to discuss the advantages and disadvantages of a number of popular empirical strategies in the newly emerging field of comparative political economy.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Samary Catherine

De la Fédération yougoslave aux protectorats européens

in *Monde Diplomatique (Le)*, janvier 2006 , 4-5

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

van Ooyen Robert Chr.

Der Staat - und kein Ende?

in *Jahrbuch des öffentlichen Rechts der Gegenwart*, Band 54, 2006

No abstract available



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Kermani Navid

Europa, l'ama chi non ce l'ha

in *Reset*, Numero 93, Gennaio / Febbraio

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Mapel David R.

Fairness, Political Obligation, and Benefits Across Borders

in *Polity*, Volume 37, Number 4, October , 426-442

The fairness theory of political obligation holds that individuals who receive public goods produced by the cooperative efforts of their fellow citizens have a prima facie obligation to do their fair share in return by obeying the law. However, what happens when public benefits cross borders? In an interdependent world, have political obligations begun to extend across borders? According to some critics, fairness theory leads to the conclusion that citizens who receive benefits across borders acquire political obligations to obey foreign states. In response, this article argues that fairness theorists and their critics have confused transnational moral obligations based on fairness with political obligations, which still largely coincide with the territorial boundaries of states. There are two key steps in this argument: reformulating the fairness theory of political obligation so that it focuses on the distinctive benefits provided by the rule of law; distinguishing between fairness as a basis of political obligation and fairness as a requirement of justice.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Jensen Nathan, McGillivray Fiona

Federal Institutions and Multinational Investors: Federalism, Government Credibility, and Foreign Direct Investment

in *International Interactions*, n. 4, vol. 31, october-december , 303-325

ABSTRACT: Political risk is an important factor in the decision to invest abroad. While the investment potential might be lucrative, there is always the risk that the host government will expropriate the profits and assets of the foreign investor. Political institutions, however, can serve as constraints on the actions of political actors in the host country. We argue that federal structures lower political risk. Joint-reputational accountability in overlapping political jurisdictions increases the likelihood that investment contracts will be honored. Empirical analyses of cross-sectional time-series data for 115 countries, from 1975–1995, are used to study how political institutions affect foreign direct investment (FDI) flows. After controlling for the effect of relevant economic and political variables, we find that both democratic and federal institutions help attract FDI, although the additive effect of democracy and federalism is small. This is not surprising; democratic systems already have low political risk; they do not need the additional credibility that the federal system provides to attract FDI. In contrast, we expect that federal structures significantly improve the trustworthiness of less democratic



states. Empirically, we find that less democratic countries with federal political systems attract some of the highest levels of FDI.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Johnston Josée, Goodman James

Hope and activism in the ivory tower: Freirean lessons for critical globalization research
in *Globalizations* , Vol. 3, n. 1, March , 9-30

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Fischer Joschka, Diner Dan, Cohn-Bendit Daniel

Islamismus, Iran und die Zukunft Europas
in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, April, 2006 , 419-435

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Samar V. J

Justifying the Use of International Human Rights Principles in American Constitutional Law
in *Columbia human rights law review*, Vol. 37 n. 1 , 1-1 00

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Hazareesingh Sudhir

Memory, Legend and Politics: Napoleonic Patriotism in the Restoration Era
in *European Journal of Political Theory*, Vol. 5, n. 1, January , 71-84

Drawing on archival evidence, this article explores the salience of 'patriotic' themes and motifs in the emergence of the Napoleonic legend in France after 1815. Symbolizing France's defeated and humiliated status, the captive of Saint-Helena became an emblem of French patriotism, a rallying point for all the men and women who refused to accept their nation's containment by the 1815 treaties. And, contrary to the traditional view that Bonapartist nationalism was merely a celebration of violence, military glory and conquest, it will also become apparent that the image of the Emperor was used in French popular political culture to promote a coherent cluster of ideas and values of 'nationhood', which in many respects connected back to the defensive patriotism of the Revolutionary era. Ultimately, through their celebration of the memory of Napoleon, his supporters and allies demonstrated the convergence of republican and Bonapartist



values around core notions of the Revolutionary tradition, most notably a resolute defence of French national sovereignty.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Usai E.

Models of State Organisation in “Other” Cultures

in European Union Review, Vol. 10 n. 2

Le rencontre entre Européens et peuples natifs d'Amérique, conclue avec la défaite et, dans certains cas, avec la complète disparition des seconds, a aussi permis des nombreux échanges culturels. Un cas emblématique à propos pourrait être l'influence que l'expérience de la Ligue entre Six Nations amérindiennes, les Iroquoises ou Haudenosaunee, a eu sur la naissance du Fédéralisme américain. La Ligue Iroquoise exprime les principes fondamentaux du fédéralisme et est une institution politique très ancienne. Les Anglais pendant les siècles XVII-XVIII trouvaient dans la Ligue même le principal allié militaire et commercial. C'était dans cette période que la population des colonies avait eu la possibilité de faire une plus profonde connaissance de la Ligue, et de comprendre qu'elle constituait un exemple éminent de valeurs tels que l'union, la flexibilité et la démocratie. Entre ceux qui avaient eu l'occasion de connaître mieux la structure de la Ligue, on compte Franklin, Jefferson et John Adams. L'exemple de la Ligue Iroquoise nous induit à la réflexion autour de deux importants aspects: le premier concerne la prétention de l'exclusivité de «l'Occident», en tant que porteuse de modernes valeurs politiques, dont on souhaite la diffusion vers le reste du monde; secondairement, il faut absolument souligner que, face à la nécessité de réaliser une structure politique capable de respecter ses participants, le fédéralisme a été en époques et latitudes différentes la réponse la plus efficace.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Lippi Francesco, Fuchs William

Monetary Union with Voluntary Participation .

in Review of Economic Studies, April 2006 – Vol. 73 Issue 2

A monetary union is modelled as a technology that makes a surprise policy deviation impossible and requires voluntarily participating countries to follow the same monetary policy. Within a fully dynamic context, we show that such an arrangement may dominate a regime with independent national currencies. Two new results are delivered by the voluntary participation assumption. First, the optimal plan is shown to respond to a country's temptation to leave the union by tilting both current and future policy in its favour. This yields a non-linear rule according to which each country weight in policy decisions is time-varying and depends on its incentive to abandon the union. Second, we show that there might be conditions such that a break-up of the union, as has occurred in some historical episodes, is efficient. The paper thus provides a first formal analysis of the incentives behind the formation, sustainability, and disruption of a monetary union.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea



Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Kerry Chase

Multilateralism compromised: the mysterious origins of GATT Article XXIV

in *World Trade Review*, Volume 5 - Issue 01 – marzo 2006

The GATT treaty's loophole for free trade areas in Article XXIV has puzzled and deceived prominent scholars, who trace its postwar origins to US aspirations to promote European integration and efforts to persuade developing countries to endorse the Havana Charter. Drawing from archival records, this article shows that in fact US policymakers crafted the controversial provisions of Article XXIV to accommodate a trade treaty they had secretly reached with Canada. As a result, the free trade area exemption was embedded in the GATT–WTO regime, even though neither the Havana Charter nor the US–Canada free trade agreement was ever ratified. Theoretically, the case is an important example of how Cold War exigencies altered the policy ideas of US officials.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Nabulsi Karma

Patriotism and Internationalism in the 'Oath of Allegiance' to Young Europe

in *European Journal of Political Theory*, Vol. 5, n. 1, January , 61-70

This article examines the 'Oath of Allegiance' of an international semisecret society, Young Europe. The society's programme defined the struggle to create democratic republics throughout Europe in the first half of the 19th century. Its founding documents and charter in 1834 represented radical shifts in both the ideas and practice of European republicans on the principles of liberty and equality, and in the conceptualization of a trinity that linked republican patriotism to both nationalism and internationalism. The society also offered new understandings of both fraternity and humanity. The doctrine combined the working of international and national organizations as the blueprint with which to construct republics. The emergence of Young Europe signified a change in both the ideological language and in the core values of republicans. It also represented a break in its organizational principles; in its conception of the nation and the nation's role within the republic; and in the appreciation of the international role of republicans.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Yamamoto Kiyoshi

Performance of semi-autonomous public bodies: linkage between autonomy and performance in Japanese agencies

in *Public Administration and Development*, Volume 26, Issue 1 , 35 - 44

The creation of semi-autonomous public bodies or agencification has been diffused around the world. The basic concept lies in giving more autonomy in operations in exchange for strengthening accountability for results. It is assumed that granting more flexibility in management produces more efficient and effective outcomes. However, the causal relationship between autonomy and performance has been inconclusive despite many empirical studies. This is because institutional factors are neglected, as are other measurement problems such as using cross-section data. Consequently,



in this article, the relationship is examined using institutional factors and a retrospective survey method to study Japanese agencies. The analysis shows that there is a causal relationship between operational autonomy and performance, but only partial causal linkages between other types of autonomy like structural or legal autonomy and performance

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Bradbury John Charles

Regulatory Federalism and Workplace Safety: Evidence from OSHA Enforcement, 1981–1995
in *Journal of Regulatory Economics*, Volume 29 issue 2 , 211 - 224

The Occupational Safety and Health Act (OSH Act) gives states the option to enforce federal occupational safety and health standards on their own instead of relying on the federal Occupational Health and Safety Administration (OSHA). This legislative provision provides an opportunity to analyze a homogenous set of regulatory standards enforced by heterogeneous agents engaged in interjurisdictional competition. This study finds important differences in the effectiveness of enforcement options measured by occupational mortality. State-administered OSHA programs are associated with fewer workplace fatalities than states regulated at the federal level. This finding is consistent with regulatory federalism and government-as-facilitator models of OSHA enforcement.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Jordaan Eduard

Richard Rorty and moral progress in global relations
in *Politikon: South African Journal of Political Studies* , Volume 33, Number 01 / April

Richard Rorty's navigation of the pitfalls of the cosmopolitan-communitarian debate, concern with human suffering, recognition of the contingency of communal identities and relationships, and his endorsement of liberal societies, by definition inclusive and always in search of a greater justice, make it appear as though his thought can guide us towards greater concern for the world's poor. However, this article questions the progressive potential of Rorty's thought. Obstacles to such (global) moral progress include Rorty's unquestioned statism and his focus on internal outsiders who are suffering and/or oppressed, instead of external outsiders beyond national borders; his insistence on a public-private split that legitimises social indifference, coupled with a narrow understanding of responsibility; the undemandingness of his liberalism; and his emphasis on the excluding notion of 'solidarity', as prerequisite for moral concern. However, continuous Rortian 'sentimental education' can lessen the objectification of and indifference to the global poor.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Johnson Pauline

Romantic and Enlightenment Legacies: Habermas and the Post-Modern Critics
in *Contemporary Political Theory*, Vol. 5, n. 1, February , 68-90



Wisdom, Hegel famously said, only flies at dusk. For many, the evening of the liberal-democratic nation state appears to be descending in a globalizing world. This disturbing prospect invites urgent reflection on which of the potentials of this fading order ought to be carried forward. In this climate of review and reassessment, discussions that had seemed done with re-surface sharpened by fresh purpose. The following paper attempts to put new light on a once vigorous dispute between Habermas and his post-modern critics over how best to weigh-up utopian energies at play in a liberal-democratic present. This was a contest distinguished by its all-or-nothing temper: either democratic Enlightenment with its commitment to rational solidarities or a Romantic enthusiasm for unreconciled particularities. I will argue that the stalemate between these two totalizing descriptions of the emancipatory potentials of modernizing processes needs to be unblocked and the debate put into motion once again. It will be argued that each offers a framework adequate to the description of only certain kinds of cultural needs. Alone, neither offers appropriate recognition of the ambiguous character of the distinctive hopes and expectations embedded in liberal democracies.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Calder Gideon

Soft Universalisms: Beyond Young and Rorty on Difference

in Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy, Vol. 9, n. 1, March , 3-21

Recent critiques of normative universalism have helped entrench a dichotomy between formalist universal egalitarian claims (typical of the liberal tradition) and particularist attention to cultural difference (in contemporary communitarianism, and in more or less postmodernist approaches). Focusing on the work of Richard Rorty and Iris Marion Young, this article explores whether, and how, we might find space for a universalism which avoids problems encountered by the formalist model. I argue that, while both Rorty and Young reject 'Enlightenment' universalism, the approaches of both contain covert universalist assumptions. They thus represent different forms of 'soft' universalism: approaches which are fallibilist about current moral knowledge but which hold out the possibility of genuinely inclusive pan-human normative frameworks. The trouble with both is that neither, in the end, provides a persuasive basis for their own position – one which avoids an ultimate arbitrariness about the winning out of one normative conception (be it humanitarian or not) over another. I suggest that recourse to ontology, and the kinds of metaphysical claim deemed outmoded in the mainstream of social and moral philosophy, provide such a basis. I argue too that a conception of human being as relational, and of the flourishing of the individual as requiring relations with others, is the best-placed candidate to do the work required.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Strange Gerard

The Left Against Europe? A Critical Engagement with New Constitutionalism and Structural Dependence Theory

in Government and Opposition , Vol. 41, n. 2, Spring , 197-229



This article offers a critical engagement with two important strands of left theorizations of European Union integration and globalization, namely, 'new constitutionalism' (a sub-form of neo-Gramscian analysis) and 'structural dependence' theory (rooted in a more orthodox Marxist approach). These approaches suffer, respectively, from an uncritical or one-sided approach to constitutionalism and competitiveness; and from a theoretical conflation of national with regional political economy. While new constitutionalism under-theorizes regionalism partly because of its implicit 'methodological nationalism' and attachment to the ethics of national political economy, structural dependence theory neglects regionalism in pursuing a highly pessimistic structuralist approach to globalization.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Sheehan James J.

The Problem of Sovereignty in European History

in *American Historical Review*, Vol. 111, n. 1, February 2006

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Knafo Samuel

The gold standard and the origins of the modern international monetary system

in *Review of International Political Economy*, Volume 13, Number 1 / February 2006 , pp. 78-102

This article explores the ways in which the classical gold standard established the foundations for a modern international monetary system with its distinctive forms of crisis and regulatory frameworks. The specific nature of this transformation is often overlooked because of a tendency in the literature to compare the gold standard in relation to subsequent monetary systems, such as Bretton Woods. To remedy this historical bias, the classical gold standard is compared with previous monetary systems and it is concluded that it contributed to expand the array of monetary instruments for conducting monetary policy. By progressively subjecting the management of fiduciary money to state control the institutions of the gold standard created a new monetary framework that opened the way for central banking. However, the commitments taken to this effect, such as provisions on the convertibility of banknotes, created new opportunities for speculation. I argue that this new weakness would become the main preoccupation of monetary policy in the 20th century and lay down the foundations for international cooperation and its novel emphasis on monetary stability.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Bloch Francis, Sánchez-Pagés Santiago and Soubeyran Raphaël

When does universal peace prevail? Secession and group formation in conflict

in *Economics of Governance*, Volume 7, Number 1 , 3 - 29

This paper analyzes secession and group formation in the general model of contests due to Esteban and Ray (1999). This model encompasses as special cases rent seeking contests and policy conflicts, where agents lobby over the



choice of a policy in a one-dimensional policy space. We show that in both models the grand coalition is the efficient coalition structure and agents are always better off in the grand coalition than in a contest among singletons. Individual agents (in the rent seeking contest) and extremists (in the policy conflict) only have an incentive to secede when they anticipate that their secession will not be followed by additional secessions. Incentives to secede are lower when agents cooperate inside groups. The grand coalition emerges as the unique subgame perfect equilibrium outcome of a sequential game of coalition formation in rent seeking contests.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Varouxakis Georgios

'Patriotism', 'Cosmopolitanism' and 'Humanity' in Victorian Political Thought
in *European Journal of Political Theory*, Vol. 5, n. 1, January , 100-118

This article analyses the articulation of the relationship between 'patriotism' and 'cosmopolitanism' or commitment to 'humanity' in the writings of some major Victorian political thinkers. It is argued that: (a) there was no neat distinction between 'patriotism' and 'nationalism' in the thought of the time; (b) 'patriotism' was seen as a stepping stone to universalistic commitment to 'humanity' rather than as opposed to or incompatible with the latter; (c) most thinkers avoided the term 'cosmopolitanism', because of some of its associations, and preferred to use love of 'humanity' or similar terms to refer to universalistic commitments; (d) all thinkers discussed here believed that some form of 'patriotism' was necessary, while all of them complained that the term was being misused by most of their contemporaries and inveighed against some misconceived and morally reprehensible version of 'patriotism'; and (e) most discussions of patriotism and universalism were conducted in a religious or quasi-religious language. The main focus of this article is on John Stuart Mill (1806-73), Matthew Arnold (1822-88), Herbert Spencer (1820-1903), Thomas Hill Green (1836-82), Henry Sidgwick (1838-1900), Frederic Harrison (1831-1923) and, to a lesser extent, Frederick Denison Maurice (1805-72), John Robert Seeley (1834-95) and Charles Henry Pearson (1830-94).